



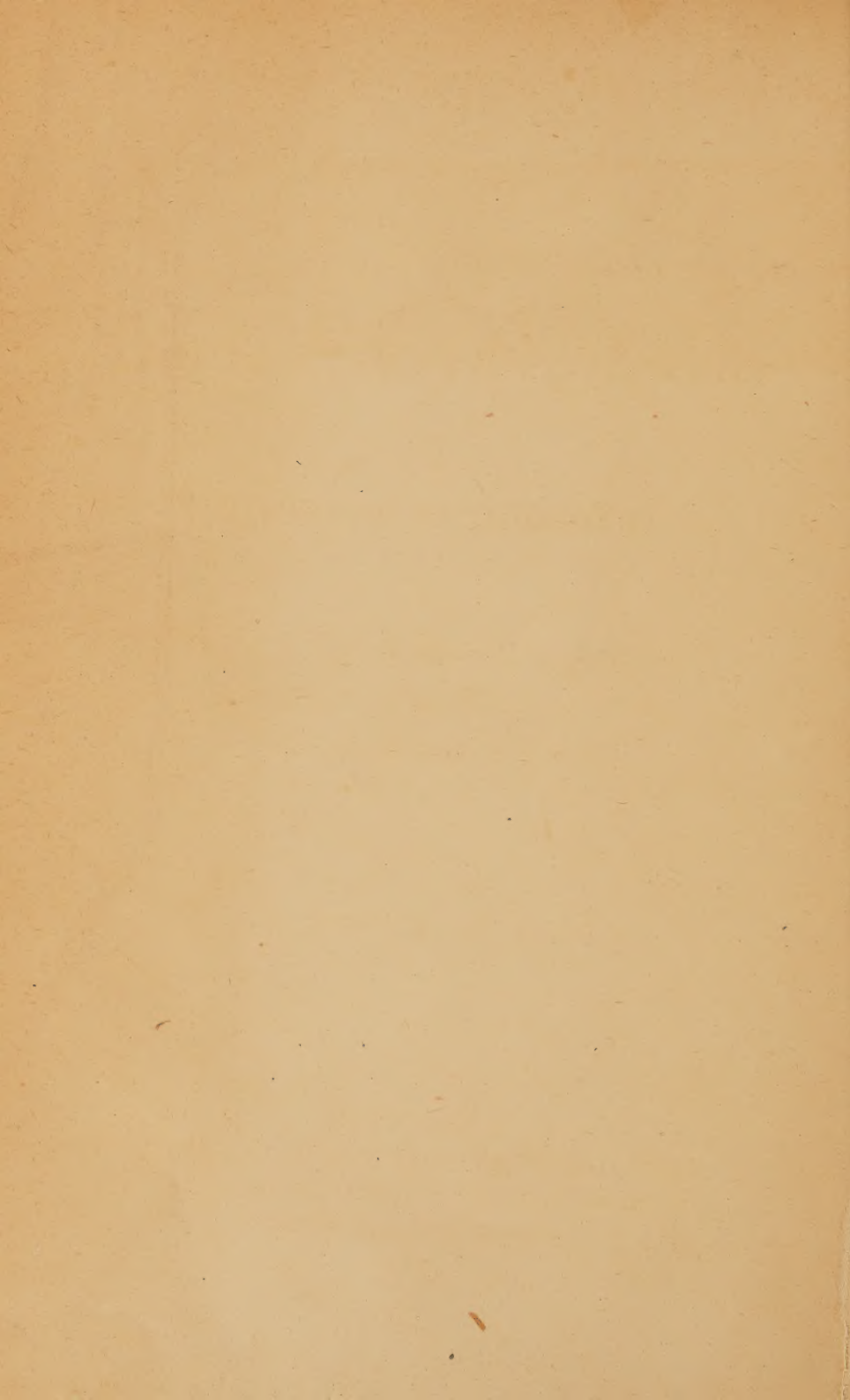


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THE  
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AND  
THEOLOGICAL ECLECTIC.

EDITED BY  
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WITH THE CO-OPERATION OF  
DR. J. P. THOMPSON, DR. D. W. SIMON.

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THE

# BIBLIOTHECA SACRA.

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## ARTICLE I.

PROTESTANT SISTERHOODS, AS THEY EXIST IN GERMANY, AND AS THEY MAY BE ORGANIZED IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY REV. FRANCIS WHARTON, D.D., LL.D., PROFESSOR IN THE EPISCOPAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY AT CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

ON the 13th of September 1869, the Deaconess Institution at Kaiserswerth celebrated its thirty-third anniversary. Among the remarkable facts stated at the meetings, we take this occasion to mention the following:

1. On the 23d and 24th of the previous September was held the third General Conference of the various mother institutions. Of these (forty-two in number) twenty-nine were represented, including delegations not merely from all parts of Germany, but from England, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, France, Switzerland, and the Levant. By the reports presented it appeared that during the preceding three years ten new sisterhoods had been organized, and 500 sisters had been added; the total number at the time of the summary being 2106. These sisters were engaged in 520 distinct stations, being 143 more than reported at the prior triennial meeting.

2. In the line of new edifices the following are mentioned: A new and beautiful church at Kaiserswerth, where the sys-

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tem was first planted, and where is now its largest and most flourishing home.

A new hospital at Alexandria. The old building used for this purpose had been for several years in such a condition that the safety of its inmates was greatly endangered. In the meantime active efforts had been instituted for a new edifice. Two sisters, in particular, had made large collections in England; and, though much was still wanted to put the building in complete order, yet full confidence was felt that the divine aid, which had heretofore been so bountiful, would not fail until the work was finished.

The institution at Berlin had been extended by the erection of a new and commodious hall.

In Serajewo, in Bosnia, a normal school for the instruction of Christian native teachers was provided with an excellent building; and it was on the eve of being occupied by sisters who had been temporarily residing in Pesth in order to acquire the language. As an illustration of the hold that this institution was gaining on the public mind, it was mentioned that the Turkish Governor General had largely contributed to its support.

A new and adequate asylum for the homeless was in the process of erection at Brandenburg.

In Smyrna, principally through English aid, a new orphan house was building, and funds for a Protestant hospital were to be forthcoming as soon as an adequate number of sisters could be secured.

3. The Kaiserswerth Institution, which, as the first and most widely extended, we select as a general type, presents, in its report of 1869, the following statistics:

Dedicated<sup>1</sup> sisters, 361; Hospitals under their charge, 57; Patients in Hospitals, 20,696; Poor-houses and Refuges, 17; Persons provided for in same, 432; Congregations

<sup>1</sup> We have translated "Einsegnung" as "dedication," though perhaps "benediction" would be better. In Germany, the term is used constantly as a general designation of "confirmation." The following is the form of the dedication service, as used at Dresden. It will be seen that it does not constitute an "ordi-

visited, 35; Persons cared for in same, 10,000; Schools for Orphans, etc., 43; Scholars in same, 2000; Sunday and night schools, 32; Scholars in same, 2000; Female Asylums, 10; Inmates of same, 2600; Prisoners visited, 287.

If we multiply these figures sixfold, we shall have a general view of the aggregate work of the sisterhoods of Protestant Germany; sisterhoods which carry on their beneficent work not merely in Germany, but in all sections of Europe and of the Levant. Under these circumstances it may not be now out of place to consider some of the leading principles on which this remarkable institution is based. And in enumerating these principles we have relied almost exclusively on the official reports, and on the addresses made at the

nation." It may rather be likened to a service in one of our churches, on the departure of foreign missionaries, male and female.

LITURGIE BEI EINSEGNUNG VON DIAKONISSEN. LIED. ANSPRACHE.

ANSPRACHE DES GEISTLICHEN.

Nach der Ansprache legen die Einzusegnenden ihr Gelöbnisz in die Hand des Geistlichen ab.

P. Kniet nieder und bittet um den Segen. — Die Einzusegnenden beten: Gott sei uns gnädig und barmherzig und gebe uns seinen göttlichen Segen! Er lasse über uns sein Antlitz leuchten, dasz wir auf Erden erkennen seine Wege. Es segne uns Gott, unser Gott, und geb uns seinen Frieden. Amen.

P. Es segne euch der dreieinige Gott, Gott der Vater, Sohn und heiliger Geist. — Schw. Amen.

P. Friede sei mit Schw. N. N. — Schw. Friede sei mit ihr.

P. Er sende ihr Hilfe vom Heiligthum. — Schw. Und stärke sie aus Zion.

P. Der Herr unser Gott sei ihr freundlich und fördre das Werk ihrer Hände bei uns. — Schw. Ja, das Werk ihrer Hände wolle er fördern.

P. Amen! In Jesu Namen. — Schw. Amen.

Hierauf giebt der Geistliche jeder der Schwestern einen Gedenkspruch und betet über ihnen: Ewiger, Gott, Vater unsers Herrn Jesu Christi, du Schöpfer des Mannes und des Weibes, der du *Mirjam* und *Debora* und *Hanna* und *Hulda* mit dem heiligen Geiste erfüllt und es nicht verschmäht hast, deinen eingebornen Sohn von einem Weibe geboren werden zu lassen; der du auch in der Hütte des Zeugnisses und im Tempel *Wächterinnen* deiner heiligen Pforten erwählet hast; siehe doch nun auf diese *deine Mägde*, die (dir) zum Dienst verordnet werden, und gieb ihnen deinen werthen heiligen Geist und reinige sie von aller Befleckung des Fleisches und Geistes, auf dasz sie würdiglich vollstrecken das ihnen aufgetragne Werk zu deiner Ehre und zum Lobe deines Christus, mit welchem dir sei Ehre und Anbetung mit dem heiligen Geist von Ewigkeit zu Ewigkeit. Amen. Vater Unser, etc.

P. Schluszvotum. — Schw. Amen!

General Conference of 1869, to which we have already referred.

### I. HOME GOVERNMENT.

Let us take as an illustration the admirable institution at Dresden, one of the best organized in Germany, which recently we have been able frequently to visit. Here we have nearly one hundred sisters, of whom about forty are residents, while the rest are employed as missionaries, not merely in out-lying stations in Saxony, but in Egypt and in the Holy Land. The home buildings occupy a large area of ground, equal to a New York block, and contain, not merely a chapel and a suitable building for the accommodation of the sisters, but hospitals for men, women, and children; schools for children; nurseries in which poor women can leave their infants when engaged in their daily work; homes for servants out of employment; and asylums where poor travellers can find a temporary retreat. Now, what is the government of this institution, so far as concerns the sisters themselves?

In this, as well as in the larger institutions generally, a resident clergyman acts as the general superintendent. By his side, and invested with the domestic management, is the sister superintendent, who is herself one of the dedicated sisters. To the pastor and the sister superintendent in concurrent action are assigned the admission of probationers, the reception into the noviciate, and the selection and filling of stations. The general board of direction, by which the secular and financial support of the institution is assumed, cannot, as has been shown by experience, wisely interfere in domestic management. Even the important responsibility of the admission of new sisters cannot safely be shared by the board of directors. The pastor, advised by the sister superintendent, has alone the delicate knowledge and peculiar experience needed for this work; and in them it has been found wisest to vest the entire responsibility. This power is not, however, unchecked. The sister super-

intendent is either elected by the sisters, or, at all events, cannot be appointed without their consent. She is in constant conference with them, and is frequently aided by a council selected by them out of their own ranks. And they have a *veto* on all admissions to the sisterhood.

It will be at once seen what important qualifications are needed for this office. Not merely an even temper, long experience, and great administrative skill are required, but singular piety. "The superintendent," so said Dr. Uhlhorn, in his address on this point, "must be the first sister; a deaconess from her full heart, wholly devoted to the Lord, exhibiting to the sisters an example of all that a deaconess should be. She should show that he who would be truly a minister must be the servant. And, most of all, must she pray for a true mother's heart towards all the sisters." The institution is to be made a real home, not merely for those actually employed within its walls, but for those who return from outer missions weary or sick, as well as for the exhausted and superannuated. The sisters are to be spared all economical cares which conflict with their especial duties of mercy. Their clothes, their food when at home, are to be provided for them; and one of the most beautiful features in the institution is the frugal but tender care with which the dress even of the most distant sisters is forwarded to them from the mother house. In this work the sister superintendent is aided by the sisters who have become unfitted for missionary work.

But the main charge of the superintendent is the education and training of her associates and pupils. And for this a firm discipline is needed. The forced renunciation of natural ties which the Romish church in such cases exacts is thoroughly reprobated. But at the same time the sisters are required to feel that when in the institution it is their home, on which their loyalty is to be centred, and to which a child's obedience is due.

To the superintendent is assigned the charge of the correspondence with missionary sisters, and of the journals



and records of the house ; and to her the reception of visitors is committed.

Above all things, the sisters are to be charged to remember that the true and only unity is unity in the Holy Spirit of God. Hence all the means of grace are to be sedulously resorted to. There must be stated instruction through preaching and Bible-classes. The sisters are to have in the home the centre of their religious life. There is the gospel preached ; there the sacraments administered ; there, in the beauty of holiness and Christian communion, religious peace to be found. It is not the peace of the anchorite, but the peace of Christians, who, separated from other ties, here meet to worship in work and worship in rest.

As between the pastor and the sister superintendent the first is supreme in spiritual matters, the second in all that concerns the domestic management of the house. It is true that in some cases, as in Kaiserswerth, under Pastor Fliedner, the pastor has in all matters the ultimate control. But in most of the institutions the sister superintendent is supreme in domestic affairs. "If it is a female monarchy," said Dr. Uhlhorn, in answer to an objection on this point, "we must remember that it is limited by an aristocratic element — the sisterhood, and by a spiritual element — the pastor."

## II. OFFICIAL DUTIES.

The primary office of the deaconess is to attend the sick, either of a particular congregation or of a particular district. This is, of course, mainly confined to the poor ; and her charge is to care for the nursing, medicine, food, dress, and household comforts of the patients thus assigned. When the mother of a household is disabled by sickness, the deaconess is ready to superintend the dress and food of the children. Under other circumstances, her particular duty is to instruct the immediate attendants as to the proper management of a sick room.

As, on an average, a deaconess has charge of from twenty to thirty patients, her visits must be limited as to time ;

though in the severer cases she visits the patient twice or three times daily. In chronic cases her duty is to exercise a general, thoughtful supervision, in which her personal visits are less frequent.

It is always to be remembered, at the same time, that her object is not to preach, but to render material aid. Her whole work, however, is sanctified and irradiated by the love of Christ, which speaks through her life and labors of mercy. This enables her, when the occasion requires, not, indeed, to undertake the pastoral office, but to direct the burdened conscience to the true and only source of peace and life. And no agents of evangelization among the poor and sick can be more effective than those who make poverty and sickness the objects of their tender and unselfish care.

Of the material blessings of this system it is scarcely necessary to speak. Few among the poorer classes understand the proper management of a sick-room: a subject on which in the deaconess house the most thorough instruction is given. It is only necessary to visit the family of an ordinary laborer, when sickness sets in, to observe the confusion that follows, and the crudeness of the remedies that are applied. The presence of a physician is shunned, on account of the cost; or if sought, his prescriptions are very imperfectly followed. Of the proper order, diet, and quiet of a sick-room little is known. Here it is that the example and skill of an experienced nurse, even though her visits be limited to half an hour or an hour a day, are of such immense use; and peculiarly is this the case when this experience and skill are armed with an authority based on love.

Then, besides this, proper food and clothing can thus be supplied, through the agency of the deaconess, who acts as almoner of the rich who are ready to bestow their contributions on the institution. It is part of the duty of the deaconess to advise the rich of her district of the wants of their poor neighbors; and she acts, therefore, as a connecting link between rich and poor. Both she thus aids. The rich are taught to know and feel for impoverished distress; the

poor, that they are not forgotten or despised, and that the tenderness of Christian humanity links them to the whole church of Christ.

It is true that in this view the office of the deaconess is one of great labor and sometimes of much peril. She is engaged in constant and anxious labor during the day; and though, in consequence of this, the rules of the community interdict night-nursing as a general thing, yet there are many special exigencies to which this rule is obliged to yield. She is brought into frequent intercourse with vulgarity and crime. She is constantly burdened with the coarsest and most distressing of confidences; the mutual complaints of husband, wife, and child, who resort to her as the common arbiter of their petty but degrading strifes. Her intercourse with the rich is not without its temptations; too often they seek to lead her into the circle of those refinements which must have to her so peculiar a charm, in the trying circumstances to which she is exposed, but which she cannot indulge in without withdrawing herself from duties which demand her whole time. And in the mysterious subtlety of human nature, the very character of her labors may tempt her to look to creature-merit and creature-labor as a reliance, and thus to turn away from the exclusiveness of Christ's righteousness as the sinner's sole trust. Nothing but a constant dwelling on the cross of Christ can meet the last temptation. As rules designed to meet the other difficulties, the following are recommended in practice, though of course, with many variations, dictated by local peculiarities:

(a) The work of a deaconess is not properly in a city or large town. For such neighborhoods, ladies selected from particular congregations, can be found adequate to the work.

(b) The deaconess should enter on her work, not as an independent agent, but as the representative of the parish minister, or of the benevolent society, by which she is employed.

(c) In no case should the deaconess be expected to collect, or be permitted to receive, pecuniary or other aid for herself; she must be utterly independent of this.

(d) It is recommended that she be supplied with two chambers, one as a bedroom, the other as a kitchen. She is strongly advised not to take her meals with her patients, or in families outside of her own dwelling. In this dwelling she is supplied with means for her own table, as well as for preparing broths and other nourishment for the sick poor. In addition to this — to take Mülhausen as an illustration — she is allowed a stipend of one hundred francs monthly, to be spent in the material relief of her patients. Of this she is expected to render a strict account. She is permitted to receive no personal remuneration for her services; and only her personal expences are provided for, there being no salary allowed. Her labor is to be the pure, gratuitous labor of love.

(e) Permanency of station is strongly recommended. Of this there are frequent effective illustrations; thus, in Cologne, a single deaconess has served in one station twenty-two consecutive years. In this way confidence is established, and a settled, recognized channel of sympathy opened between rich and poor.

(f) When practicable, especially in populous communities, *two* sisters are joined in the work; living together, and dividing the services.

(g) Voluntary societies, in aid of the deaconess, are to be encouraged. Thus in Silesia, Dorcas societies, of the ladies of the parishes, unite in the preparation of the needed clothing under the direction of the deaconess.

(h) Collateral agencies of benevolence, under some circumstances, can be undertaken. Thus one of the Kaiserswerth sisters takes charge, in a manufacturing town, of the young girls engaged as operatives; meeting them periodically for the cutting out and preparation of their dresses, and forming them into a class to be gathered into the parish church.

### III. EVANGELICAL FREEDOM AND EVANGELICAL OBEDIENCE.

Of course this is the critical point to which the attention of American Christians is most anxiously turned. Is the



"obedience" of the evangelical sisterhoods of Germany based on a vow in any respects similar to that of the Romish church? In answer to this question we collect from the addresses and reports made at the Kaiserswerth Conference the following, as the views of those by whom the sisterhoods are governed :

(a) Every Christian is at once, by virtue of his Christian discipleship, in a position both of freedom and of obedience (1 Tim. i. 9; 1 Cor. iii. 21; 1 John v. 3; Matt. xi. 29). Paul, in his own case, expressly recognizes this (1 Cor. ix. 20-33; Phil. iv. 11). In this a vow of Christian obedience is implied if not expressed. And in the church a baptized person promises and vows obedience specifically. This is eminently the case when clergymen are ordained, when obedience is vowed to the human organization of the church. There is nothing un-Christian, therefore, it is argued, in the vow of a deaconess, on her dedication, that she will be obedient to the regulations of the house she joins. This is sustained by the opinions of Calvin and Luther in parallel cases; and by the valuable work of Wiese, a Protestant divine, on this very point.

(b) It is expressly taught that obedience is not a merit, nor the result of a compulsory engagement, but the prompting of love to Christ, and a free gift to his service. Hence none are received into the sisterhood except those who, after a probation of several years, have come to the determination that it is their heart's desire to devote themselves wholly to the work. During the probationship, every encouragement is given to them to retire from the work if they are not assured of their calling. And afterwards, no legal or ecclesiastical hinderance is opposed to such retirement. The essence of the "vow" is this: that they ought to give up their whole energies to the office they thus undertake, according to the rules of the community they join; and it, in return, prescribes their official duties, and provides for them a home to the close of their days. It is admitted that in cases where there are eminent religious and administrative

gifts, and independent fortunes—as in the case of Miss Nightingale—a similar work can be carried on in individual freedom; but it is urged that in Germany, at least, these cases are not numerous, and that in dispensing with communities like the deaconess houses, based on the obligation of voluntary obedience, the church would reject an immense means of usefulness, and almost the only agent for utilizing a large amount of female religious power.

(c) But this vow of obedience is not exhaustive. Inter-course with friends and relations is in no sense forbidden. The community is to be the home to which the chief affections of the sisters are to be summoned; but it does not, as does the Romish system, require renunciation of natural affections. So, as to liberty, Rome, in its convents, undertakes to direct every action, leaving nothing free; the deaconess institutions lay down specific rules, leaving everything else free. With regard to these rules, the institutions greatly vary in detail. But in all of them, the common principle obtains, that obedience to the commands of the home authorities is to be thorough. By them—the sister superintendent and pastor, with or without a council of sisters, as the case may be—the official duties of each deaconess are prescribed, her station selected, and her labors in it limited or changed. By it the religious and social services of the mother-house are determined, and its home arrangements settled. From the decisions of this authority there is no appeal.

It should be observed that in no case a specific vow of celibacy is made. Of course a sister cannot marry and remain in the community. But it is open to her, should she leave the community, to marry, without any ecclesiastical reproach.

(d) Renunciation of vows. On this point Pastor Krabbe, with the assent of Pastor Uldrich, to whom the point was referred, stated expressly as follows: “In the place of an irrevocable vow, the evangelical church establishes the service of free love. Far different from the Romish vow is a

promise tendered voluntarily on the basis of a voluntarily assumed ecclesiastical office. The office is not assumed in subordination to the vow, but the promise is made as a part of the legal acceptance of the office. When the deaconess tenders such a promise, it is on the silent assumption that she has undertaken the office for her life. An engagement for a series of years is inconsistent with this. *To each deaconess the liberty is reserved to leave the community on any ground she may prefer.* The 'vow' of the deaconess, therefore, limits itself to this: to live, when in the community, according to its rules. In this way, true evangelical liberty is in no wise infringed."

#### IV. SPECIAL SPIRITUAL INSTRUCTION FOR THE SISTERS.

Very significant and instructive was the discussion of this topic at the Kaiserswerth Conference of 1868. From the points made we select the following:

It has sometimes been objected that in deaconess institutions there may be a tendency to adopt the Romish doctrine of creature merit, or, in other words, of righteousness by works, which has proved the bane of the monastic systems. Practically, however, this fear has proved to be unfounded. It is true that the leaven of Pharisaism introduces itself in greater or less degree in all hearts; but experience, so it is stated, shows that in its Romish form—that of dependence on self and self-merit for salvation—it finds no place, as a theological dogma, in the sisterhoods. The peril is not from the theological, but the moral side; it does not arise from the idea that the deaconess state is one of peculiar merit before God, but from the vanity common to Protestants as well as to Romanists, which is so apt to associate itself with an ecclesiastical office. "When, for instance, a deaconess" to quote from Pastor Schultz, of Berlin, "is not praised or commended, when her labors are for a time unnoticed, then arises the temptation to despondency, and she cries, 'I have lost my religious joy.' If, however, praise or commendation should follow, even though it take merely the shape of a

kind word from a casual visitor, she breathes more freely, and her joy returns; and yet in each case it is vanity; the joylessness is vanity, suffering from want of food; the joy is vanity when fed. This self-deceit it is the pastor's office to meet and correct. And the danger arises peculiarly in cases when some of the sisterhood are employed within the walls, where there are no strangers to notice and praise, while others are engaged in outer duties, where this notice and praise are constant. If the pastors do not here reach the true moral source of the despondency which may follow the one case, or the exhilaration which may accompany the other, much spiritual detriment and practical deterioration may ensue." The doctrine must always be preached, that all must be done for the love of Christ, and that human praise and human station are to be despised, when in the doing of his will.

Some danger springs, also, from the variety of social rank which is represented in the sisterhood. To those coming from a lower station in society there is a natural temptation to undue sensitiveness — to the feeling that their personal claims are not duly estimated; and this may tend to sullen pride or sensitive irritability. "These cases, however, are much fewer than we might suppose. I must testify," said Pastor Schultz, speaking of his large Berlin experience, "that in the great body of cases simplicity and humility remain untouched." But still the danger is to be remembered, and warded off. And so, also, of the opposite temptation, which approaches those who come to the sisterhood from higher social ranks. "It should be always remembered by such that the sisterhood is not a place for social dignity. In all there must be the same simplicity and humility."

In such a community there must necessarily be a distinction of offices. There must be governors and governed. But, beyond all things, pride of office must be suppressed; and each member of the society must be taught to rejoice equally whether as serving or served. And yet, on the other hand, so it is recommended, the dignity which belongs



to a mission of mercy must not be forgotten; and, with Paul (2 Cor. iv. 1), each sister must learn to feel that the office of mercy is one in which none should faint or despond.

The temptation to "eloquence" to those whose main work is to nurse the sick is to be especially repressed. Few words, but tender—these are what turn the suffering or dying to Christ.

Then, it is hard so to crush out natural pride as to be willing to provide nothing for self, but to receive all from the common home. But this must be done. The sister's whole care is to be given to mercy; no money, no presents, is she to receive for herself. Her food and raiment come from the home, and in this she finds a refuge in sickness and old age.

"Another danger comes from the confusion of feeling with faith. Sectarian attractions [so speaks Pastor Schultz, referring to such movements as those of the Plymouth brethren and of other associations of mystics] have found no converts in the sisterhoods, nor do we observe among them the unhealthy, manneristic religionism which springs from such sources; but the confusion of feeling with faith is not infrequent. Thus faith in the forgiveness of sins is made to give way to a feeling of forgiveness; and hence come many deceptions and many unnecessary, exhausting anxieties. In such cases the address should be made: 'Thank God that he has placed you in a state of spiritual fasting, rather than in one of spiritual exaltation; for in the first is found faith; in the last, too often, intoxication and fall.'"

With regard to marriage, it is to be taught that the unmarried condition is a state that has its peculiar conditions and requirements, as well as dignities. Christian women called to it have one of the chief requisitions for the deaconess office. Those not so called—those whose affections and opportunities point towards a married life—should be advised not to become deaconesses, or to leave the office, if it be already assumed.

The Lord's supper should be dwelt upon as an especial means of grace, and self-examination and preparatory instruction should be solemnly observed on the eve of each reception. For this the tenderest pastoral care should be invoked. The sisters in the house meet together for this purpose in their prayer-rooms for special preparatory devotions; those in outer missions correspond in writing with the pastor. All is done to make the occasion one of the most solemn and spiritual. Mutual confessions of sins among the sisters, and confessions to the pastor, accompanied by personal and intercessory prayer and close pastoral advice — these are specially recommended.

It should be remembered, in this connection, that a pastor is placed at the spiritual head of each of the several mother-houses, that in most cases he is a married man, and in all cases is selected on account of his experience, spirituality, and administrative gifts.

Such is a summary of the German Protestant deaconess system, as developed at the Kaiserswerth Conference. In studying it, it is impossible to suppress the inquiry how far such a system could be established in the United States. In considering this question, the following thoughts may not be out of place.

First, with regard to the work to be performed. Now we need not be reminded that a large part of the work which in Germany is undertaken by the deaconess, is performed in America by voluntary associations of ladies. With us, from the general diffusion of wealth, there is a far greater amount of leisure available for such purposes than in Germany, where almost every woman is engrossed by household cares. When these our American benevolent associations are based on merely humanitarian principles, they afford great physical relief to poverty and suffering, though with limitations that we shall proceed presently to state. When they are based on Christian principles, and when they are so guided as not merely to supply the sufferer's physical wants, but to lead him to the cross of Christ, the benefits they bestow are

priceless. They unite in themselves the chief riches of the gospel of Christ. By them the gospel is preached to the poor, and the sorrows and sufferings of the poor are allayed. They are among the very chiefest of the ameliorating influences by which American society is rescued from the ruin of a sordid and godless materialism. By them Christ is represented in his fulness at once of grace and of mercy ; by them many of the wounds of society are healed, and the gaping chasm between wealth and poverty at least partially bridged by the offices of Christian sympathy. They are our best missionaries. They are our most effective almoners. They are among the most powerful agencies we can summon for the maintenance of social order and content.

But do these agencies suffice ? If we view them in connection with the work of nursing the sick poor — the especial work of a deaconess — we find that they have great defects. In the first place, nursing is the work of an expert. Untrained volunteers, who serve from time to time, as convenience may prompt, are apt to produce a very unsatisfactory work. We do not take this course in any other form of social economy. The waterworks of a city, for instance, are not in any sense more complicated than the tissues and valves of the human frame ; but we would never think of surrendering the oversight of the waterworks of a city to committees of benevolent gentlemen, to work them at such moments as they may be disengaged, and according to the particular notions in which they may from time to time indulge. Nursing, to be effective, either morally or physically, is an important branch of social industry, to be carried on with fixed principles and with an even hand. We do not, of course, wish to fall back on the positions lately taken by Mr. Göschel, well-established as they seem to be as economical truths, as to the bad public effects of irregular, volunteer, sporadic benevolence ; though these are positions which all closely settled communities will sooner or later accept. But we do say that this important Christian and social duty of nursing the destitute sick should

be performed, as far as may be, by skilful and systematic hands. Nor can we delegate this work to the ordinary hired nurse. Even supposing that Mr. Dickens's sketches of these functionaries are entire caricatures; even supposing that when attending in the houses of the poor they can be relied on as tender and vigilant, yet, after all, this is a costly remedy, which can only rarely be secured; while the service thus rendered is perfunctory, and is but a partial and inadequate representative of the great principle of Christian love. The hired nurse, even when she may be obtained, enters on her work as a mere inanimate mechanism. Through her thrills none of the power of Christian love. In this respect she is a non-conductor, both as to those who send her, and those to whom she is sent. It is a system of material charity alone that she represents, even viewing her in her best estate. It is a system hard, cold, and material; recognizing, it is true, a sympathy of the body, but suppressing all recognition of the sympathy of the soul. It is the charity of the almshouse, not of the sanctuary; it is the gospel of Malthus, but not of Christ.

It is here, indeed, that we notice the cardinal defects of the benevolent societies by which the charities of our large cities are conducted. In the country, indeed, it is different, for here in the country, where no such large benevolent societies exist, the work of charity is largely performed by parish committees, acting under the supervision of the pastor himself, and going forth in their work at once as the confessors and the ambassadors of Christ. But in our large cities there is a growing tendency to withdraw the church from this work, and to concentrate it in the hands of what are called "non-sectarian" boards. Thus exclusive of municipal poorhouses, we have established on this principle provident societies, union benevolent societies, soup societies, houses of refuge, Magdalen asylums, and asylums for the deaf, the dumb, the blind, and the deranged; in which it is a settled compact that no "denominational" religious teaching shall be given. But what is "denominational"? What



is it that is left untouched by this term? When everything that is "denominational" is removed, what remains? Does the atonement? Does even the Bible? Have we not recently had sad occasion to discover that when "denominationalism" is excluded then revelation is dismissed? Of course it is not denied that these societies do a noble work. It is not denied that in lack of a better system we would do much to sustain them in their efforts; but there is a better system, to which this bears about the same proportion as does the body to the soul. Contrast for a moment that dumb charity which, when it has bound up the broken limb, or relieved the feverish thirst, can only turn speechless eyes towards heaven, as if to say, "as to him who sent me, and whose grace sustains and charms me in this work, I am not permitted to speak"; contrast this with the charity whose whole life, when engaged in works of mercy, is radiant with the language of faith. It is hard for Christians, when in Christ's work, to be compelled to suppress Christ's name. It is hard that the "sympathy of humanity," which it was one of the first offices of the gospel to inaugurate, should now be detached from the gospel which inspired it, and sent forth into the world as the product, not of revealed, but of natural religion; as the preacher, not of Christ, who regenerates humanity, but of a humanitarianism which refuses to acknowledge Christ. Christians must and will aid such societies, as long as there are none other to do the mere mechanical work; but this aid must be given with heavy hearts. It is not the way that Christianity should speak and work. Christian charity, inspired as it is by love to Christ, should exult in Christ, and lead to Christ. And hence it is, that this office of nursing is one which the church should specifically assume. And if it cannot be done by mere voluntary and occasional benevolence, let it be done by bodies of Christian women, duly trained for and religiously devoted to the work. Let not the church distil unbelief by the side of the sick and dying, whom Christ has commanded her not merely to serve, but to save. And if the divisions of Protes-

tant Christianity are such as to make any general union for this purpose impracticable, let it be remembered that there is no one of our great evangelical communions that has not in its ranks numbers of women, as well as of men, whom it has been able to devote to life-long missionary labor in foreign lands. And if abroad, why not at home?

For, indeed, the time is coming, if it has not already arrived, when the numbers of women who will be able and ready to devote themselves to such a mission will be by no means inadequate to the mission itself. We do not speak now of the question of an inner divine call to the way of mercy, though this is a call which, with the views that we entertain as to the solemnity of similar calls in other departments of the ministry, we cannot consistently ignore. We do not desire to insist upon the fact that the office of a "deaconess" is one expressly recognized in the New Testament, nor to reiterate that Phœbe is there spoken of as a "deaconess," as much as is Stephen as a "deacon"; though it is well known that when the ministry of preaching and of the sacraments is concerned, theologians have not hesitated to regard similar scriptural intimations as of permanent divine obligation. But we do say, that in the growth and increasing centralization of American society, there are many circumstances which utter an outer call to this form of ministry, even though, as an ecclesiastical institution, it was meant by our Master to be mutable and occasional. There are even now, in our Protestant communions, many religious women who have no natural homes. There are many whom God has stripped of domestic duties, and whom, by his ordination of sorrow as well as of grace, he has consecrated to the ministry of mercy to man. There are many with noble and holy yearnings for such a ministry, and who desire to exercise it, not restlessly, not in mere self-will and self-responsibility, hindered with all the cares and anxieties of self-direction and of self-support, but in dependence on a settled system; in voluntary obedience to a chosen, settled head; and in the protection of a peaceful, settled home, in which, when in health, they can

find direction and sympathy, and in sickness and old age, a peaceful and secure refuge. It is absurd to call such a system Romish. It is no more Romish in its seclusion than are our asylums for widows and for the sick and old; no more Romish in its vows than are our vows of baptism and of ordination. And in its action it is essentially anti-Romish. There have been those, it is true, who abandoned Protestantism, and sought Rome, because in Protestantism, under circumstances of great desolation, or agitation, they could find no harbor of peaceful obedience and rest. There have been those also, who have been won over to Romanism, by the mere spectacle of sisterhoods of mercy, in which, with so much that is corrupt, so much that is truly Christian is maintained. But it was a significant statement of one of the speakers at the Kaiserswerth Conference, that among the thousands of deaconesses whom German Protestantism has enrolled, not one had ever become a convert to the church of Rome. It is true that they sprang from various phases of Protestantism. It is true that they had been ready, when occasion called, to carry on their labors of mercy under the superintendence of Lutheran, of Calvinistic, and of Anglican divines. But to one trust they remained true; that of justification solely by faith in the merits of Christ. Love to Christ for his finished work was the spring of their labors; quiet trust in this finished work their faith and peace. With this in their lives they labored, with this on their lips they have died, to this, by their ministry, they have led. So it has been with them. So it may be with us.

## ARTICLE II.

ST. PATRICK, AND THE PRIMITIVE IRISH CHURCH.<sup>1</sup>

BY REV. ENOCH POND, D.D., BANGOR, ME.

IRELAND, called originally Hibernia and Scotia,<sup>2</sup> was almost a *terra incognita* to the ancients. Lying outside of Britain and Gaul, the Roman conquests did not reach it; and although some traditions of its fertility and beauty came to the knowledge of the Grecian mariners, it was, as to all useful purposes, an unknown country.

Its first settlers, like those of Gaul and Britain, were Celts. We know but little of the early history of this people. They seem to have constituted the first wave of immigration which rolled over from Asia into northern and western Europe. Through all their vicissitudes the Celts have been a peculiar people. Impulsive, light-hearted, fond of poetry, revelry, and song, they differ widely from the Slaves, the Saxons, the Teutons, and the original inhabitants of Germany. They still occupy, as they have ever done, Wales, Ireland, and a considerable part of France.

The religion of this people, in their heathen state, was that of the Druids. This was a frightful, awful system, involved in deep mystery, inspiring terror, and well fitted to hold in subjection a turbulent and reckless people. It permeated their whole political and social state, forming their minds, their customs, and laws, and causing its influence to be felt everywhere, from the cottage to the throne.

<sup>1</sup> The authorities which I have chiefly consulted in preparing this Article, are Usher's Works, Vol. i.; Todd's Life of St. Patrick, with a Review of the same in the London Quarterly for April, 1866; Neander's Memorials; Ebrard's Manual, Vol. i.; and especially "A History of the Irish Primitive Church, with the Life of St. Patrick, by Daniel de Vinne."

<sup>2</sup> Archbishop Usher affirms that until the eleventh century, the name of Ireland was Scotia, and its inhabitants were called Scots.



The Druidical priests secluded themselves as much as possible from the view of others. They dwelt in impenetrable forests, dens, and caverns, and practised their religious rites in the greatest secrecy. They are said to have been worshippers of the oak, and when their sacred tree was cut down, would deify its shapeless stump. The misseltoe, a parasite clinging to the boughs of the oak, was also an object of high veneration. Their sacrifices were offered in thick groves of oak, and on some occasions in temples, or more properly enclosures, formed of massy stones. Several of these cromlechs or enclosures are still standing in different parts of England and Ireland. It will give us a sufficiently dreadful idea of the rites of the Druids to know that they were in the frequent, if not constant, practice of offering human sacrifices. The victims were generally selected from among criminals; but when these were wanting, they did not scruple to sacrifice innocent persons. Lucan describes a grove in which the Druids performed their rites; and, after stating that the trees were so thick and interwoven that the rays of the sun could scarcely penetrate them, he adds: "There was nothing to be seen there but a multitude of altars, upon which the Druids sacrificed human victims, whose blood had turned the very trees to a horrid crimson color."

Such then was the religion of the earliest inhabitants of Britain and Ireland; and such it might have been to this day, had not these countries been visited by missionaries, and blessed with the rising light of the gospel.

Christianity was introduced into England, perhaps in the first century, but it did not reach Ireland, in a way to make an impression there, until near the middle of the fifth century. There may have been individual Christians there at an earlier period, but the country cannot be said to have been *Christianized* till the time of St. Patrick, who is with great propriety denominated "the Apostle of Ireland."

There is, perhaps, no distinguished individual of the ancient church of whom modern Christians know so little, and of whom the views commonly entertained are so erroneous, as St. Patrick.

We hear it said that he drove the snakes and toads out of Ireland, and performed other things equally marvellous and ridiculous; and this is about all that we know of him. We see our Roman Catholic friends celebrating his Saint's day with revelry and song, and lavishing upon him, we had almost said, their worship and we think of him as a pre-eminently good Catholic — an obedient servant of the bishop of Rome. Whereas, he was never a Romanist in any sense. He has nothing to say of the Pope of Rome, and never acknowledged the slightest subjection to him. He was a humble, devoted missionary of the cross, not altogether free from superstition, but yet of the genuine apostolic stamp. He was one of the most successful missionaries of the primitive age; and when he died, the fruits of his labors remained to testify of him, for hundreds of years.

The reason why we know so little of St. Patrick, and why the views commonly entertained of him are so erroneous, is, that we hear of him only through the legends of Roman Catholic writers, in their *Acta Sanctorum*, "Lives of Saints," written hundreds of years after his death, and filled (as their custom is) with marvels, and miracles, in place of reliable facts.

Nearly all that we do know of St. Patrick is derived from his own writings, and he wrote but little. He has left only two well authenticated pieces, his "Confession," and his "Epistle to Caracticus." Others have been ascribed to him, but they are spurious.<sup>1</sup> His Confession is, to some extent, an autobiography; for it narrates his birth, his captivity, his conversion, his call to Ireland, and his trials and labors there; and this is nearly all that we know concerning him.

There has been much dispute as to the place of his nativity. He says: "I had Calphurnius, a deacon, for my father, who was the son of Potitus, heretofore a presbyter, who lived in the village of Banavem in Taburnia; for he had a little farm there, where I was captured." But where was this little village of Banavem in Taburnia, in which the ancestors of

<sup>1</sup> Some hymns have been attributed to him, but their authority is doubtful

St Patrick lived? Some think it was in Scotland, and others in Gaul, but the probability is that it was somewhere in Britain: For on his return from his captivity in Ireland, he speaks of visiting his parents in Brittany.<sup>1</sup> This seems to have been their home, and here he was born, unless they had changed their residence during his absence. He is supposed to have been born about the year 387.

It is commonly said that his name at the first was Succath or Succathus. It may have been so; but we see no objection to its having been Patricius. Patricius, to be sure, is a Roman name; and he tells us, in his epistle to Caractacus, that his father was of Roman descent, and had held the office of decurion, or municipal senator. Hence it is not unlikely that he would give his son a Roman name. In his Confession the writer calls himself Patricius; and we incline to the opinion that this was his original name.<sup>2</sup>

The first sixteen years of his life Patrick (for we will now drop the saint) spent with his parents. And, as his father and grandfather were not only Christians, but officers in the church of Christ, — the one a presbyter, and the other a deacon, — it is pretty certain that he was religiously educated. He was made acquainted with the great truths and facts of the gospel; though they seem not to have exerted a saving power upon his heart.

In the barbarous times of which we speak, it was not uncommon for freebooters to cross the narrow sea between England and Ireland, one way and the other, plunder the inhabitants, and carry some of them into captivity. In one of these marauding expeditions Patrick was taken captive, carried into Ireland, and sold as a slave. His master's name was Milcho. He lived in a part of Dalriada, now included in the county of Antrim. Patrick's business during his captivity was that of a shepherd; he kept his master's

<sup>1</sup> Brittany in Gaul received its name from the Britons who settled there after the Saxon invasion of England. St. Patrick was born long before this.

<sup>2</sup> How he came by his saintship it is hard to say. He could not have been canonized by the church of Rome, until five or six hundred years after his death.

sheep. The situation was favorable to reflection, and he remained in it six years. And here it was that he began to think upon his ways, and turn his feet unto God's testimonies. It was here that he became a child of God. The story of his conversion must be given in his own words: "My constant employment was to feed the flocks. I was frequent in prayer. The love and the fear of God more and more inflamed my heart. My faith and fervor were increased, so that I prayed a hundred times a day, and almost as many by night. I rose before day to my prayers, in the snow, in the frost, and in the rain, and received no damage. Nor was I affected with dulness or slothfulness; for the Spirit of the Lord was hot within me."

This account of his early experience is both scriptural and rational. His heart was warm with the love of God; he was full of the spirit of prayer; he was quickened and happy in the house of his bondage.

Patrick obtained his liberty at the close of the sixth year; but how, we are not informed. Some have thought that there was a law among the ancient Irish, like that of the Hebrews, by which those in servitude went out at the end of the sixth year.

A little before his release Patrick dreamed that he was about to return to his parents, and that on the seashore was a vessel ready to take him over. When he came to the shore he found the vessel; but on applying for a passage, he was refused. He retired, and began to pray; and before he had gone far, one of the sailors ran after him, and offered him a passage. After a voyage of three days they reached land, and immediately commenced their journey through the wilderness, which took them twenty-eight days. While on their journey the provisions of the company failed; and the captain appealed to Patrick, as a Christian, that he would pray to God for food. He did so; and on that same day they found a herd of swine, and on the following day, some wild honey.

About this time Patrick was again made a prisoner; but



his captivity was short. His enemies retained him only two months. "I prayed for deliverance," says he, "and the Lord delivered me out of their hands." At length he reached his parents in Britain, who joyfully received him, and besought him never again to leave them.

Patrick was now at home, a new man spiritually, filled with the love of God, and burning with a desire to advance his kingdom; and here he remained about twenty years. How he employed these years, and through what changes and trials he was called to pass, he has not informed us. Without doubt he was much engaged in the study of the Bible, and in preparing himself for usefulness as a minister of Christ. He may have travelled into Gaul; for he tells us, late in life, how much he desired to see his "Gallician brethren," as well as his relations in Britain. It can hardly be doubted that during this interval Patrick was ordained to the work of the ministry; but where ordained, and by whom, we do not know. It is not likely that he accepted a pastoral charge. Like Timothy and Titus, he was ordained an evangelist, and held himself in readiness to enter any door of usefulness which the Lord should open.

Patrick's mediaeval biographers fill up these twenty years of his life with a great variety of incidents, according as their wishes or their fancies dictate. He went to a monastery in Gaul, and there placed himself under the tuition of St. Germaine; and finally he went to Rome, where he received his commission for Ireland from Pope Celestine. But all this is said, not only without the slightest authority, but against all the probabilities of the case. The truth is, Patrick was not a learned man, even according to the standard of the age in which he lived.<sup>1</sup> Of course, he cannot be supposed to have enjoyed great opportunities for learning. And as to his visit to Rome, it is one of the most improbable conjectures that ever entered the head of a Romanist. He says nothing about such a visit; but many things in regard to his return to Ireland which are

<sup>1</sup> In his Confession, he speaks of himself as *indoctus*.

entirely inconsistent with it. He received his commission, as we shall see, from a very different source. Patrick lived ages before the Papal system was fully developed, and seems not to have known or cared much about it.

Near the close of his residence with his parents Patrick had a dream which made a great impression upon him, and which he ever afterwards considered as a call from God to return to Ireland, and attempt the conversion of that heathen people. "I saw, in my dream, a man coming to me from Ireland, whose name was Victoricus, bringing with him a great number of letters. He gave me one of them to read, in the beginning of which were these words: *Vox Hibernonacum*, 'the Irish call.' While I was reading the letter, I heard the voice of the inhabitants who lived by the woods of Foclut, near the eastern sea, crying to me, and saying: 'We entreat thee, holy youth, to come and walk among us.' I was distressed in my heart, and could read no further. Then I awoke."

Like the great Apostle to the Gentiles, Patrick "was not disobedient to the heavenly vision." He concluded at once that it was his duty to return to Ireland, and conduct a mission there. The thought of returning was, at the first, not agreeable to him. "I did not go to Ireland of my own free-will, but was every day against it, until I was brought down. I prayed mightily, with groaning, that I might be excused; but something thus spake to me: 'Who hath laid down his life for thy sake.' Then I remembered the words of the apostle: 'The Spirit helpeth our infirmities.'"

Patrick's parents and other friends tried to dissuade him from going to Ireland, but in vain: "I left my country, my parents, and the many rewards which had been offered me, and, with tears and weeping, displeased some who were older than myself. But I did not act contrary to my vow. And, so God directing me, I consented to no one. I yielded to none of them, nor to what was grateful to myself. God had overcome and restored all other matters, so that I went to Ireland, to the heathen, to preach to them the gospel."

Patrick was now forty-three years of age. He selected a few pious associates to accompany him, and left his home and country to return no more. The place in Ireland where he landed was then called Inver Dea, supposed to be the present port of Wicklow. Wherever he turned, he found only the institutions and practices of Druidism. At first, his efforts were apparently successful; but soon an opposition arose against him and his companions, and they were obliged to fly to their boats.

Patrick frequently speaks of the persecutions he was called to endure in the early part of his ministry in Ireland: "God very often delivered me out of servitude, out of twelve perils in which my life was in danger, besides many snares which I am unable to express in words. . . . At a certain time they desired to kill me; but my time had not yet come. They seized everything they found with us, and bound me with fetters; but on the fourteenth day the Lord delivered me out of their power, and whatever they had taken from us they returned to us again."

The government of Ireland, at the time of Patrick's mission, though one of the worst for the people, was, on the whole, favorable to the success of his labors. A number of petty princes — independent of each other, and almost independent of the sovereign — governed the entire country; so that, if rejected in one province, he might fly to another, and be secure, for the time, from his persecutors.

It is evidence of the unflinching courage of Patrick that he sometimes attended the great heathen festivals, and proclaimed the gospel to the multitudes there assembled. At an early period of his mission we find him at the annual festival at Tara, where the king, the chieftains, and many thousands had come together to celebrate their heathen rites. He was brought before the king and his princes to speak for his Master and defend his cause; and though not many were at the time converted, the occasion was one of great importance. For there were present here numbers from almost every part of the island, who, on their return, could tell of the wonderful things which they had heard at Tara.

In journeying from Tara to Connaught, Patrick went out of his way that he might address the multitudes generally assembled in a place called "The Valley of Slaughter," which was a haunt of cruelty and superstition, on the plains of Leitrim. On this beautiful plain there stood the grim idol, *Cean Groith*, "the Head of the Sun," which was, in reality, the Moloch of the West, and which was served with the same horrid rites that the one in the East had been, in the days of Ahaz and Manasseh. This idol was a hewed stone, capped with gold, around which stood twelve smaller stones. To this image the people sacrificed the first-born of their cattle and, on great occasions, the first-born of their children.

In this dreadful place Patrick lifted up his voice for Christ, and for the first time declared to the mute and terror-stricken thousands the character of the true God; that he delighted not in sufferings, but that his tender mercies are over all his works. We have no details of this meeting, but we may judge of it from its results; for, in a few years, this horrid idol was removed, and in place of it was erected a Christian church.

From Leitrim Patrick passed into the north of Ireland. Wherever he went the effects of the great meeting at Tara were visible. Through the information which had gone out from it, his way was prepared before him. His mission was understood, and thousands flocked to welcome him, and to hear his joyful message. No one appeared to oppose him; for the uprising of the masses was so general that all opposition seemed useless.

We have no consecutive account of the journeys of Patrick, and cannot tell how long he remained at the different parts of the island which he visited. While in the North, where he had been so busied and honored, he turned aside, with his company, and went up into a mountain, which was long called Patrick's mountain. Here, like his divine Master, he spent some time in seclusion and rest, as well as in fasting and prayer, for the blessing of God on himself and



his mission. "This visit, and the accompanying circumstances, were afterwards made the occasion of a world-wide fable. In his high retreat, Patrick and his companions made themselves booths, and were visited every night by flocks of sea-fowls, that perched on the trees around them. These harmless creatures were transformed by the imaginations of his monkish biographers of the eleventh century, into so many demons, which came to disturb the missionaries in their devotions. This occurrence is supposed to have given rise to the fable of St. Patrick's expulsion of the snakes and toads from Ireland."<sup>1</sup>

It was at this time, after an absence of nearly thirty years, that Patrick visited his old home, the place of his captivity. His former master, Milcho, he did not see, but he saw the mountain on which he had fed his flocks, and where he had so often resolved and prayed.

During one of his visits to the North, he met a vast number of people gathered together, in consequence of the death of the provincial chief, and for the purpose of electing a successor. Here was another opportunity for Patrick to preach, and he diligently improved it for several successive days. We have no particular account of this great meeting, but all his biographers agree that it was an occasion of much interest. Thousands are said to have been converted, and great numbers of them were baptized.

From this time the Apostle of Ireland seems to have enjoyed almost uninterrupted success. The Lord had given him such favor in the eyes of the people, that they were willing to give, not only themselves, but their service and substance, to further the cause of Christ. Henceforth, say his biographers, he passed extensively through the island, establishing churches and schools, and diffusing the knowledge of salvation to thousands, who had long sat in the valley and shadow of death.

During the ministry of Patrick in Ireland, an event

<sup>1</sup> This fable first appeared in Joseline's Life of St. Patrick, in the eleventh century.

occurred which throws some light upon the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of the fifth century. Caractacus, a British chieftain, and nominally a Christian, made a descent upon the west coast of Ireland, and carried off and sold to the Picts, a number of the converts whom Patrick had baptized. The missionary despatched a messenger after him, requiring that he should instantly release those captives and return them to their homes. The demand was treated with contempt; whereupon Patrick issued the following rescript: "To all who fear God: these murderers and robbers are excommunicated and separated from Christ. The faithful, therefore, will not eat or drink with them, nor receive their offerings, till they shall have liberated these servants and hand-maidens of Christ." Patrick subscribes this proclamation as "a bishop in Ireland," and requests that it might be read to the people, and to the soldiers of Caractacus, that they might heed it, and turn to the Lord.<sup>1</sup>

Patrick's last days were spent between Armagh and Sabhull, which, in Irish, means, *the barn*. It was near the site of the present Down Patrick, and was the spot where he opened his mission to the Irish people. While on a visit to this place, he was seized with his last sickness. He desired to reach Armagh, the centre of his missionary operations, but was unable. Thus Sabhull, the place where he commenced his mission, was now, after thirty-four years of unremitting and successful labor, the very place in which he triumphantly closed it. He died on March the 17th, A.D. 465, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. The anniversary of his death has ever been celebrated by the Irish, not only in their own green isle, but in other parts of the world, to which the wars and the oppression in their own ill-governed country have driven them.

Some years before his death, Patrick wrote his Confession. The following extracts from this invaluable document will show the state of the writer's mind, and the spirit in which

<sup>1</sup> It is not certain that Patrick was a bishop in the Episcopal sense. The terms "bishop" and "presbyter" were used interchangeably in the primitive church.

he left the world: "You know," says he to the Irish people, "and God knows, what kind of behavior I have had with you from my youth, in the belief of the truth, and in the sincerity of my heart. Moreover, in every province where I have been, I have made known my faith unto the people, and will make it known. God knows that I have defrauded none of them, nor have I stirred up any one against them through all our persecutions, lest on my account the name of the Lord might be blasphemed. When I had baptized so many thousands of the people, I might, perhaps, have expected from some of them a small compensation. Tell me if I have received aught, and I will pay it back. Or when I have ordained ministers, if I have asked from any of them, even the price of a pair of shoes, tell me, and I will return to you more than I received."

"And now I commend my soul to God, who is faithful, for whom, in reproach, I have performed this mission. I pray God that he may give unto me perseverance, that I may bear for him a faithful testimony, until my transition to my God."

"This sun which we now see, by the help of God will rise for us every day; but he will never reign, neither will his splendor be lasting. But we believe in and worship the true Sun, Jesus Christ our Lord, who will never pass away; who made all things by his own will, and shall remain forever. He reigns with God the Father Omnipotent, and with the Holy Spirit, before the worlds were, and now, and will reign through all ages of ages, Amen."

I have said already that Patrick was in no sense a Romanist. His form of Christianity, like that of Gaul and of the old British church, was from Asia, and not from Rome. In its origin it was Grecian, and not Romish. And hence we see why he makes no reference to the bishop of Rome, or to any of the particulars of the Romish worship. He has nothing to say of pilgrimages or relics, of praying to the saints or the virgin Mary. He never applies the prefix "Saint," to any one, not even to the apostles, or the four evangelists.

Unlike the Romanists, Patrick was emphatically a man of *one book*; and that book was the Bible. He loved, and studied, and earnestly recommended the holy scriptures. In his Confession, which is but a short tract, we have no less than twenty-five quotations from the Bible.

And what was true of him was equally true of his followers, for many generations. The pastors and missionaries who came up under his influence, and who labored, as we shall see, to spread the gospel in the surrounding countries, were all of them pre-eminently Bible Christians. They took their religion from the Bible; they supported it by the Bible; nor would they be turned from it by any other authority; and hence their protracted controversies with the emissaries of Rome.

We have seen already that the success of Patrick's ministry, more especially the latter part of it, was very great. One authority says that he ordained three hundred and sixty bishops in Ireland; and no one makes the number less than three hundred and fifty. Of course, these were not diocesan bishops, but plain native pastors and missionaries, such as he had trained up and stationed in different parts of his rude and extended field. If they possessed, in any considerable degree, the spirit of their master, it is no wonder that Christianity speedily took the place of Druidism, and prevailed in all parts of the island.

Respecting the government of the early churches of Ireland we know but little. The Book of Armagh says: "They had one head, who was Christ; and one leader who was Patri-cius." Archbishop Usher tells us that "all the affairs of their bishops and churches were managed at home. They were too poor, and too much secluded, to attract the attention of foreign bodies, and they grew up, carrying out that form of Christianity in which their leader had instructed them." They studied their Bibles, and followed them, and knew little of the changes and innovations which were going on in other parts of the world.

We read, occasionally, of synods among these churches,  
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and it is likely that in these assemblies their ecclesiastical affairs were chiefly regulated. It would be pleasant to know who composed these synods, what was their order, and what their particular canons or rules. We can only presume that they were of the simplest kind, and that during the life of Patrick, they were under his immediate direction. We have the decrees of a synod at Armagh, convened in the year 464, which are thought to be genuine. They are chiefly directed, as we might expect they would be, against the observance of heathenish practices which still lingered among the people, such as the following of soothsayers and fortune-tellers, and consulting the entrails of beasts. Celibacy was at this time agitated in other places, but the controversy seems not to have reached Ireland, or perhaps Britain, where Patrick was born, for his father and grandfather, though both of them ministers, were married men.

The Book of Armagh, an accredited work of the seventh century, gives us some valuable information respecting the Irish church, after Patrick's death. It divides the history of this church into three periods; the first reaching from its commencement in the year 432, to the time of Columba, in 534; the second from the time of Columba to the year 600; and the third from that year to the writer's own time. "The first period," he says, "was most holy; the second very holy; and the third holy. The first shone like the sun, the second like the moon, and the third like the stars."

The church in Armagh was built in 455, and was probably the first edifice of the kind in Ireland. The structure, no doubt, was small, and was formed of humble and frail materials, which soon passed away; but other houses of worship succeeded it, and though often plundered and destroyed, yet for fourteen hundred years, the site which Patrick selected has never been long without a church upon it. It is commonly said that Patrick was archbishop of Armagh, and that Benignus was his successor; but this is all fiction. There were no archbishops, prelates, dioceses, and other appendages of a hierarchy known in Ireland before the eleventh century.

Patrick and his successors were the patrons, not only of religion, but of learning. Wherever they could collect a congregation they founded a school in connection with it. In their commencement, these were common schools, resorted to by pupils of all classes; but at a later period, many of them assumed a theological character, from which issued ministers and missionaries for the churches. In a little time they became eminent (or some of them did) for learning and religion, and were resorted to by students from other countries. In the *Literary History of France*, it is said: "The Irish people, living in the ends of the earth, and not being exposed to revolutions, have done more to preserve and promote learning, than all other parts of Europe." The *Pictorial History of England* says that, "from the eighth to the tenth centuries, and down to a later date, the chief seat of learning in Europe was Ireland, and the most distinguished scholars in other countries were either Irishmen, or those who had been educated in Irish schools."

During the dark ages, the monastery or seminary at Armagh was the most celebrated seat of learning in Western Europe, having at one time no less than seven thousand students. In the year 846, this noble seminary was destroyed by the Danes, and its students were carried into captivity; but in the next generation it was rebuilt, and its reputation became greater than before.

The institution at Armagh was but one among many which sprang up in Ireland in these primitive times. There was Clonard Abbey, founded about the year 500, and situated on the river Boyne. Bede says that "crowds came to it from other kingdoms, that they might receive instruction and lead a holier life." There was Clonmacnois, situated on an island in the Shannon, "long celebrated as one of the silent and gloomy retreats of the Druids, but now reverberant with the sound of prayer and praise." There was Bangor, situated on the heights of Ulster, founded in the year 550. It sent out hundreds of scholars and missionaries into central Europe, among whom was Columbanus and Gallus. The

monastery or school at Derry was founded in 555, and that at Glendolough in 618.

The course, and the end, of these celebrated institutions was much the same. They flourished and were eminently useful for a time, after which they were plundered, first, by the Danes, and then by the invading Saxons from England, and thus were subverted and destroyed.

Among the missionaries which went forth from the schools of Ireland, the first to be noticed is Columba. He was born at Donegal, A.D. 521, and was educated at Clonard Abbey, where he was distinguished for piety and learning, and especially for his knowledge of the holy scriptures. Before he went abroad on his mission he travelled extensively in Ireland, calling upon men, wherever he went, to repent and believe the gospel. At the age of forty-three, the same at which Patrick commenced his mission, Columba selected twelve associates, and embarked for the neighboring coasts of Scotland, having in view a mission to the northern Picts.<sup>1</sup> At first he met with much opposition from the Pictish king; but Columba was not a man to be driven back. He persevered in his endeavors, until the king was won over to the truth, and began to exhort his people to follow his example. After this achievement, Columba and his companions extended their labors over the hills and through the glens of that wild and sparsely-settled country, bringing to its barbarous inhabitants, for the first time, the humanizing doctrines of the gospel. Many of them were converted and baptized.

To reward the missionaries for their disinterested exertions, the king put them in possession of the little island of Iona, lying on the outer shore of Mull, one of the principal of the Hebrides or Western islands. On reaching their island, their first object was to build themselves huts, and to erect a little church. But as the fame of their enterprise spread, and numbers resorted to them for instruction, these original structures soon gave place to others of a more permanent

<sup>1</sup> The Picts were not of Celtic origin, but are supposed to have descended from the Scythians.

character. In a little time, Iona was covered with cloisters and churches, and became the residence of a numerous body of teachers and students. The institution was supported partly by charitable contributions, and partly by the labor of the inmates; being modelled after the pattern of the schools in Ireland.

The course of study at Iona was eminently scriptural. It is recorded of Columba, that "he was much devoted to the study of the holy scriptures." He taught his pupils to confirm their doctrines by the Bible, and to receive that alone as of divine authority which was so established. The consequence was, that the students at Iona were simple Bible Christians, uncontaminated with the superstitions which were then prevailing in other parts of the Christian world. The venerable Bede, though not of this party, bears ample testimony to their pureness of doctrine, their sanctity of life, and also to their learning. "They were bound," he says, "to exercise themselves in the reading of scripture, and in the learning of psalms. They would receive those things only as matter of doctrine which are contained in the writings of the prophets, the apostles, and evangelists."

After the commencement of his great establishment at Iona, Columba did not desist altogether from personal missionary labors. We hear of him, at a certain time, in the neighborhood of Inverness, among his old friends, the Picts, where he preached to the rude inhabitants through an interpreter. But his principal influence, from this time, was by means of those who had been trained for usefulness under his instructions. These, with their successors, were the Culdees, of whom we hear so much in the Middle Ages. They penetrated into every part of Scotland, so that, before the close of the sixth century, the mass of the people were nominally converted. They preached also in Ireland, in Wales, in some parts of the Belgic provinces, and also in Germany. They extended their labors to the north of England, and aided essentially in the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, who now governed that country. And they would



have done more for this turbulent people, but that they encountered here a class of missionaries from Rome, with whom they disagreed on many points, and by whom they were compelled to retire into Scotland.

Columba presided over the institution at Iona till his death, in the year 599. He was succeeded by Adamnanus, who wrote his life.

In process of time several other establishments grew up in Scotland, constituted after the model of Iona. One was at Abernethy, another at Dunkeld, another at St. Andrews, and others at Dunblane, Monimusk, and Scone. It is thought by some writers that not less than a hundred of these establishments came into being in different parts of Europe in the next four hundred years. The missionaries from these schools were found in every part of the British islands, and beyond them, and constituted a noble body of teachers and preachers. They were distinguished for their love of the Bible, for the simplicity of their faith and worship, and for their steady and persevering opposition to the usurpations and superstitions of the church of Rome.

Next to Columba, the most distinguished Irish missionary of these times was Columbanus. He went first to France, taking with him, as Columba had done, twelve young men to be his assistants — men who had been trained under his influence. But not finding here an open door, he went to the pagans of Upper Burgundy, near the foot of the Alps, and took up his dwelling in the ruins of an old castle. For a time he and his companions suffered for the necessities of life; but when they had broken up the rugged soil, and brought it under cultivation, their wants were supplied, and the mission became self-supporting. Here Columbanus resided twenty years, establishing schools, preaching the gospel, and in other ways performing the work of an evangelist. But at length, through his fidelity, he had the misfortune to displease the king of the country, by whom his establishment was broken up, and he was ordered to return to Ireland. This, however, he did not do, but repaired, first to Germany

and then to Switzerland. He spent a year near Lake Constance; laboring among the Suevi, a heathen people in that vicinity. This territory coming, at length, under the dominion of his enemies, he crossed the Alps into Lombardy, and founded a school near Pavia. Here this unwearied missionary passed the remainder of his days. He died in the autumn of 615, at the age of seventy-two.

Gallus, a favorite pupil and follower of Columbanus, did not go with him into Italy, but remained in Switzerland. He also was an Irishman, and like his master had a great love for the sacred volume. In what was then a wilderness, he founded a monastery, which "led to the clearing up of the forest and the turning of the land into a fruitful field." The Canton of St. Gall received its name from him. He died in the year 640. His monastery was distinguished for the number and beauty of the manuscripts prepared in it, many of which are still preserved in the libraries of Germany.

Other and later Irish missionaries, who labored in different places on the continent, were Fridolinus, Furseus, Livinius, Killian, and Virgilius. These and their associates were faithful men, who shunned no toils or dangers in the service of Christ. Several of them laid down their lives for his sake. Virgilius was a philosopher, as well as Christian. He taught, among other things, the rotundity of the earth, and its diurnal revolution. This was five hundred years before the time of Galileo. For his discovery Virgilius, like Galileo, was accused and persecuted. The Pope decided that "if Virgilius did really hold that the earth was round, and that men lived on the other side of it, a Council should be called, and he should be excommunicated."

For the first three hundred years after the death of Patrick, secluded Ireland seems to have enjoyed general peace and prosperity. Her schools were increased in number and improved in character; her pastors were laboring faithfully at home, and her missionaries were toiling in other lands. It was at this time that she became, what she was proverbially called, "an island of saints."

In this period, while Ireland enjoyed the beneficent and inspiring influences of Christianity, her *material* condition was greatly improved. Many of the people had become farmers and artisans. They had no coin but gold and silver, and these were given and received by weight. They had comfortable dwellings, and domestic animals, and wheel-carriages. They had milk and butter, and grapes, apples, and honey. One of her own sons thus describes the productions of his native land :

“ Her verdant fields with milk and honey flow ;  
Her woolly fleeces vie with virgin snow ;  
Her waving furrows float with bearded corn,  
And arts and arms her envied sons adorn.”

But the long and happy seclusion of the Irish people closed with the eighth century. From that time, they were continually exposed to the free-booters of the North—the Normans and Danes, who plundered and destroyed whatever came in their way. At length these invaders began to settle in the country, and were frequently at war, not only with the native inhabitants, but among themselves. During this bloody period, between the years 960 and 1170, the churches of Ireland were called to pass through great trials ; nor did they come out of them unscathed. Instead of being “perfected through suffering,” they deteriorated in almost every particular.

Yet, with all its imperfections, the church, at this time, seems to have been the only power which kept society from a general dissolution. Her discipline, which had been for the most part faithfully administered, supplied the place of civil law, and was really the only authority that was respected. The terrors of future punishment, which the church constantly held up before native and foreign marauders, seem to have been the only power which held them in check. Besides, through all these wasting commotions, the church was the only conservator of learning. Some of her ministers still lingered among her ruined monasteries, and kept the embers of literature from utter extinction.

Near the beginning of the eleventh century, the popes commenced their endeavors in earnest to fasten Romanism upon Ireland. The Danes who had settled in the country were strongly in favor of the Catholic forms, and they persuaded Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, to ordain in England, and send over for them, two or three bishops. One of these bishops, Gillebert of Limerick, received from the pontiff the appointment of apostolical legate for all Ireland. He was the first papal representative that had ever appeared in the country — six hundred and fifty years subsequent to the founding of the Irish church.

Another efficient agent in the work of Romanizing Ireland was Malachy O'Morgair, a native of the country. In furtherance of his object he went to Rome, where he was received with distinguished favor, and was made a saint. St. Malachy stands first in the calendar of Irish saints. He did all in his power to reconcile the Irish clergy and people to the religion of Rome, but without much success. The great body of the church were intent on retaining their original integrity and independence. Most of the clergy were married men. The badges of formal submission to Rome had never been presented or accepted. Tithes had not yet been introduced; Peter's pence had not been paid; nor had any provision been made for the support of the hierarchy which the Pope was trying to establish.

In the year 1152, Pope Eugene sent another legate to Ireland — Cardinal Papyrio — with instructions to call a synod, and incorporate the Irish church into the Romish. He divided the whole kingdom into four archiepiscopal sees, viz. those of Armagh, Cashel, Dublin, and Inam; instituted a system of tithes; claimed Peter's pence; decreed the celibacy of the clergy; and set up the regime of Rome where it had never before existed.

Still, there was something wanting to the popes and their emissaries to carry their plans for Ireland into complete effect. They needed help from the secular power; and that help was at last secured. Brakespear, an Englishman, was



made pope of Rome, taking the title of Adrian IV. At the same time Henry Plantagenet (Henry II.) was king of England. Henry had long coveted the possession of Ireland, but had no shadow of a title to it, even according to the low ideas of right which prevailed at that day. He applied to Adrian to give him a title, and the pope granted his request. The commission given to Henry is in the following words: "Thou shalt enter that island, and execute whatever thou shalt think conducive to the honor of God, saving the rights of the church, and the payment of one penny from each house to St. Peter." Henry entered Ireland with an army, and, after a long and severe conflict with a brave and independent people, he succeeded in subjugating them to his power. Such was the beginning of English rule in Ireland, a rule unjust and oppressive, on the one hand, and uniformly detested on the other.

The Synod of Cashel was called by Henry, A.D. 1172, ostensibly to reform the Irish church, but really to subject it to the authority of Rome. The great body of the native clergy, however, did not attend the synod, and paid no regard to its decrees. The people continued to follow their own ecclesiastical rules and customs, as they had done before. In fact, it was not till several hundred years after the political subjection of Ireland that Popery became fully and firmly established.

As the Irish were the last of all the nations of Europe to submit to the Papal yoke, so they may be the last to reject it. It was fatal to the prospects of Protestantism among this people, that it was urged upon them by the English government. Their hatred of that government, growing out of its long oppressions, excited a prejudice against Protestantism which they will be slow to relinquish, and which nought but the Spirit of God can overcome.

## ARTICLE III.

## THE INCARNATION.

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## PART II.

OUR former Article on the Incarnation closed with these words: "Many subjects legitimately connected with the Christological question, as that of the Trinity, the mutual relation of the three Persons of the Trinity, whether aseity must be ascribed to each of them, or to the Father alone; whether the incarnation of the Logos introduced no disharmony into the trinitarian relation and the government of the world,—these and some other important subjects we can here not even touch upon; God willing, we may give our views on them at a future time."<sup>1</sup> This promise we shall now try to fulfil.

Dr. Whedon<sup>2</sup> noticed our Article respectfully, but urged the following objections against the views advanced there, viz. "As the doctrine must necessarily be that the Logos became truly and intrinsically a human soul (otherwise Christ was not a perfect man), it seems to follow that during the period of the hypostatical union there is no divine Logos and there is no Trinity; only a dunity." (Why does he not coin the more analogous word binity?) "Whenever we are told that the Infinite can become finite, can annihilate an infinity of power, and so even annihilate himself, we beg to be excused from surrendering all our previous views of the necessary existence of God, and approaching the awful confines of atheism. Surrender the doctrine of the necessary existence of God, and you surrender one stronghold of theism. God exists in the fulness of his nec-

<sup>1</sup> *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Vol. xxvii. p. 32.<sup>2</sup> *Methodist Quarterly Review*, April, 1870.

essary omnipotence, omnipresence, and eternity. These attributes he may veil, may withhold their display in specific acts, but how can he abdicate or diminish their existence? The Professor's first proof-text is: 'The Word became flesh'; which he transforms into: 'the Word became man'! Thereupon, he insists, that the eternal Logos ceased to be God, and commenced to be man! But if ἐγένετο is to receive so literal a rendering, we must literalize σὰρξ also; and then we shall have it that the eternal Logos ceased to be God and became a portion of fleshly matter. The Professor's argument from Mark xiii. 32, we think he will find amply answered in our commentary on the passage."

To this wholesale criticism we must demur for a variety of reasons: we certainly did not say, nor is it in keeping with our views, that the Logos ceased to be God. We translated σὰρξ by *man*, because it means in the passage under consideration *man*, and nothing else; we did not render it by "a portion of fleshly matter," because it *never* has this meaning; κρέας would have been the word to express this idea. "Whenever σὰρξ has no ethical meaning, it means the outward sphere of human existence in distinction from the inner man, or the human in distinction from the divine and its energy."<sup>1</sup> That it has in the passage in question no ethical meaning, nor means the body as distinguished from the soul or spirit, as Apollinaris would have it, on this Dr. Whedon and myself, in all probability agree, and it must, therefore, have the other of the meanings given, viz. the human existence (with all its attributes of finiteness and weaknesses, as distinguished from the divine), and teaches, consequently, what Paul teaches more fully in Phil. ii. 6-8. As to Dr. Whedon's comments on Mark xiii. 32, we are really sorry that we can attach no importance whatever to them, because they proceed from a dualism, which we verily believe, is foreign to the whole Testament.

As appears from a recent work,<sup>1</sup> the Christological ques-

<sup>1</sup> Müller's Lehre über die Sünde, part i. p. 391.

<sup>2</sup> Die Dogmatik des 19en Jahrhunderts in ihrem innern Flusse, etc., von A. Mücke.

tion has been *the* question of the divines of continental Europe of the nineteenth century. The unsatisfactory wording of this doctrine as made in the sixteenth century is universally felt and admitted, and almost numberless efforts have been made to express the teachings of the Bible in adequate language. But wherever no change is admitted in the inward being or nature of the Logos, all these efforts have so far signally failed; and a Christ with only an apparent humanity has been reached, or the reality of the incarnation has been virtually denied. Many English and American divines, who cannot accept the popularly received view, assume an impersonal humanity, as Dr. Schaff seems to do. This either means that human personality was not *potentialiter* in the Saviour at all, or that it was, indeed, there, but was prevented from developing itself by the personal presence of the Logos. The latter view denies, as a matter of course, the real humanity of the Saviour,—an impersonal man is no man,—and contradicts, especially, all those passages which teach a regular development of the Saviour, as Luke ii. 52; Heb. v. 8, 9, etc. Under either aspect, the impersonal humanity, or, what is virtually the same, the pancephalistic humanity of the Saviour must be rejected. Dr. Dorner's views, incorrectly stated by Dr. Whedon to be identical with ours, are, according to Mücke, as follows: "The process of the divine life is from all eternity complete and unchangeable, above the line of all historical, cosmical, and human development, while the world is, at the same time, neither an object of indifference to God, nor independent of him. God's absoluteness would be at an end at once, if he had not always power over the world which he also actualizes. God's ethical nature would also suffer, if he did not continually go out of himself, in order to bestow from his own fulness life on all created beings, just as he created them originally in love. This continual flow of the divine love beyond itself is for the cosmical sphere simply the source of life; for man, however, who is created in the divine image, a communication of the divine



substance ; while in the God-man, finally, it becomes the highest possible realization of his eternal relation to the world, which grows with irresistible necessity out of the nature of the case. The world is relatively separated from its God, its eternal end, so long as he has not entered into this most perfect personal relation to it ; and the divine idea of the world is not realized so long as their personal union is not realized. The world is more or less alienated from God so long as he embraces it only with his will and intellect, and has not opened unto it the very centre of his personal life of love in the incarnation of his Son. It is for this reason that God takes, from the very beginning, the deepest interest in humanity, in order to grant unto it his love in increasing dimensions." "God deems it a gain," says Dorner, "and joy for himself that the created intelligence freely reciprocates his love, offering itself as a living sacrifice of love, in which act it does not lose love, does not destroy itself, but actualizes its true idea, viz. of a loving personality. Thus results from history something for God that is valuable in his own supreme judgment—a pleasure for the divine consciousness which it had not before, a joy which he could not have from himself and without the world. And this divine joy we must look upon as increasing in the same proportion as the world becomes purer and more and more the recipient of his holy, wise, and blessed life."

"The incarnation, which is the highest possible personal self-revelation and communication of God to the world, must increase this divine joy the more, since it introduces also, in a metaphysical point of view, a new form of existence on the part of God—*mansit quod erat, factus est quod non erat*. The incarnation of God is, therefore, no kenotic self-divestiture or self-limitation to the  $\mu\eta\ \delta\upsilon\nu$  of the Elcates, but rather the highest personal manifestation of the divine life over against the world, wherein the divine pleroma in which the Logos scans, as it were, with one effort and holds eternally present all individual moments of the developing

world, is personally realized and manifested, and this highest manifestation of the Logos-world in the God-man is rather a plerosis or plutasis, and not, as Thomasius will have it, a kenosis. The eternal fulness of the Logos loses nothing of its absolute actuality and clearness, being neither potentially diminished nor brought to a stand-still, but rather raised and enriched, continually uniting with itself the development of the divine-human life of Jesus, entering personally into him, and receiving in turn his personality in the same measure as his self-consciousness and will, which is neither affected nor stained by sin,—which is, however, in concrete, possible for him—overcomes it more and more, so that it becomes finally an ethical impossibility for him. In this way the sinless perfection of Jesus becomes a reality, in perfect keeping with the laws of human development, and not subject to compulsory influences from without.”

But how is it about the reality of the incarnation, or as Mücke says, the operations of the Logos in his undiminished absoluteness while he gradually receives the humanity of Jesus into himself? According to Mücke, Dorner ignores this question altogether, while Schneckenburger labors hard to answer it. The Lutheran church divides the humanity of Jesus into a local and illocal substance, and Schneckenburger tries to make the same distinction in the substance of the Logos. The Logos is and remains, according to Schneckenburger, during the time of his incarnation, in Jesus. God, who superintends and upholds all things, has, however, at the same time to sustain, by the Holy Ghost, a human being, to which he imparts his personal life as far as the embryo, child, youth, and man Jesus is able to receive it.

We see in this attempt not so much a division into a local and illocal Logos, as a flat denial of the reality of the incarnation. The Logos was personally present in Jesus, or he was not. The Logos can, as such, have only one self-consciousness, only one principle of personality. If this Logos-consciousness continued in undiminished splendor and clearness during the life-time of Jesus, powers of the Logos,

yea, even his life, may have animated the man Jesus; but Jesus was, after all, a man, a mere man, who sustained but an extra-ordinary relation to the Logos — the difference between the Logos and every other good man is one of degree, not of kind — we have not exactly Patripassianism, Sabelianism, but Logopassianism, with a vengeance. What Mücke adds, does not help the case; he continues: "The error of this (Schneckenburger's) theory is the old view of the world, still held by Schneckenburger, according to which a full entering of God into the world so as to know himself in a personal union with it, is absolutely impossible. But from the point of view of a living immanency this impediment disappears, and the incarnation of the Logos appears as the actualized personal immanency of God in the centre of the personal world, for which purpose the world itself was created. This personal immanency, or indwelling of God in Jesus, is no physico-metaphysical transcendence of the absolute personality into the finite one of Jesus, which would destroy its human reality, but is ethically mediated and conditioned, as every relation between God and man is. For this reason divine omniscience does not pass over into Jesus, but only the ethical part of its contents that has reference to the plan of salvation. In like manner there does not pass over into Jesus the absoluteness of the divine will, God's absolute power over time and space and everything therein, but the absolute ethical determination of it to be nothing but a will of love and self-sacrifice which is actualized in Jesus's death on the cross. This absolute divine consciousness and will of Jesus, both taken ethically, develops itself in the God-ordained way of human development, subject to all the vicissitudes of human life. But the divine consciousness and will of the Logos remains at all times clear and undisturbed, like the earthly sun, which stands clear and bright over the earth, no matter which of the two hemispheres is turned toward, and which away from, the sun. In the same light the relation of the divine nature of Jesus to the embryonic Jesus must be viewed. The latter forms the ocular

point of the Logos-consciousness, the central point of his will, and in the same measure in which the developing Jesus changes by the absolutely ethical actualization of his liberty of choice, his *status integritatis* into *statum confirmationis*, the ethical fulness of the divine consciousness and will is opened to his consciousness, and both become identical in the God-man."

If this is all that this theory can offer, what does it in reality amount to? It gives us a miraculously born child to which the Logos sustains a unique relation, preparing it for a permanent home for himself. No Unitarian would object to this view if Father was substituted for Logos. And when the perfect immanency is finally reached, where the human self-consciousness of Jesus and the self-consciousness of the Logos become one, what becomes of the human, and where in the life of Jesus does this union\* take place? We also conceive, that in the state of the Saviour's exaltation the human is the adequate bearer of the divine, the exalted Saviour is in possession of all his ante-mundane powers and attributes; but in this state development, change between joy and grief, a life of faith, are out of the question, and such an aspect the Saviour's life on earth never offered, while he nevertheless claimed to be the ante-mundane Son of God.

Hence a real *κένωσις*, a self-limiting act of the Logos, must be assumed; but are the objections to it not insurmountable? That we have to deal here with a mystery is plainly taught in the scriptures; but mysteries are not self-contradictions, and then where is the mystery really to be located? This is the question.

We assume as unhesitatingly as Dr. Whedon does, God's necessary existence; hence the impossibility of God, or a divine personality, ceasing to exist. Nor do we assume with some theosophers a state of the Deity wherein the divine substance existed as blind will-power, having to go through a process in order to arrive at a clear consciousness and to develop his ethical character. We say, God loves because he is good, not, he is good because he loves.



But while we claim necessity, absolute necessity, for God's existence, we claim also absolute liberty for him, and what appears elsewhere as a contradiction, as diametrically opposed factors, viz. freedom and necessity, we claim as intimately united in God. Without necessity there would be no necessity for God, without freedom he would be no personal God, but the fate of the Stoics. We believe in God's omnipresence, yet in such an omnipresence as is conditioned by, and consistent with, his personality, which includes freedom of will; i.e. we do not conceive of God as pantheistically poured out over the universe, but as being present where he wills to be.

As we are here, i.e. on the subject of the incarnation, entirely dependent on the Bible, unassisted reason making not even the most distant approach toward it, we repeat here once more, that we have to go to work in our reasonings *a posteriori*, and determine from what God has done what he can do, and not by *a priori* reasoning what he can do, and therefore has done.

Before entering upon the discussion of the Trinitarian relation of the Father and Son, we shall here merely remark, that by affirming the *κένωσις*, or reality of the incarnation, of the Logos we do not hold that he ceased to be, or even ceased unqualifiedly to be God. As there is a difference between the substance of the human soul and its self-conscious actualization, so there is a difference between the substance of God and its conscious self-determination. The substance of the soul in the embryo is the same as of that of the greatest philosopher; a sleeping man is the same to all intents and purposes as to his substance as a waking man, and yet how great is the difference of their self-actualization. The Logos may thus have suspended his divine self-consciousness, the source of the possibility of the exercise of all divine attributes, without changing the substance of his being in the least. But while this is evidently the case, it follows by no means that it actually was so, or that it was even under all circumstances possible. If there was in the Godhead only one personality, only one self-consciousness,

it is self-evident that an incarnation in the sense contended for would be an impossibility. This one divine self-consciousness being once suspended, there would have been no power to start it again. God's activity, providence, would have been at an end, and the universe would have collapsed.

Again, if there was, indeed, a plurality of self-consciousness as in the Deity, sustaining such a relation to each other as to be inter-dependent, so that the Father was as much, for being the Father, dependent on the Son as the Son on the Father; so that aseity belonged to each of the three divine personalities (whether such a relation would be consistent with a strict monotheism, which is so emphatically taught in the Old Testament, and was not affected, in the opinion of the first Jewish-Christian converts by their belief in the divinity of Jesus, is not our purpose to examine here), but if the Father was as much dependent on the Son as the Son is on the Father, we should have, by the incarnation assumed, not only Dr. Whedon's dunity, having only the Father and Holy Ghost left in the Trinity, but the Father and Holy Ghost would be so affected by and during the Son's incarnation as to be no longer what they were before. But is the relation of the three personalities in the Trinity that of inter-dependence? Only that doctrine of the Trinity has any claims on a scriptural character which is consistent with monotheism, which is evidently taught as plainly and forcibly in the New as in the Old Testament; and the apostles were so fully convinced of this consistency, that they did not deem it necessary to say a single word to Jewish or heathen converts to convince them of it; and yet the believing Jew would have rejected Christianity at once, if the least doubt had risen in his soul as to the consistency of Jesus's divinity with monotheism; and to the Corinthians, who had but lately been converted to monotheism from polytheism, Paul writes: "We know that there is no other God but one; for though there be that are called gods . . . . but to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him, and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we

by him" (1 Cor. viii. 4-6). What, then, is the relation of the Son and Father to each other according to the scriptures? We say unhesitatingly, it is that of dependence and consubstantiality on the part of the Son. Even their very names imply this. The second personality in the Trinity is called "Son," "the brightness of God's glory," "the express image of his person," "the Word of God," all of which names imply consubstantiality and dependence, as the designation of the third personality (*πνεῦμα*, *the breathed thing*) implies the same. This is more freely taught in the scriptures. There are, indeed, a few passages in the scriptures where "God," "*the* God," means the whole Trinity, Father, Son, and Spirit, and Apoc. xxi. 5-7, where John sees Jesus in unison with the Father upon the throne, and (i. 8) he understands by the "Almighty" Father and Son. In the formula of baptism the term "God" is reserved for each of the three persons. But in most passages by the word "God," "*the* God," the Father alone, can be understood (while the Son is called God, he is nowhere called *the* God). So John (iii. 16-18): "So (the) God loved the world that he gave his only-begotten Son"; and in vi. 27: "For him has (the) God, the Father, sealed." In John xiii. 31, etc. the Saviour says: "Now is the Son of man glorified, and God is glorified in him. If God is glorified in him, God shall glorify him in himself"; and in John xvii. 1, he prays: "Father, glorify thy Son, that thy Son may glorify thee; I have glorified thee, and now glorify thou me, Father"; "Believe in God and believe in me" (xiv. 1). Paul teaches the same: "We have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ" (Rom. v. 1); "God sending his Son" (viii. 3); "God has not spared his only Son" (32); "Christ is even at the right hand of God, and maketh intercession for us" (34). So John: "In this was manifested the love of God toward us, that he sent his only-begotten Son" (1 John iv. 9); "No man has seen God at any time, the only-begotten Son which is in the bosom of the Father, he has declared (John i. 18); "The revelation of Jesus Christ which God gave unto him" (Apoc. i. 1); In Heb. i. 1-3 by God, the Father must be understood.

Wherever the three highest names are mentioned together, the phraseology generally is, not, "Father, Son, and Spirit," but "God, Son, and Spirit"; so 1 Pet. i. 2: "According to the foreknowledge of God the Father, through sanctification of the Spirit, unto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ"; Paul says (2 Cor. xiii. 13): "The grace of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the love of God, and communion of the Spirit be with you all"; and (1 Cor. xii. 4-6): "There are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit; and there are differences of administration, but the same Lord; and there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all." So John, in Apoc. i. 4-6: "Grace be unto you from him who is and was and is to come; and from the seven spirits which are before his throne, and from Jesus Christ, who has made us kings and priests unto his God and Father." Christ's dependence on the Father is positively taught by Paul in such passages as the following (1 Cor. iii. 23): "Ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's," and (xi. 3): "The head of every man is Christ, and the head of Christ is God"—in which two passages the exalted Christ is spoken of. Of the pre-existing Logos John writes: "The Word was toward God"; he calls the Logos, indeed, *God*, but the Father *the* God; and it may be remarked here once more that Christ is never called *the* God. Christ calls the Father his God, both after and before his resurrection; he says (John xx. 17): "I ascend unto my Father and your Father, unto my God and your God": and (Apoc. iii. 12): "Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God," and "the name of the city of my God, which is New Jerusalem, which cometh down out of heaven from my God." Passages like Rom. xv. 6; 1 Cor. xi. 31; Eph. i. 3; Col. i. 3 can be translated only "The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ;" and Eph. i. 17 plainly reads: "The God of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." To say that Jesus has, according to his human side God for his God, and, according to his divine side, for his Father, and as the God-man, in common with us, for his God, is beg-



ging the question, assuming a dualism in the Saviour which is foreign to the scriptures. It is true, of the ante-mundane Logos it is nowhere said that God is his God, but one moment's reflection will account for this. As the correlate of *Son* is Father, so that of Logos is Legōn (speaker). The exalted Saviour has returned unto his full ante-mundane glory (John xvii. 5) and in *this* state the Father is called his God. This proposition is so plain, that to deny it is ascribing a want of proper insight of the apostles into the trinitarian relation.

The same truth appears, also, from the whole divine economy. Not only on earth, during his state of humiliation, did the Son pray to the Father, do the Father's work, obey his commands, drink his cup; but even his coming into the world rested upon the Father's sanctifying and sending him, which acts of the Father the Son obeyed (see John xi. 41; xvii. 3, 16; x. 36; Heb. x. 5-9). The exalted Son possesses, indeed, all power in heaven and upon earth; but it is the Father who gave him this power, and even now the Son acknowledges continually his dependence on the Father by interceding for believers with the Father. The bride and the Spirit pray to the exalted Jesus; but Jesus prays to the Father, and him alone.

But of equal importance, and fully consistent with this proposition, is the second, viz. that the Son is consubstantial, that is, of the same substance with the Father. Were this not so, the Son would be a creature. We would not press the names here: "Son," "brightness of his glory," "express image of his person," all of which imply identity of nature of the Father and the Son; but we shall call attention to the Saviour's words: "As the Father has life in himself, so has he given to the Son to have life in himself" (John v. 26). It is said (John vi. 53; iii. 15), indeed, also, of the believer that he has life in himself, so that he is, by virtue of his life-communion with his Saviour, above death; but Christ has life in himself in such a manner that he can quicken with his voice whomsoever he will. No believer

can truthfully say of himself: "I am the life"; while Jesus says of himself: "I am the life," he being not only for believers, but for the whole universe, the source of life: "He has ascended far above the heavens, that he might fill all things" (Eph. iv. 10); and part of all things are the blessed angels, as is, in fact, every creature. "Upholding all things by the word of his power, he sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high" (Heb. i. 3). By this ascension he merely returned into the relation in which he stood before his incarnation to the world from the beginning; for it is he by whom God made the world. In him, i.e. by and to him, the universe is created. All things are made by him, and without him nothing is made that is made. All things exist by him, and draw their spiritual, as well as physical life from him (Col. i. 16, 17; John i. 3, 4). This is the meaning of the words: "As the Father has life in himself, so has he given to the Son to have life in himself."

These two propositions, viz. Christ's dependence upon and consubstantiality with the Father being thus established, we proceed and inquire whether it is still true what is generally urged against the incarnation. Mücke draws the following picture of the Kenosis: "The incarnation of God is a formal metamorphosis of God into a purely human embryo, which is developed, like every other embryo, in his mother's womb, and on whose self-development the presence or absence of the Logos-essence has no influence whatever. The same is true of the newly-born babe; the eternal self-consciousness and will of the Logos are absolutely non-existing in him. Neither the divine life of the Father gushes into him, nor does it flow back from him, united with that of the Son, into the Holy Ghost. Like every other babe, he is helpless, unconscious and will-less, is confined to his mother's bosom, needing her nursing and care. His higher nature, transcending the bounds of merely human nature, is indicated by nothing whatever. Whether the Logos-substance, for the time being perfectly helpless and

impotent, is present in this infant, is perfectly indifferent as to his empirical existence; and, with the sole exception of the total absence of sin in the child Jesus, his development into youth and manhood proceeds strictly according to the laws of humanity.”<sup>1</sup> Again: “Through the incarnation of the Son the second personal centre of consciousness and will of the Divine Being has fully disappeared for the space of thirty-three years; and the Father’s stream of life gushes, during this period, immediately into the Holy Ghost, and from him back again into the Father. There are no longer three, but only two personalities in the Godhead. Instead of a trinity we have merely a binity. How this is possible, without affecting his personal absoluteness does not appear.”<sup>2</sup>

Many of these traits and inferences we must reject at once, as unfounded and impertinent. As the suspension of self-consciousness, through a sound sleep, disease, or any other cause, differs radically from a destruction of the same self-consciousness, so the temporary suspension of the Logos-consciousness differs radically from its destruction; being, from its very nature, indestructible; and in the substance of the Trinity no change whatever took place through the incarnation; nor is it more according to truth what is said of the embryo or infant Jesus, viz. that there was no real difference between him and any other embryo (for the time being). An eagle’s egg differs materially from a goose’s egg although they may look very much alike; the soul of a Luther or Humboldt presented, during the embryonic state, no perceptible distinction from that of any other human being, and yet how great was the real difference! As to the position of the Son in the divine economy, we readily admit a change in and during the state of the incarnation of the Logos; during these thirty-three years the Logos did not uphold all things by the power of his word, as he had done in his ante-mundane state, in fact up to the time of his incarnation and as he has done since his exaltation, but he accomplished during that period another work of greater importance than the

<sup>1</sup> Die Dogmatik, pp. 296, 297.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 295.

creation or preservation of the universe, the work for which the universe was created and is preserved, and which only the self-emptying Logos could accomplish. But that by the temporary suspension of the Logos-consciousness no vacuum was created, no disturbance arose or could arise in the government of the world, appears plainly from the relation of the three divine personalities to each other, it being the Father's life that forms the Son's life, that gushes into the Son and back from the Son and Holy Ghost into the Father, and the same divine life whether going through the Son or not, preserved the world. And this is the very statement which the New Testament gives of providence and the continued existence of the world. It is, according to the New Testament, the Father who governs and sustains all things, the greatest and the smallest, who clothes the flowers of the field, feeds the fowls of the air, and numbers the hairs of the heads of his children: "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work." The activity of the Father is displayed in governing and preserving the works of his hands, perhaps also in new creations; that of the Son in doing the work of redemption. It is certainly a strange phenomenon which certain men, however, seem not to notice, viz. that the Logos or Son or second personality of the Trinity is never mentioned by our Saviour as a being distinct from or reaching beyond his own self; the same *I* that shared all the wants and frailties of human nature, claims to be one with the Father, to have been with the Father from the foundation of the world, to have had glory with the Father before the world was; for another *I* that was gradually and partially taken possession of by the Logos and which, consequently, left the Logos in the undisturbed plenitude of his super-mundane power and glory, there is absolutely no room in the New Testament, being not only not intimated, but being unqualifiedly excluded; the whole New Testament knows absolutely nothing of a Logos or Son of God not identical with Jesus.

This fact destroys the whole philosophical objection urged against the reality of the incarnation or kenosis; for grant-



ing, for argument's sake, the existence of a local and illocal Logos (are both personal, or is the local Logos merely a power?) which the common view must virtually claim, where do we learn the existence of the illocal Logos and the exercise of his power during the earthly life of Jesus? Is he ever referred to by Jesus? Does Jesus ever intimate his existence? does he put forth any power in upholding the world, or even Jesus in the hours of his sorest trial? No, everything is ascribed by Jesus to the Father; to the Father Jesus prays; of the Father Jesus feels himself once forsaken, which would be absolutely unaccountable, if the Logos had not been Jesus in human form. Of all really divine attributes Jesus claims during his life-time only eternity, and reason discerns the cause of this very readily, viz. because eternity could not be suspended, and Jesus had a clear remembrance of the fact of his ante-mundane glory with the Father, on which knowledge the consciousness of his peculiar relation to the Father rested. "Before Abraham was, I am," not "I was," says Jesus, intimating thereby, that by his incarnation his eternity had not been affected. "I had glory with thee, Father, before the world was," implies that the possession of this glory had been affected by his incarnation. The actual possession of any other really divine attribute, although at times veiled or not exercised, would have prevented the reality of the incarnation, being altogether inconsistent with a strictly human development of the Saviour, on which the scripture lays so great stress. There is, indeed, a mystery in the incarnation which the endless aeons of eternity may not enable a created intelligence to fathom; but this mystery must be located where the scripture locates it; without the scripture we should know nothing of an incarnation, it being none of the truths within the reach of unassisted reason, and on this very ground it must not be approached by human reason without the scriptures; it can be learned only by *a posteriori*, never by *a priori* reasoning. Here all the opponents of the doctrine make their fatal mistake, Whedon as well as Mücke, Dorner, and all others.

“Whenever we are told that the Infinite can become finite and annihilate an infinity of power, and so can annihilate itself, we beg to be excused from surrendering all our previous views of the necessary existence of God, and approach the awful confines of atheism. Surrender the doctrine of the necessary existence of God, and you surrender the stronghold of theism”; this is the language of the philosopher, not that of the theologian, who believes in his Bible as a divine revelation. And of what account is this philosophical dictum practically? Of none whatever; since the believer does not need it, and the atheist, materialist scorns it as a miserable begging the question. In order to draw correct conclusions from the reality of the incarnation, it is necessary to be intimately acquainted with certain premises, which are beyond our grasp, as the inner nature of the Deity, the exact relation of the three *I*'s in the Trinity to each other; but as this is not the case it becomes us to receive in humble faith what the scripture teaches. If no one had ever been soundly asleep or seen a person wrapped in sleep, the philosopher might question the possibility of a suspension of self-consciousness without destroying it; the incarnation like the creation took place only once, and reason can, therefore, form no adequate idea of it, cannot understand it; but the revival of nature in spring and the re-awakening of consciousness after a sound sleep furnish, at least, remote analogies of the two great facts mentioned. If the Logos by an act of his own free-will suffered his eternal self-consciousness to fall asleep, to be temporarily suspended, in order to take it again by a gradual development, and with the full return of this consciousness the resumption and exercise of every divine attribute, what Christian theist can consistently pronounce the thing absurd or impossible? and if the scripture teaches this stupendous fact, what believer can refuse to receive it as the highest truth, upon which all his hopes for time and eternity are based?

## ARTICLE IV.

WHAT CAN BE DONE FOR AUGMENTING THE NUMBER  
OF CHRISTIAN MINISTERS?<sup>1</sup>

BY PROF. EDWARDS A. PARK, OF ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

EIGHTEEN hundred years ago it was said : "The harvest is plenteous" ; for then the field was the world ; but the harvest of souls is more plenteous now, for the world is more populous. Then our land was an undiscovered, now it is a fruitful, *section* of that field ; but in this garden the need of laborers now is greater than it was ever. Our old Southern States are decayed plantations, needing improved methods of spiritual husbandry. Four millions of freedmen ; tens of thousands of foreign immigrants arriving every year at our wharves ; Colorado, Idaho, Nevada, Montana, are swelling the cry which has been resounding from California and Oregon, the wailing cry for more laborers in the harvest. But, as eighteen hundred years ago so now, "the laborers are few." Heathen lands, the countries of papal Europe, our own southern, southwestern, western, northwestern, even our middle states, an unprecedented number of parishes in New England are making such a demand for ministers of the gospel as it is not easy to supply. Our late rebellion, with the events involved in it, has so diminished the number and the resources of our clergymen ; and our recent peace, with the events involved in it, has so intensified our need of clergymen, that it has become a grave query for all patriots as well as Christians : What shall we do to enlarge the supply for which there is this quick demand ?

As eighteen hundred years ago, so now, the answer is : "Pray ye the Lord of the harvest that he will send forth

<sup>1</sup> An Address delivered at Middlebury College, on the day preceding the Annual Commencement in 1866.

laborers into his harvest." For increasing the number of Christian ministers prayer is the most expeditious method, the most general, the most effective, and therefore the most philosophical; for, if we truly pray, we shall work for the good that we crave, and if we rightly work for it, we shall truly pray for it. There is no real prayer which is not accompanied with appropriate labor, and there is no labor which ends well if it is not accompanied with appropriate supplication. But what particular forms of labor are comprehended in our prayer for the increase of true preachers? Every father can adopt some mode of activity; every mother can perform some noiseless but sure work; every brother and sister can start some influence; every pulpit, every teacher in the Sabbath school, or in any school, can do something; every minister of the gospel can do much that will be God's method of answering the prayer for more laborers in his vineyard. The question on which we are now to meditate is: What can we all do in augmenting the number of Christian ministers?

In the first place, we may expose certain errors which now hold back from the clerical office a large class who ought to enter it. We need only expose them; for some of them are such as are seldom or never expressed, and need only to be stated in order to be disowned. There are young men who have all the other qualifications, and who conduct themselves as if they supposed that, because they do not now possess the moral qualifications for the sacred office, they are not obligated to prepare for it. They acknowledge its paramount importance; they are enthusiastic for the progress of learning, and they perceive that a well-ordered ministry is essential to this progress; for it is the preaching of the word which makes the popular mind earnest for the truth; and when the people are inquisitive, the philosophers are stirred to new investigations. There are young men enamoured of the fine arts, who perceive that a well-balanced clergy is essential to the culture of these arts; for it is by the preaching of divine truth that the taste is perfected for all that is



beautiful and grand. Pagan art would never have flourished except under the influence of Pagan religion. The people must have demanded temples and images, or Phidias and Praxitiles would never have been stimulated to their lofty ideals. Mediaeval art, too, would never have accomplished its wonders, except under the influence of the Mediaeval religion. The people must have been smitten with love for the Madonna, or for the crucifix, or for the altars under magnificent domes and for the strains of music reverberating along the solemn arches, or such men as Michael Angelo and Raphael would not have been inspired for their great works. And we shall never have a truly Protestant architecture, and such a treasury of songs as shall captivate the masses, until men have a simpler, deeper love for the truth of God; and this love is the faith that "cometh by hearing."

At this day, in this land, there are many young men who perceive that if the pure gospel had been preached in the Southern States as it has been in New England the late rebellion would never have occurred. The preaching of the gospel through our land has been attended with some expense; but this expense during the last few years has not approximated to the three billions of dollars which were engulfed in the late rebellion. The preaching of the gospel is attended with a loss of physical health; but that rebellion destroyed the life of one half million and crippled the bodies of another half million, and enfeebled an uncoun-  
ted multitude of young men.

And when the economical value, the aesthetic, the scientific influence, the civilizing, humanizing results of ministerial labor are reflected on, there is many a young man who is constitutionally fitted for this ministry and who exclaims: "The ministry must be upheld: it is the basis on which all my interests are founded: *other* men *must* enter this great office." But "Why do not *you* enter it"; we ask him: "Why do you devolve on *other* men this fundamental work of science, art, patriotism?" He eases himself from under the pressure of duty; without any compunction he pleads

the excuse, and is even self-complacent because ingenuous enough to acknowledge: "I have not the Christian spirit; therefore am not qualified for the Christian ministry; therefore I am not fit to begin a course of theological study; therefore as an honest man I must throw upon my companions the duty which I am not good enough to perform." "You are right," we reply, "in supposing that you ought not to become a preacher without a godly spirit, but you are wrong in supposing that a want of this spirit releases you from becoming a godly preacher. You ought to begin your theological study, and you ought to be fit to begin it. Your sin in remaining without religion does not palliate your sin in refusing to prepare yourself religiously for the pulpit. You are not entitled to repose of conscience; you should feel, sooner or later you will feel, remorse; for you have a call to preach the gospel, therefore to fit yourself to preach the gospel. Your Maker gave to you the call when he gave to you the peculiar faculties and facilities for speaking his word. To disobey his call is to rebel against the Author of your mind."

"Do you not believe," said a father to his patriotic son "that the preaching of divine truth is the main safeguard of your country." "I do," was the reply. "Why, then, do *you* not attempt to save your country in this way?" "Because I am not pious." "But you ought to *be* pious." "I know that, but I am not; and while I am not, I ought not to enter a theological school." "What profession then will you enter?" "That of the law." "But you have no right to study the law while you are not pious." "That of medicine then." "But you have no right to study medicine while you are not pious." "Then I will be a merchant." "But you have no right to be a merchant, nor a mechanic, nor a farmer, while you are not pious." "What then shall I do?" "You have no right to do anything while you are not pious." "Then I will do nothing." "But you have no right to do nothing while you are not pious. Except a man be born again, he is not authorized to take one step in any direction,

nor on any spot is he authorized to stand still. You *must* be born again." Thus was the young man driven up, shut up to the faith. He perceived that no one sin palliates the others that follow it, just as no one lie palliates the others which are required to make it good. More than one impenitent youth has yielded his will to his Maker under the impulse of the belief that his Maker had endued him with certain peculiar aptitudes to be, and had therein called him to be, a foreign missionary. In the very structure of his faculties he beheld a bright light illumining his path of duty, and was not disobedient to the heavenly vision.

Still many a young man remains well satisfied with his refusal to preach the gospel, for he replies: "I must have *more* piety in order to be a minister than I need have in order to be a lawyer or a physician." It is more obvious that if you occupy the pulpit you must be a good man, than it is that you must be a good man if you would administer the law or practise medicine. But it is not more *true*. You ought to have all the piety you can have, in order to be a carpenter, or a goldsmith, or a fireman, or an engineer. *Whatever* thou dost, thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy strength and with all thy might. The secret error lies in imagining that a minister of the gospel is required to exercise a peculiar *kind* of virtue, and that the Bible does not require *laymen* to be *perfect* even as their Father in heaven is perfect.

After all the young man rests content in his refusal of the ministry for he rejoins: "I can succeed better without holiness in other callings than in the sacred calling. I ought to be godly in any profession, but I *must* be godly if I would prosper in the clerical profession." Succeed better without piety? All success without piety is a failure, and the greater the success the greater the failure. You may heap up a fortune, but this very fortune is the means of unending bankruptcy to him who does not pay his debts to God. You may earn a great name; but this very reputation is the means of endless infamy to him who seeks not the honor

that cometh from the Redeemer. There would be more ministers of the gospel if there were a more wide-spread conviction that the outward signs of success may glitter for a day before the votary of the world; but the *reality* of success depends on that faith without which it is impossible to please one's self for any long time.

There is another wrong view which holds back from the sacred office many who ought to enter it. There are young men who act as if they supposed that ministers, more than all others, are doomed to a life of uncompensated self-denial. The clerical profession may derive signal advantage from the entrance into it of the sons of clergymen. Practical rules, which cannot be written down in books, are learned incidentally in the familiar life of the parsonage. The wisdom of the fathers is thus transmitted to the children. A line of succession is kept up, which has all the benefits without the evils of the Roman Catholic line of bishops. But the sons of clergymen! they are often the very last men who can be persuaded to enter the profession of their ancestors. They dread the fiery processes in which their parents were burned. This is the language of one: "I remember that salary of five hundred dollars which was covenanted to my father; and I remember those small dribblets in which, months after it was due, that small salary was paid, *but* not entirely paid. I cannot forget the anxiety of my father about his debts for my school-books, and my tuition-bills, and my college-board. The sons of laymen must take their turn, and go into the ministry. I know too much. If my father watched the market prices, he was blamed for not giving himself wholly to the pulpit. If he did not look out for the market prices, he was blamed for his lack of common sense. If he spent much time in contriving his bargains, he was condemned for want of that spirituality which is needed for a spiritual counsellor. If he did not calculate his bargains, he was condemned as a wasteful man, whom it was of no use to aid, as he would throw away all that was given to him."

The language of another is : " Do you tell me that I must be a clergyman? Tell not *me* that. Tell that to the marines. I am young, but have learned something. I cannot forget the wan countenance of my mother as she listened to the complaints of the parishioners against the words, and the manners, and the dress of her husband and herself and her children; and as she took her last look of the parsonage where her infants were born, and where she had tended her frugal garden of herbs and flowers. She went in a sort of exile to a second parish, and then, as in another banishment, to a third, where again she found no rest, until she had her dismission from the church militant."

It is doubtless true that the wants of the world for ministers will not be fully met until ministers receive a pecuniary recompense adequate to their needs,<sup>1</sup> and until they be allowed to work in one place so long as there is no *valid reason* for their removal to another place. Still, our young men need to be reminded again and again, that it is not the clergyman alone who must pass through much tribulation into the kingdom of God. The very brightest page of the good man's biography is that promise of our Redeemer : " There is *no* man that hath left house, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my sake and the gospel's, but he shall receive a hundredfold now in this time, houses, and brethren, and sisters, and mothers, and children, and lands, *with persecutions*; and in the world to come eternal life." Our young men need also to be reminded that temperance is often a harder virtue than abstinence, and temperance amid luxuries is harder than temperance without the possibility of obtaining luxuries; and while a clergyman must deny himself in bearing the evils of a meagre stipend, the banker, if he be rich in faith, must deny himself in resisting the temptations of inflowing wealth; and the self-denials of the palace may be equal, while dissimilar, to those of the parsonage. Henry Thornton may have endured as great pain in refusing to gratify himself as Wil-

<sup>1</sup> See Note A, at the end of this Article.



liam Carey endured in being unable to gratify himself. The pious warrior, enwreathed with the laurels of victory, may pass through as great a fight of afflictions in opposing his love of fame, as the minister endures in being neglected and impoverished by men who fail to detect his worth.

Our young friends need to be reminded further, that not only the religious man, but every man is doomed to encounter hardships peculiar to himself. A young lawyer and a young physician often suffer more than a young minister. Every profession is in some respects worse than every other. The sons of mariners, of editors, of physicians often shrink back from the calling of their parents. With what eagerness did Rufus Choate turn away from the turmoils of the law for a few minutes' refreshment under the shade of classic authors. "Would that I had been a geologist" said Daniel Webster. One year after John Adams retired from his presidency he wrote: "Under the continual provocations breaking and pouring in upon me, from unexpected as well as expected quarters, during the last two years of my administration, he must have been more of a modern Epicurean philosopher than ever I was or ever will be, to have borne them all without *some* incautious expressions, at times, of unutterable indignation." A president of the United States, a member of the National or the State Senate, a postmaster, a custom-house officer is liable to be "dismissed" from a service which he remains as able to perform as he ever was. One of the modern Romish fathers, earning his daily bread by teaching the Oriental languages and working as a compositor in a printing-office, had for his motto: "Tribulations are my distinction, and poverty my glory."

Besides, our young men hear too often of clerical disquietudes without hearing often enough of clerical compensations. The calling of the preacher is to walk with God. His business is to dwell in the truth. His daily life is in those great arguments which expand the soul. His familiar words are on the loftiest themes. His daily routine of action is round about the spiritual world. He writes for eternity. His ser-

mons will continue their benign results in heaven. He follows his parishioners to the very margin of the river, which they cross before him. They point him to some tree of life which has just presented itself to their eye, and which he would not have detected unless they had turned his vision upon it. They direct his ear to some new psalm which is echoed to their hearing, and which he would not have noticed unless he had seen them exhilarated by it. As the door of heaven is opening for them, he looks through the avenue which they pass through, and beholds things which it is not lawful for man to utter. He that walketh with wise men shall be wise; and the pastor walks hand in hand with men whom the heavens have begun to touch, and in one minute after he hears their last word, they are sanctified, they are glorified. Our youthful friends must not read of the down-cast clergyman without reading the oracle, inspiring as well as inspired: "They that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars forever and ever."

Again, if we would augment the number of ministers, we must expose the errors not only of young men who ought to become ministers, but also of the parishes that ought to support them. Many parishes conduct themselves as if they supposed that the sensibilities of pastors are not to be cared for as are the sensibilities of other men. Pastors are so earnest in recommending a spiritual life, that they expose themselves to be treated like disembodied spirits. A clergyman who has a world-wide reputation remarked in his extreme old age: "If I live three years longer I shall not have property enough left to pay for my coffin." But he had preached so often against the love of filthy lucre that he was not suspected of feeling an acute pain in view of his penniless old age. A venerable pastor says: "After the outbreak of the late rebellion I was deserted by two of my wealthy parishioners; one on the pretence that I did not discourse on politics, the other on the pretence that I did discourse on politics." Yet this pastor had uttered so many rapturous

words on the joys of living elevated above the world, that he was not imagined to be grieved by this desertion of his life-long friends. When a minister has spent the flower of his life in a parish, and become attached to its hills and brooks and vales, and then loses the melody of his voice, and ceases to attract the multitude into the new meeting house, he is often cast aside as if he were nothing but a worn-out auctioneer, whose voice has become like a cracked bell and can no longer induce the bystanders to bid high for their pews; but he is not supposed to be broken-hearted by the indignity which he suffers, for he has often read from the pulpit:

“To us remains nor *place* nor time;  
Our country is in *every* clime;  
We can be calm and free from care  
On *any* shore, since God is there.”

He must not harbor any local attachment, for he is a clergyman; his only care must be for “being in general.” He must not indulge in even healthful amusement, for he is a clergyman, and his thoughts must be above the world. He must not cherish a love of reputation, for he is a clergyman, and must be willing to regard himself the “offscouring of all things.”

Now it is very true that there are minor usages appropriate to a minister as to no one else; just as there are minor usages appropriate to soldiers and sailors as to no one else. But the minister is a man before he becomes a minister. He has duties to himself as a man which antedate his duties to himself as a minister. It is of more fundamental importance that he be treated as a *human* being than that he be treated as a *professional* one. His opulent parishioners have no right to enjoy their luxuries and see him crippled for want of a library. If it be his duty to reprove a man who will resent the reprimand, it is their duty to stand by him and ward off the resentment. Our parishes demand that their minister be earnest and eloquent; but such a minister will have sensibilities. His organization and culture make him like a sensitive plant, shrinking at the first rude touch. His people,

then, should gather around him as a hedge, and protect him from rough handling. The wants of the church for pastors will not be met until the public mind is penetrated with the truth, that the duties of all men are essentially the same; those of laymen are correlate with those of clergymen; the pastor being the president of the brethren, and the people rallying around him as their brother while he is their bishop; he their earthly high-priest while they are kings and priests in the same temple.

There is another wrong view which must be set right, or we shall fail of obtaining for the ministry some young men who ought to enter it. It has been said, that if a youth have not a *spirit* inciting him to encounter the worst evils of a pastorate he is not fit, and should not be encouraged to prepare, for one; either he has no piety, or else has not piety enough, or not manliness enough, to become a pastor.

We must own that if he clearly perceives the ministerial office to be required of him, and if he recoils from it because it thwarts his selfish aims, he does want one of the most decisive signs that he *is*, and he does exhibit one of the most decisive signs that he is *not*, a disciple of Jesus. Still we must not be in haste to say that a young man is unfit for the ministry because he starts back from its annoyances. He is a *young* man, and although he recognizes his obligation to deny himself for the eternal welfare of the world, yet he does not discern his obligation to deny himself for the temporal convenience of an avaricious parish. He is a young man, and does not see *through* the clouds of trouble that hang around the clerical office; he does not refuse, but does not detect, his duty that lies hidden behind those clouds. He may be a godly man, and still conscientiously believe that he is not called to be a clergyman. Every pious youth is not thus called. A late eminent judge of the supreme court of Massachusetts became a convert to the truth not until after he had gained a large practice in the law. He then inquired of his pastor: "Ought I not to leave the law and enter the pulpit?" His pastor replied: "No; for three reasons: first,

you are now a skilful lawyer, and we need godly men in the legal profession; secondly, you are not so well fitted for the ministry as for the law, and every man should go, not into the clerical office, but into the office for which he is best adapted; thirdly, if you remain a lawyer you may amass a fortune enabling you to educate and support twenty ministers."

One student says: "If I can become a cashier or even teller in a city bank"; another says: "If I can become a partner or even a book-keeper in a mercantile house"; a third says: "If I can become a successful barrister or lyceum-lecturer, I will sustain in their office more than one or two pastors, each better than myself." These are *promising* young men; and they may be pious even when they do promise more than they will perform. A youth may be conscientious while he offers the plea: "Other men are, but I am not, constitutionally fitted to live under the surveillance of a parish; twelve hundred eyes gazing at every movement I make; twelve hundred ears open and listening for every word I utter; and every movement and every word must be a public example. Other men may, but I cannot, teach when all my teachings must harmonize with the opinions of my hearers, and they differ among themselves; when I am forbidden to preach on election, lest I offend one man on whom my salary depends, and forbidden to preach on free-will lest I offend another man on whom my salary depends, and forbidden to preach on this virtue because one influential hearer does not practise it, and forbidden to preach on that vice because another influential hearer does practise it." It is easy for us to say: "We want no candidate for the ministry who reasons thus"; but this easy saying is rough and ill-mannered. It may be that the ingenuous young man is right; it may be that he is wrong. He must be reasoned with, and not rudely dealt with. Our Saviour waited several months before he announced to his disciples the afflictive nature of their discipleship: he waited until he had confirmed them in their love to him. Here comes the critical duty of the counsellor.



Here is the occasion for the sharp scrutiny of character. The mother of a family must not conclude too soon that her boy is constitutionally unfitted for the ministry ; he may not find those fetters upon it which he fears ; or if he do find them, he may take them off and break them. The father of a house must not be too quick to believe that his son will be more apt to endow a theological school than to become a worthy alumnus of it ; for that son may subdue the tendencies which now seem adverse to the pastorate ; he may be adapted to some place, if not the roughest place in the field ; for the field is the world ; and if a laborer cannot delve in the hard soil of the north, he may tend the vines of the more genial south. There are austere parishes and also indulgent ones ; there are meditative circles, as there are loquacious and gossiping. The instructors of our academies and colleges must not infer too hastily that a young man should turn from the sacred office, because he has a love of personal independence, or of noisy speech, or of princely living. He may outgrow these youthful tastes. He may discipline himself to a subdued life. He may break down his aversion to the straitened habits of the parsonage. Unwise for his own interests, even in this world, may he be, if he do not break through the obstacles that now block up his way to the pastorate. There is many a parish that makes its minister a happier man than he could be in any other sphere. "I would not exchange my scene of duty for any other scene on earth." Who utters these words ? They are uttered not so often by the farmer, or merchant, or physician, or barrister, or scientific teacher, as by the pastor ; not so often by the pastor of an affluent parish as by the missionary in our new States or in foreign lands. Unwise for his own interests in the world to come may be the young man, if he do not strive against his unclerical nature, until he form the clerical habit, which will be a new second nature. He may gain a richer reward in heaven, if, while unduly timid, he take up his cross with timidity ; if, while unduly sportive, he take up his cross with good cheer ; if, while unduly sensi-

tive to the speech of men, he take up his cross, and endure their contumely ;

“For God hath marked each sorrowing day,  
And numbered every secret tear ;  
And heaven's long age of bliss shall pay  
For all his children suffer here.”

A Methodist divine, Dr. Nathan Bangs, had a wise meaning in his apothegm, when he was asked by an aged layman, who had refused to obey his conscience summoning him into the ministry : Is it possible for a man, after having through a long life remained out of the office to which God was calling him -- is it possible for such a man to get into heaven ? Dr. Bangs bowed his head, and remained in deep thought, until he broke the silence : “ Brother, there may be a possibility of *his* getting into heaven ; but *another* will take his crown.”

In the second place, if we would increase the number of Christian ministers, we must increase the interest of the people in Christian instruction. We have heard of the time when merchants in New England were theologians, when justices of the peace were familiar with such works as those of Bellamy and Edwards, when men like Governor Treadwell not only read but wrote theological treatises on the most intricate themes. At that time young men of commanding talent in our colleges were attracted into the ministry. They had the prospect of spending their life in sacred study, in order to diffuse the fruits of that study among the people. Their talent, however large, was demanded by the churches. They could find congenial employment for all their powers in the sacred office. No other station proffered them so full and wide a scope. Such men love toil. They were made for toil. They will enter that profession which requires and rewards the sternest labor. When these gifted men go into the ministry, they draw others with them. Their companions in study, though inferior to them, yet feel a sympathy with them. God moves men, especially young men, by such sympathy. When he causes a revival of religion in

a college, he makes use of this fellow-feeling which binds young students together. One young man like Dr. Judson, or Dr. Eli Smith, or Dr. H. G. O. Dwight, allures with him into the missionary service other men who are fascinated by his rare gifts. If the popular demand for theological investigation were now as far superior to other demands as it was once, the most aspiring youths would raise their highest aspirations to the pulpit.

Young men are moved by sympathy with the people, as well as with each other. In the groves of the academy, under the shades of the university, they hear the voices of the crowd, and prepare themselves to go where they are most loudly called. The people cry for talent in the secular professions. They reward this talent. We censure our young men as mercenary, because they are influenced by a stipend of gold and silver. But the gold and silver are symbols of popular sympathy. They are signs of the popular opinion; and our young men (we do not say they ought to be, but) are moved by this opinion, that secular labor is worth more than clerical labor, of more intellectual dignity, of more use to the nation, to the world. We may justly blame our young men because they dread the frugal habits of the parsonage; but some of them dread still more the want of facilities in that parsonage for the growth of the soul. Such reasonings as these are not uncommon: "I can accomplish more for mankind, if I give my faculties their widest range, in teaching the mathematics, or lecturing on astronomy, or unravelling the intricacies of jurisprudence, than if I enter the pastorate, where I must frequent tea-parties and sewing-circles, and abstain from speculations on the doctrines, as I would abstain from speculation in the stocks, and where, after having adapted my sermons to the capacity of small children, I shall be looked upon as superannuated at the age of fifty, and must resign my pulpit to some young man who seems better adapted than I to what is significantly called the rising generation." Now, we do not ask that the pastor be compensated for his toil as richly

as the engineer and banker are compensated; he has a better reward. But we do ask that he receive an emolument indicating that his toil is appreciated; we do ask that he receive the appropriate immunities of his office, that his hearers cherish the habit of reflecting on his thoughtful discourses; that, while they invite him to their social gatherings, they be determined that he shall enjoy uninterrupted hours for thought; while they are gratified with his appearance in the primary schoolroom, they demand his chief care and painstaking for the pulpit. They may be delighted with his beautiful accomplishment in being able to call the name of every child in his parish, they must insist on his indispensable duty of understanding the word of God; for the word of God is the volume of that science which is the only science; for all other sciences are mere branches of the divine science of which so many young men are ashamed, as not filling out their capacity; for this is the science which men will pursue in heaven, and which the angels will be ever desiring to look into.

In former days, the parishes of New England allowed their pastors time for retirement and study. Many of these pastors made such acquirements in knowledge as overran the boundaries of their profession, and stimulated the most energetic young men to enter the pastoral office. They verified the maxim of Lord Bacon, that, if a man would obtain a clear view of his own field, he must ascend some eminence adjoining it. The people looked up to their pastor, who understood the science of their own handicraft better than they understood it themselves. Hugh Peters, after he had learned elocution as an adept on the stage of a theatre, gave himself to the church, and, after his ministry of less than six years in New England, "left the stamp of his beneficent and wonderful genius upon the agriculture, the manufactures, the commerce, and navigation" of the country. Increase Mather, who was noted for his mathematical and rabbinical learning, and who at the age of sixteen had read all the Old Testament in Hebrew and all the New Testament

in Greek, rendered various political services to New England, which, perhaps, could not have been rendered so well by any politician. Benjamin Coleman was often called, by the Great and General Court of Massachusetts, to draft letters of state, which he could write more felicitously than the statesmen.

We need not dilate on the large erudition of such men as Dunster, Stiles, and several other presidents of our colleges. We may here speak of pastors who are now but seldom named, and who borrowed authority for their sermons from the authority which they gained as masters of science or literature. Sherman, the minister of Watertown, who died in 1685, was the best mathematician and astronomer in the country. Danforth of Roxbury, who died in 1674, was an astronomer and chronologist, and, like Sherman, published almanacs for the people. Taylor of Westfield, who died in 1729, was a learned botanist and physician, as well as divine. Wigglesworth of Malden, who died in 1705, was also a scientific physician. Eliot of Killingworth, who died in 1763, studied the treatises of Hippocrates, Celsus, Galen, Arætaeus in the originals, and was an eminent botanist and mineralogist, as well as physician. Buckley of Concord, who died in 1659, wrote Latin with ease and beauty. Whiting of Lynn, who died in 1679, "was accurate in Hebrew" and "elegant in Latin." Rogers of Ipswich, who died in 1655, wrote in Latin a vindication of the Congregational church government. When, in 1641, Burr of Dorchester had come to his last hour, he requested to be left alone, in order that he might pray in secret, and, perceiving the reluctance of his friends to leave him, he offered his dying prayer in Latin. Thatcher of Boston, who died in 1678, was a proficient in Syriac and Arabic, and composed a Hebrew Lexicon. Buck of Marlborough, who died in 1731, often read the Greek or Hebrew Bible at his family prayers. So did Davenport of Stamford, who died in 1731, grandson of the still more learned Davenport of New Haven. When Bradstreet of Charlestown, who died in 1741, was introduced to



Governor Burnet, he was presented as the man who could "whistle Greek." Samuel Newman, who died at Rehoboth, in 1663, who studied by the light of pine knots for want of candles, all whose English books were appraised at four pounds, his books in other languages at eighteen pounds, published an English Concordance of the Bible, the first edition in 1643, the second in 1650, the third in 1658, "with two prefaces, by the celebrated Daniel Fealty and William Gouge." In 1662, a short time before Newman's death, his work, with some alterations, was published by the learned scholars of Cambridge, England, and was called the Cambridge Concordance. It is substantially the same with our Cruden's Concordance. Rev. John Barnard, who died in 1770, at Marblehead, was thoroughly versed in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, in the science of theology, in the mathematics, in architecture, in music; was a vigorous writer, an effective orator, published an original version of the Psalms in his seventy-first year, and began to preach extempore in his eighty-seventh year.

Scores of pastors like these gave to their office an *adventitious* value which aided its normal influence. It was objected to the Puritans: "Your minister does not wear the surplice"; it was replied: "He can talk Latin." It was objected: "He does not chant his prayers"; it was replied: "He calculates eclipses." It was objected: "He has no chancel in his church"; it was replied: "He is the counsellor of the mechanic, the physician, the jurist, the magistrate; the town school seeks his aid, and the college could not live without him."

It is not sufficient, however, that a clergyman have the *time*, he must have the *means* for Biblical study. As the mason should be provided with his trowel, the carpenter with his plane, the farmer with his plough; as our northern soldiers at great cost were provided with guns of the most approved pattern, as the Prussian warriors receive an inspiration from the very thought of their needle-gun, so the preacher must be provided with books—*new* books, for they refresh his

mind ; standard books, for they invigorate him ; suggestive books, for they quicken him. Even the bare look at the covers of a well-assorted library stimulates him. "I am wearied," said a parish minister, "with the monotony of my narrow book-shelves. These worn out volumes — I have looked at, and taken up, and laid down for twenty years so often, that if I *could* sell them for half their cost I would buy new volumes which I hanker for as much as a prisoner craves a change of diet." In the town of North Brookfield, Massachusetts, is a library comprising two thousand five hundred volumes, with funds for its annual increase, designed for the use of the pastor and his parish. If every parish would provide such an apparatus for Biblical study, there would be among the hearers more aptness to receive instruction, and among the ministers more fitness to give instruction, and among our collegiate students more readiness to enter the office which requires so many costlier helps than an unaided pastor can hope to procure for himself.

A larger number of these students would also be inspirited to become clergymen, if they received greater encouragement than they now do to become authors of religious books. The popular press fits or unfits men to appreciate the ministrations of the pulpit. Our tract societies and Sabbath-school societies have published several volumes which illustrate the capabilities of clergymen to raise the tone of public feeling by communicating the substance of their sermons in the form of books. The popular mind does not need religious novels or romances so much as it needs graphic biographies of the men described in the Bible (Dean Stanley's Essay on King David is a specimen) ; methodical histories of such cities and nations as are most intimately connected with the church of Christ ; clear delineations of those ancient usages that best illustrate the meaning of the sacred word ; fascinating descriptions of such scientific phenomena as add new vividness and emphasis to the truths of religion. We do not expect that every clergyman will be an Albert Barnes, transferring his sermons into twenty volumes of commentary

or discussion; or like the Anglican Legh Richmond, the American Spencer, the German Büchsel, charming the world with records of their pastoral experience; but we may expect that hundreds of ministers will approximate to these standards, and elevate the religious literature of the land. They should be encouraged in their authorship. As merchants who were not personally interested in natural science subscribed for the great work of Agassiz, and circulated it among the more indigent votaries of that science; as laymen who could not afford the time to study the complete works of Calvin, subscribed for them, and distributed them among the moneyless clergymen, so ought the parishioners of many a minister to aid him in giving to less extensive communities the published results of his study. And many a young man who now hesitates to shut himself within a narrow parish may be attracted to it by remembering, that the minister of a small parish, like Dr. Bellamy and Dr. West, Dr. Catlin and Dr. Smalley, and Dr. Backus and Dr. Emmons, is restricted within no narrow bounds, but for him *the field is the world*. There is no small parish for the true pastor. *His* pulpit has the skies for its sounding-board. His voice salutes the ear of a few men and women and children, at the first, but it is echoed in essays and books, and re-echoed in quotations, until the sound of it has gone forth to the ends of the world. The son of the farmer, the son of the wool-spinner, the son of the carpenter, listen to the well-wrought sermon, and, although it may never be printed with leaden types, it is imprinted on the hearts of these young men, and they carry it through the nations, until "Parthians and Medes and Elamites" speak in their own tongues the wonderful works of God.

But the query here arises: How shall we give to both ministers and people the requisite taste for sacred study? One method is this: We must increase the attractiveness of those schools which are designed for the training of an evangelical ministry. The avenues to the sacred office must be inviting. The porch of the ancient temple was adorned

with alluring sculptures. When we visit certain universities of the old world, we receive a new impulse to examine the word of God. In the museums of Egyptian antiquities which are accessible to the university students, we behold the embalmed relics of a man, and we do not know but that the man was some friend of Abraham or Jacob. We look upon an old title-deed, and are startled by the fact that it may have been a document drawn up for some estate of the patriarch Joseph. We put our hands upon a pen and inkstand, and are magnetized by the idea that we may be touching the very utensils once used by Moses, who was learned in all the wisdom of Egypt. We enter the museums of Grecian and Roman antiquities, and behold the ring which, perhaps, was worn by the very Corinthian whom Timothy instructed, the marble chair which was occupied, perhaps, by a philosopher whom Paul addressed in the Areopagus. The old usages indicated in the Bible are here presented in vivid outline. The meaning of obscure words is made bright with visible illustrations. We are quickened to fresh study by these fresh pictures. Such illustrations of truth should be in our theological schools. Some of them, with the aid of our foreign missionaries, might be procured for some of our Sabbath-schools. In the British Museum, and in the Egyptian Museum of the Louvre, of the Vatican, also of Berlin, are often seen students of the Bible, clerical and lay, old and young, reading the volumes of stone and of papyrus which illustrate the printed word. In this country we have far greater natural facilities than are enjoyed in most other countries for collecting these antique illustrations of the Bible.

The investigations of our theological students are checked by the want of books. Among the difficult themes pertaining to the history of the church, or to the history of doctrines, or to the various methods of explaining difficult scriptures, there is probably not one which can be investigated as it needs to be in this land. The knowledge of this fact is of itself sufficient to damp the ardor of some students. The

late Professor Hengstenberg was in the habit of resorting to a public library of eight hundred thousand volumes, and, in addition to this, had a private library of his own about equal in size to the public library of any theological school in the United States, and perhaps superior in value to the large majority of our public theological libraries. Hence he was able to scrutinize the assertions of neologists, and had the means of *proving* what we have *conjectured* to be false. This rich apparatus for study is attractive to young men; it quickens the curiosity, it animates the love of truth, it gives breadth to discussion, it enlarges and ennobles the mind, it enrobes theological science with dignity, it presents religion in her venerable garb. Some may reply: "We do not want young men for the ministry who are allured by its literary advantages." You may not want them; but God wants them. He might have caused the fruit to grow on the trunk of a tree, as lichens grow on a rock; but he has chosen to expand the trunk into branches that spread themselves out gracefully in the air, and are clothed with green leaves, and adorned with blossoms surpassing the glory of Solomon. He might have uttered the truth to us in plain and bald and naked words; but he has called out for us the legal acumen of Moses, and the profound logic of Paul, and the brilliant imagination of Isaiah, and the shining genius of David. The same Head of the church has enriched his friends with faculties, which must be used or the church will be robbed of its jewels. He has ascended up on high, and lavished gifts upon men, one gift differing from another, as the foot from the hand, and the hand from the head; but every gift to be used, else the church will be dwarfed in its growth and unsightly in its proportions. If the church will have more ministers, and such as are to be weighed rather than counted, she must re-endow her theological schools, and make them in reference to the clergy what other schools are in reference to other professions. During the last quarter of a century Harvard College has received more than thirteen hundred thousand dollars for



the promotion of science, in great part secular science. On the borders of a lake in New York there has recently sprung up a college with a fund of more than a million dollars at its very commencement. And on the banks of the Hudson there has recently risen a school for young ladies which has an ampler endowment than almost any one theological school in the land. These benefactions ought to be still more enlarged; and, as our laymen are to be advanced in culture beyond all precedent, so must the clergy move onward beyond all precedent. They must make all secular knowledge tributary to the sacred. The sciences of the day are perpetually starting new objections to the Bible, and our athletic young men must be allured into the ministry with the hope of refuting these objections, and of comforting the fearful believer as he is worried and worn out by the difficulties which he cannot overcome. It was a beautiful philanthropy of the prophet when he said: "The Lord God hath given me the tongue of the learned, that I should know how to speak a word in season to him that is weary" (Isa. l. 4).

In the third place, the wants of the church for ministers must be met by accommodating the pastorate to the varying exigencies of the people. Common sense has been defined to be a power of adapting one's self to emergencies; of making needed exceptions to wise rules.

A traveller in New England is oppressed at the sight of so many rural towns falling into decay; the Puritan inhabitants moving out, a boorish population moving in; the churches once vigorous, now feeble—some of them requiring more aid from the Home Missionary Society than is required by the new churches of the West during the very first year of their life. Shall this disproportionate aid be given? "No," is the reply from some, "for the Western churches will mould the character of growing communities, while these New England churches will act but feebly on a dwindling population." "Yes," is the reply from others, "these faint churches must be invigorated at any expense;

for these are the churches that are to send forth our home and foreign missionaries. There is an influence coming from the soil of New England, from its climate, from its old usages and traditions, all favoring the growth of mind, stimulating pious young men to the work, to the hardest work of evangelizing the community—the most remote community. The wants of the world for ministers will be supplied, in no small measure, by fructifying the rural churches of New England.” We accede to this view, that every church in this garden of ministers be supplied with a well-trained pastor, if it can be; but, until this can be, let two or three of these churches unite under one well-trained pastor, who shall divide his ministrations between the two or three, and let him be aided in his double or treble charge by men educated to be helpers of the ministry. They need not enter the clerical office, but may remain lay assistants of the clergymen. There are instructors of youth, there are merchants and clerks, there are machinists and other mechanics, who can pursue biblical study long enough to preside over Sabbath-schools and Bible-classes and religious conferences, and may bring forward “bread and honey” on a “wooden trencher” in the morning, while the pastor brings forward the “strong meat” on a “lordly dish” in the afternoon. Where it is consistent for a minister to preach two sermons to the same congregation on the same Sabbath, let him do it, by all means; but where he can preach one sermon to one congregation, and the same sermon to another, who must otherwise be deprived of a thorough discourse, it is often advisable for him thus to divide his ministrations; and while he is absent from one division of his pastoral charge, let him supply his place by a helper, who, in a Sabbath-school or Bible-class or church conference, may communicate the results of his theological study—a study which, though less extensive than that of the pastor, may be more extensive than that of the congregation whom he instructs.

It is a stirring thought that in our free republic are

forty thousand professed idolaters — Chinese and Japanese Buddhists; that forty-nine hundredths of the population of New York city are foreigners; that we have thousands of citizens whose character is disclosed by the barbarities of Andersonville and the worse than savage usages of Southern battle-fields; that we have four million freedmen, some of whom have been ill-instructed, and many not instructed at all, in the divine word. This word must be taught them. But we cannot provide clergymen thoroughly trained for so large a multitude. We must, then, provide assistants of clergymen, and train them for rendering such help as laymen can fitly render. We must also provide a class of ministers who are but partially educated in theology. "But," it is objected, "we shall degrade the clerical office by giving it to men imperfectly taught." There is danger here, we admit. But, *for that reason*, we should elevate our theological schools above their present standard. We should add a fourth year to their curriculum of study, and thus give facilities for some ministerial candidates to extend their researches beyond the line which has hitherto been reached in this country. We would not require *all* candidates for the ministry to prosecute their professional studies during this fourth year; but we would enable some of them to do so — some "to whom it is given." We must associate men of the larger erudition with men of the smaller, and we may thus lessen the danger of degrading the sacred office. The opinion of President Edwards is sometimes quoted in opposition to the plan of abridging the course of professional study for clergymen.<sup>1</sup> He says: "Some, of late, have been for having others that they have supposed to be persons of eminent experience publicly licensed to preach, yea, and ordained to the work of the ministry; and some ministers have seemed to favor such a theory; but how little do they seem to look forward, and consider the unavoidable consequences of opening such a door! . . . . Not but there may probably be some persons in the land that have had no edu-

<sup>1</sup> See Note B, at the end of this Article.

cation in college that are in themselves better qualified for the work of the ministry than some others that have taken their degrees, and are now ordained. But yet I believe that the breaking over those bounds that have hitherto been set in ordaining such persons would, in its consequences, be a greater calamity than the missing such persons in the work of the ministry." But, in citing such remarks of President Edwards, we must remember that he often voted to "approve," and even to ordain, candidates who had spent only nine, seven, or even six months in professional study. When we say that in his time the people were not so well educated as they are now, and did not, therefore, need such elaborate sermons as they need now, we must also remember that some congregations in his time required more profound discussions than would be acceptable in our time, that some of his most recondite treatises were first delivered in the form of sermons, and that, as it is now fashionable to demand short and ornate discourses, it was then fashionable to demand long and profound ones. Unintelligible these discourses may have been, but, on that very account, they were popular. As in England the peasant looked down on a clergyman who was "no Latiner"; as in Scotland the invitation was: "Come and hear my minister preach, for in five minutes he will take you where you will not know where you are," so in certain parts of our own country there was an exorbitant demand for "strong logic."

But will not the less erudite speaker be tempted to envy the scholastic divine? There is danger here; but often the less erudite, with his sound health and strong voice, will draw away the crowds from the scholastic divine, whose dyspeptic and bronchial troubles may tempt him to be jealous of the athletic orator. Envy, jealousy—will these passions, like the worm that never dies, coil around the hearts of men who break the symbol of the Lord's body and pour out the symbol of the Lord's blood at his table? Will the very summits of the walls of Zion, where ought to stand the angels of the Lord, be occupied with nests of vipers? There

is danger here; but there is danger everywhere. We must needs go out of the world, if we would find men who are not tempted to envy. There are strong temptations now. Some clergymen, now, are raised above their brethren by a finer culture from men and a richer endowment from God. We may not be able to avoid, but we must resist, the temptations to repine at the superiority of other men. The ministerial life, like every other, is a life of self-discipline. Ministers, like other men, if they waste their time in sleeping on beds of roses, must wake up on thorns of remorse. The truth is, we need, and must have, pastors more learned than we ever had; for we have to encounter more cunning forms of scepticism than our fathers ever knew. But we also need, and must have, a larger number of pastors than can receive a symmetrical culture; for we have large communities demanding, first of all, a good heart, ready speech, quick action. Let us have as large a variety of pastors, some educated, some instructed, as the variety of our social classes demands.

And let us not be slaves of a good rule. As there is wisdom in the rule that a ministerial candidate must study ten years in the academy, college, and theological seminary, so there is wisdom in making certain exceptions to it. Professor Hengstenberg has said: "The churches in Germany need for their pastors men skilled in dialectics and philosophy. The American churches need for their pastors no other men than those who can expound the vernacular Bible." We reply: There are many American churches that demand as ripe a learning in the ministry as is needed anywhere; but still we have large communities which must have less learned pastors, or none at all. The cry has come of a sudden: "The Philistines be upon us." We cannot wait for the symmetrical culture of all our ministers. Not every captain need be fitted to be a general; not every corporal need be fitted to be a captain.

In the last place if we would augment the number of the ministers of the gospel we must labor for the re-conver-



sion of men who have been converted once. The man who has not been born of God must turn, and the man who has been born of God must *return*, and as often as he deviates from the right way must again and again return to it, and obey the command of the Lord to his apostle, "When thou art converted, strengthen the brethren." The men of a past age were overcome with emotion as they anticipated the service of preaching the gospel. Candidates who were far from being fervid orators spent the night before delivering their first sermon in pacing their study chamber, being unable to sleep, or even to lie down. Tennant, walking in a grove while preparing himself for the pulpit, fell prostrate on the earth, and was unable to move without assistance to the church. Flavel, while on his way to the place appointed for his religious service, rose to such an ecstacy of interest in divine truth that he became oblivious of all outward scenes, and "found himself sitting by a brook, and faint from loss of blood." The present is a peculiar age, and must have a peculiar type of piety. We will not demand the prolonged vigils and fastings of bygone times, but we may strive to enkindle in every good man a faith in his own responsibility for the success of the gospel; not a mere willingness, but a will, to do his individual work. Men must be eager to deny themselves, as their Lord walked in front of his disciples when they were moving in sad procession to the city where he was to be slain.

There are many *occasions* of the reluctance which young men feel to enter the office which is not emblazoned with any outward splendor; but the *cause* of this reluctance is a lingering attachment to pursuits uncongenial with the spirit of the gospel. If they were magnetized with this spirit they would move toward the ministry as the needle moves toward the load-stone. When the lungs are charged with tubercles the sufferer shrinks from the east wind, and guards himself with silks and flannels against the change of temperature; but when the lungs are healthful they breathe into themselves new vigor as they inhale the cold air. So if our

young men were buoyant in spiritual health they would catch an inspiration for the work of a minister.

But we do a grievous wrong to these young men, if we charge them with the sole blame of our vacant pastorates. The fault lies also in the churches. If men frequented the sanctuary more because they loved it, and less because they were driven to it; if they supported the ministry more because they delighted in the "messenger of glad tidings," and less because they were obligated to sustain him; if they were glowing with zeal rather than coerced by conscience in their acts of worship, then would our young men quicken their pace into the sacred office as the cold winds of the north hasten to the tropics. Our puritan fathers built the meeting-house, and then added some comforts to the dwelling house; and we their children must make "Jerusalem our chief joy," and must invite young men into the pastorate by making the pastorate inviting.

But we wrong our lay brethren if we put at their door the sole responsibility for the want of ministers. The church is an organism; every part is alive and acts on every other part, and every other re-acts on it. The young men in our academies, colleges, and theological schools have an influence in modifying the energies of our laymen, and our laymen have an influence in modifying the energies of these young men. The ministers are moulding the characters of the candidates for office, and the candidates are powers working every day on the ministers. In the crowd of agencies none can move without stirring every other. We who have entered the sacred office often stand at the door and keep out those who would come in. Too often do we tell our children that doleful story about the scanty pittance we now receive, and the liberal exchequer we might have enjoyed in some other calling. Too seldom do we tell them that in our poverty the rich experiences of our office are silver and gold and gems, and that the pipes of the sanctuary which empty the golden oil out of themselves are golden pipes (Zech. iv. 12). If our young men whenever they thought of us who are now in the

sacred office, associated our names with the assurance that the joy of the Lord is our strength, they would be emulous to participate in such a joy. If they saw us stirred in the depths of our souls by the conviction that the children of apostate Adam will endure unending remorse unless they be radically changed by him who waits for our prayer, these pious young men would hasten to help us in the enterprise of saving the race from ruin. Young men when touched with the love of Jesus have a nobleness of spirit exalting them above the world. They are generous in their impulses. They spring to the relief of their comrades. They leap to lift off the burdens of their elders. When the battle-axe rings on the door-posts of the republic they fly to arms. Life is not dear to them; death is no evil to them, so they can honor their Redeemer. If it were true, and if these ingenuous young men saw and felt that we are harmonizing in one enterprise, that of purifying the mind of the race from its entire sinfulness; raising this mind from an eternal pain such as nothing but mind made in the image of God can endure; if these young men could know that our souls are knit together in that love to God which proves that we are his children, and in that love to men which proves that we are their brethren, we could not be left to labor alone; hundreds would catch the sympathy of our philanthropic hearts, would esteem it their honor to be, like us, crucified with Christ, dead in Christ, buried with Christ, risen with Christ, co-workers with him here, and preparing to reign with him hereafter.

How shall we multiply the number of preachers? By a better life in those who are already preachers; not in preachers of that other land, but of this land; not in the preachers of our Southern States, but of the State in which we live; not in the preachers of that other sect, but in us — in every preacher himself. It is this earnestness in our office, not merely as an office important for the arts and sciences, for the army and the navy, for courts and legislatures, for the republic; but as an office needful for that

which we speak of so often that we are apt to lose the meaning of our words—the eternal welfare of the individual soul. It is this spiritual enthusiasm which is needful for even interpreting these simple words of our Redeemer: “The harvest”—that mysterious harvest of the roses of Sharon, the trees of the Lord—“is plenteous,”—who can measure its fulness and durability?—“but the laborers”—how rare a refinement in the work of these laborers—“are few:”—it is this godly mind, sympathizing with the mind of Jesus, and forming the first, second, and third incentive for adopting his method of supplying our want of ministers: “Pray ye, therefore,”—and with prayer other devices will succeed; without prayer, will fail, and without a self-sacrificing spirit we cannot pray,—“to the Lord of the harvest, that he will send”—*we* do not send—“laborers”—what a majesty in such laborers, called of God—“into his harvest,” for it is not *our* harvest; for “the earth is the Lord’s, and the fulness thereof”; for “the house of Israel is the vineyard of the Lord, and the men of Judah are his pleasant plants.”

#### NOTE A.

To the objection that ministers receive an inadequate salary, it is sometimes replied: They receive as much as is given to other men who are on an equality with them in mental and moral character. We are told of one preacher in our country who derives from his ministerial and literary labors an income of between \$20,000 and \$30,000. We are told of another who receives a salary of \$15,000; another of \$13,000; several others, of \$12,000 each; a larger number of \$8,000 each; still more of \$6,000. The average of ministerial salaries in our land, however, is probably not higher than \$400 per annum. There are some wealthy churches which pay \$3,000, some \$4,000, some (one at least) \$5,000, annually for their church music; while many a preacher and pastor receives less than \$400 for his work; and this work is at least equal to that of an organist. If the clergymen who receive the largest salaries were in secular life, they would probably obtain still richer emoluments; for we read of a president of a coal company who has an annual stipend of \$15,000; a president of an insurance company who has \$15,000; a president of a railway company who has \$25,000; a manager of a sugar refinery who has \$20,000; a city

registrar who has fees amounting to \$50,000; a sheriff, \$75,000; a corporation attorney, \$79,000; a collector of a port, \$100,000. It is estimated by a statistician that it costs \$12,000,000 to support the clergy in the United States; \$35,000,000 to support the lawyers; and \$7,000,000 to sustain the amusements in the single city of New York.

A second reply which is made to this objection is this: The inadequacy of ministerial support does not diminish the number of ministers. In the year 1854 there was published "a Statement of Facts from each Religious Denomination in New England respecting Ministers' Salaries." It appears from the "Statement" that in 1853, at the "annual meeting of the 'Society for the Relief of Aged and Destitute Clergymen,' it was unanimously voted to choose a committee of three clergymen and three laymen, whose duty it should be to collect information concerning ministers' salaries in New England; and then communicate to the public the facts and opinions they should gather, unaccompanied by any advice or opinions of their own.

"The committee consisted of the Rev. Charles Brooks, Rev. Christopher T. Thayer, Rev. F. D. Huntington, Josiah Bradlee, Esq., Deacon Moses Grant, and Hon. Albert Fearing.

"That committee has performed the arduous and delicate duty with strictest impartiality. They issued a private Circular, dated March 1, 1854, and sent a copy to each clergyman in Massachusetts, to each bishop of the Protestant Episcopal and Methodist churches, and to as many other ministerial associations, theological seminaries, and presidents of colleges, in other States, as they supposed could feel interested in this local movement. To these circulars were appended the following questions:

"1. What is the average of ministerial salaries in your association? 2. Has any change in public sentiment respecting ministers' salaries taken place in your community within the last twenty years? 3. Do you think that any young men have been prevented from entering the ministry in consequence of the insufficiency of salaries? or have any clergymen left the profession on that account? 4. Do you think that the cause of the Redeemer is suffering from the want of an adequate pecuniary support of the clergy? 5. Do you think that proper pecuniary support is necessary to induce the ablest minds among you to enter the ministry, after the present time? 6. Owing to the rapid depreciation of money, what steps do you think should be taken by the clergy in reference to this fact? 7. If you judge any increase of salary to be necessary, what rate of increase do you deem advisable under present circumstances?"

"These questions have been answered by letters speaking the opinions of at least fifteen hundred clergymen. Although this is ex-parte evidence, we do not believe that the facts, in any case, have been misrepresented; and these facts speak loudly enough. No extreme cases have been admitted. The inferences and opinions contained in the replies may have



more or less weight according to the reader's observation and experience; but it is only justice to say, that the replies are from ministerial associations of all sects, and from public men in theological and collegiate institutions second to none in wisdom and piety. They knew that their statements were to be published."

From the Replies to the Questions stated above the following are extracts:

"QUESTION III. — '*Do you think that any young men have been prevented from entering the ministry in consequence of the insufficiency of salaries? or have any clergymen left the profession on that account?*'

"Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal church. — 'I think that many young men have been prevented or delayed from entering the ministry for want of proper support.'

"Another bishop of the same church. — 'I have no doubt that young men have been prevented from entering the ministry by the reasons specified, but do not think the circumstance a cause for regret.'

"President in a college. — 'Not often, if men of distinguished ability and popular talents, for *they* obtain good salaries; but the objection holds in respect to all others, that is, in respect to the vast majority. Even if the young and ambitious and sanguine student does not feel it, his parents and friends do, and try to dissuade him, and generally succeed.'

"Professor in a theological seminary. — 'Doubtless young men are often prevented; sometimes from their own apprehensions, but more frequently from the strong opposition of friends, who think they would be condemned to poverty and suffering if they became ministers.'

"Professor in another theological seminary. — 'I do not think the idea of poverty operates much with our young men here; but I suppose it has prevented many from coming here. Our students are compelled to decline calls to less inviting fields of duty, because they have no hope of being able to live there on present rates of salary. Our feeble churches, therefore, suffer greatly.'

"Professor in another theological seminary. — 'It grieves me much to be obliged to answer both these questions in the affirmative.'

"Professor in a college, Vermont. — 'I have been a teacher in colleges for fifteen years, and I am sure that many young men of excellent talents and dispositions have been deterred from entering the ministry because of the inadequacy of the salaries.'

"QUESTION IV. — '*Do you think that the cause of the Redeemer is suffering from the want of an adequate pecuniary support of the clergy?*'

"Professor in an Orthodox theological seminary. — 'This is your most solemn and important question; and with grief we must answer it in the affirmative. Our Redeemer's kingdom suffers, 1. From the gradual

diminution of the number of ministers. 2. From the effect of pecuniary embarrassment, in depressing the spirits and impairing the energy of ministers. 3. From the tendency of such an evil to press into distorted proportions the virtue of economy in our clergy. 4. From its tendency to depress the standard of literary and theological study among them. The tendency is to form small minds and a contracted piety.'

"Professor in another theological seminary. — 'Yes, undoubtedly; and is to suffer far more. The end is not yet.'

"Professor in theological school, Vermont. — 'We have no doubt of it. Everywhere the cry is loud, that the laborers are few; and we fear that many laymen think that even this few are not worthy of their hire.'

"President of a college, New England. — 'Yes, in many ways. Not merely in lessening the number of the clergy, but in its bearing on their character, reputation, and influence. It endangers their independence; it induces a life of shifts and expedients; it exposes them to trials which are apt to dull their sense of some of the most important social obligations. A man who, from any cause, has contracted debts which he cannot pay cannot speak as if his soul were his own; he certainly cannot as if his house were his own, or his furniture, or his books.'

"Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal church. — 'I do not think that our Redeemer will allow his "cause to suffer"; but I do think that *our land* is suffering, and in danger of losing the claim to be a Christian land, for the reason stated.'

"Another bishop of the same church. — 'Most undoubtedly.'

"Bishop in the Methodist church. — 'Yes. The influence of the clergy is impaired by their poverty and debts. The people spiritually suffer by their own covetousness. Mutual affection is destroyed. The church becomes a reproach in the eye of the world, on account of its meanness to the ministers.'

"Congregational Association, Massachusetts. — 'Were the question between a *rich* and a *poor* ministry, we should vote for the latter. Woe the day when the pulpits of New England become rich berths, when they afford any *pecuniary* temptation to candidates! The less *money* draws to a pastoral office, the more will *love of souls*. Yet where the pastor has to spend his time and studies in making *one* dollar do the work of *two* dollars, the church loses all, and more than all, it saves.'

"Congregational Unitarian. — 'We want better endowments for theological education. A learned theology must die out at the rate we are going on now. The cause of the Redeemer must suffer by a low standard of intellectual qualification in the ministry.'

"Congregational. — 'Yes. The ministers are obliged to turn aside from their appropriate work, and engage in other pursuits, to eke out their salaries. They till the land, or keep school, or write books, and thus rob the pulpit of the time which should be given to it.'

"QUESTION V. — '*Do you think that proper pecuniary support is necessary to induce the ablest minds among you to enter the ministry after the present time?*'"

"Bishop of Protestant Episcopal church. — 'The ablest minds, prompted by the Holy Spirit, are as likely as any others to enter the ministry, at whatever sacrifice. If not duly supported, they can dig; but the church suffers loss.'

"Another bishop of the same church. — 'I do not desire the entrance into the ministry of men, whether of "able minds," or not, under the inducement of pecuniary support; therefore answer the question in the negative.'

"President of a college, New England. — 'We see, of late years, that our first scholars do not so often study theology.'

"Professor of a theological seminary, Massachusetts. — 'I think that the ablest and best minds, intellectually and morally, will not be prevented from entering the ministry; but second and third rate men will. I think one good effect of the present evil is to purify motive in entering the sacred office.'

"Professor in another theological school. — 'Yes.'

"Professor in another theological school. — 'I do. It is neither just nor rational to expect such minds, in a community like ours, to be wholly indifferent to this consideration.'

"Congregational. — 'Yes, undoubtedly. And this cause has operated to such an extent, that there is beginning to be an alarming scarcity of suitable candidates for the vacant parishes.' — 'Many have not entered the ministry, because in other walks of life their talents could be more useful.' — 'The very fact that so many, without a collegiate education, have of late years entered the profession, proves that they who have enjoyed this advantage are seeking to be useful in other walks.'

"Methodist. — 'If a young man is thoroughly consecrated to the cause of God — the called of God — he will find his way into the ministry, and his place too.'

"Baptist Association. — 'Yes; although the times call for the strongest minds.' — 'Ability is a man's capital, and he will be very likely to take it to the best market.' — 'As the minister expends liberally to get his education, and then gives his whole head and heart to his profession (carefully excluding himself from all worldly employments), he ought to be well supported; for he is, of all men, the least calculated and least able to earn a livelihood in secular business, when displaced and reduced to extremities.' — 'If society consents to lower the pulpit to a level with the sidewalk, where any one can travel through it, we shall then have preachers in growing multitudes; but of what sort must they be?'

"Universalist. — 'A man must have the spirit of self-sacrifice in no ordinary degree, and be willing to live the life of a hermit, if he enters

the ministry now. We must have the martyr-age back again, or there must be some change in the compensation of the clergy.'

To the third and fourth of the above-stated questions about forty replies are published in the pamphlet, and not extracted in this note. Nearly all of these replies are like the preceding.

There is a third answer to the objection that the compensation of ministers is too meagre: their usefulness is said to be augmented by their indigence. Sometimes, doubtless, this is the fact; but there are many instances in which it is not so. There are many ways in which the poverty of ministers diminishes their influence. Sidney Smith suggested some of these ways in his criticism on a scheme which was proposed in England for creating livings of a hundred and fifty pounds a year. It was alleged that these livings would be filled with thoroughly educated and useful preachers. He replied that there are two sides to this story; and he drew the following distinction, which suggests more than it asserts. "Then," he writes "a picture is drawn of a clergyman with one hundred and fifty pounds per annum, who combines all moral, physical, and intellectual advantages, a learned man, dedicating himself intensely to the care of his parish, of charming manners and dignified deportment, six feet two inches high, beautifully proportioned, with a magnificent countenance, expressive of all the cardinal virtues and the ten commandments; and it is asked with an air of triumph, if such a man as this will fall into contempt on account of his poverty? But substitute for him an average, ordinary, uninteresting minister; obese, dumpy, neither ill-natured nor good-natured, neither learned nor ignorant, striding over the stiles to church with a second-rate wife, dusty and deliquescent, and four parochial children, full of catechism and bread and butter; or let him be seen in one of those Shem-Ham-and-Japhet buggies, made on Mount Ararat soon after the subsidence of the waters, driving in the High street of Edmonton among all his pecuniary, saponaceous, oleaginous parishioners. Can any man of common sense say that all these outward circumstances of ministers of religion have no bearing on religion itself?"

#### NOTE B.

President Edwards not only opposed the practice of lay-preaching, which is now so common in this country; and still more common in England, but also that of lay-exhortation. The following letter (to a friend residing in Goshen, Ct.) which is not published in his Memoir, is characteristic of his views in regard to the prerogatives of the clergy:

"Northampton, May 18, 1742.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I am fully satisfied by the account your father has given me, that you have lately gone out of the way of your duty, and done that which did



not belong to you, *in exhorting a public congregation*. I know you to be a person of good judgment and discretion, and therefore can with the greater confidence put it to you to consider with yourself what you can reasonably judge would be the consequence, if I and all other ministers should approve and publicly justify such things as laymen's taking it upon them to exhort *after this manner*? If one may, why may not another? And if there be no certain limits or bounds, but every one that pleases may have liberty, alas! what should we soon come to? If God had not seen it necessary that such things should have certain limits and bounds, he never would have appointed a certain particular order of men to that work and office, to be set apart to it in so solemn a manner, in the name of God: the Head of the church is wiser than we, and knew how to regulate things in his church.

"Tis no argument that such things are right, that they do a great deal of good for the present, and within a narrow sphere; when, at the same time, if we look on them in the utmost extent of their consequences, and on the long run of events, they do ten times as much hurt as good. Appearing events are not our rule, but the law and the testimony. We ought to be vigilant and circumspect, and look on every side, and, as far as we can, to the further end of things. God may if he pleases, in his sovereign providence, turn that which is most wrong to do a great deal of good for the present; for he does what he pleases. I hope you will consider the matter, and for the future avoid doing thus. You ought to do what good you can, by private, brotherly, humble admonitions and counsels; but 'tis too much for you to *exhort public congregations*, or solemnly to set yourself, by a set speech, to counsel a room full of people, unless it be children, or those that are much your inferiors, or to speak to any in an authoritative way. Such things have done a vast deal of mischief in the country, and have hindered the work of God exceedingly. Mr. Tennent has lately wrote a letter to one of the ministers of New-England, earnestly to dissuade from such things. Your temptations are exceeding great: you had need to have the prudence and humility of ten men. If you are kept humble and prudent, you may be a great blessing in this part of the land, otherwise you may do as much hurt in a few weeks as you can do good in four years. You might be under great advantage by your prudence to prevent those irregularities and disorders in your parts, that prevail and greatly hinder the work of God in other parts of the country; but by such things as these you will weaken your own hands, and fill the country with nothing but vain and fruitless and pernicious disputes. Persons when very full of a great sense of things are greatly exposed; for then they long to do something, and to do something extraordinary; and then is the devil's time to keep them upon their heads, if they be not uncommonly circumspect and self-diffident.

"I hope these lines will be taken in good part, from your assured friend,

JONATHAN EDWARDS."



There is no doubt that there are evils connected with lay-exhortation and lay-preaching. The following narrative intimates the mischief which may attend the practices, and also gives evidences that the practices were occasionally adopted by our Puritan fathers. It is taken from the seventh chapter of Captain Edward Johnson's quaint History, entitled: "Wonder-Working Providence of Sion's Saviour in New England."

In describing the town of Malden he says: "The people gathered into a church some distance of time before they could attain to any church-officer to administer the seals unto them; yet in the meantime, at their Sabbath assemblies they had a godly Christian, named Mr. Sarjant, who did preach the word unto them; and afterwards they were supplied, at times, with some young students from the College, till the year 1650 one Mr. Marmaduke Mathews, coming out of Plymouth Patten, was for some space of time with a people at the town of Hull, which is a small port town, peopled by fishermen, and lies at the entrance of the bay's mouth, where this Mr. Mathews continued preaching till he lost the approbation of some able understanding men among both magistrates and ministers, by weak and unsafe expressions in his teaching" (p. 211).

It is an interesting fact, that while one class of philanthropists regard lay-exhortation or lay-preaching as an evil to which the church cannot wisely submit, and a second class regard it as attended with some mischiefs which ought to be endured on account of the existing deficiency of well-educated ministers, a third and intelligent class regard it as decidedly superior to clerical exhortation in its fitness to reform the more degraded portion of the populace. A careful observer describing an enterprise designed for the elevation of certain vicious men, writes: "When the well-intended ministrations of the attendant clergymen had failed to produce any effect, the voluntary prayer of a rough man, apparently a sailor, made a great impression on his hearers. This can be easily understood, and should afford a hint to those engaged in the work of reform. It would be a great mistake to pelt with epithets the poor people gathered together at such times; to mouth over the assurances of their sinful condition; to call them "dear brethren" with the nice manner of the fashionable pulpit; to utter the denunciations or encouragements with which the polite followers of religion are alarmed or comforted. Even as poets are said "to learn in suffering what they teach in song," so persons of strong and simple humanity would be best adapted to the duty of enlightening those poor degraded sinners. It would require a sure and tender skill to reach the nature so long overlaid by pollution; to touch the instincts of good that vice and debauchery may not altogether have exhausted; and the least affectation, or any prudery of instruction, would at once repel and bewilder feeble souls, all astray and groping toward the light."

## ARTICLE V.

## THE DECLINE OF THE RELIGIOUS SENTIMENT.

BY REV. JAMES H. FAIRCHILD, PRESIDENT OF OBERLIN COLLEGE.

RELIGION, as a human experience, involves three elements—the intellectual, the emotional, and the ethical. We must have, first, the rational apprehension of God—the great facts of his being and government; next, the emotions which these facts excite—the awe, the reverence, the fear, or hope which these great objects of religious thought inspire, often called religious sentiment; and lastly, the moral attitude and action which the facts require—the adjustment of character and life to the truths of religion as intellectually apprehended.

These elements of religious experience exist, in constantly varying proportions, both in the individual and in the community, the nation or the race. In some form or degree, they are all essential to the existence of religion as a genuine experience; but the same individual, in different stages of his progress, may exhibit different degrees and combinations of religious thought and feeling and ethical action. At one time he passes through a period of special intellectual activity, in which the thought is directed to the truths pertaining to God—his nature and government and providence—a period of earnest thinking, in which the foundations are laid in religious doctrine. Again, these facts act profoundly upon the feelings, and call forth the intense emotions which it is their nature to awaken; and then, again, the obligations and requirements of religion address themselves to the soul, and the character and the life are brought into harmony with the facts. The last result is, of course, the proper outcome of all thinking and feeling in connection with religion. Nothing that is ultimately salutary and

valuable has been accomplished until religion reaches and moulds the character and life. Where this is attained, religion is a success; where it is not, it is a failure. The thinking and feeling are, however, necessary steps in the process; because through these come all the motives to action, all the objects upon which the activity can terminate.

Similar fluctuations are exhibited in communities, as in individuals. We sometimes come upon a period of religious *thinking* — a theological era, when the general mind is turned in the direction of the objects of faith, traversing the field of religious thought, defining more accurately the old, and bringing out the new, and extending the limits of religious knowledge. Again, we may have a general awakening of religious *feeling*, a quickening of the religious sentiment — the result of progress in religious thinking, of the apprehension of some new and moving truth, or a freshening of the old, or the consequence of providential events that touch the hearts of men, or, at times, doubtless, the work of a special dispensation of the Divine Spirit, of which no outward occasion appears. At such times, the entire people seem susceptible to religious impressions; the emotional element is prevalent and pervading, and all religious movements present the feature of intensity. Then, again, the idea of *duty* becomes prominent, and religious activity takes the direction of bringing the life into harmony with the claims of morality. New light has brought out new duties, or old wrongs, and the entire people are aroused to the necessity of a higher standard of living, a more complete adjustment of character to perceived obligation. Towards one or another of these three modes of action there is a frequent tendency in every religious community. A general quickening of the religious sensibility is popularly called a revival of religion. A general movement in either of the other directions might properly bear the same name. It is not the sincerely and truly religious alone who are concerned in these movements. The religious tendencies of men are such that even those in whom religion is not the controlling

principle are drifted on with the tide of religious life, and share in the general thought and feeling and action.

The true ideal condition of the individual soul, and of the community at large, is a symmetrical blending of these three elements—a clear apprehension of the great facts of the spiritual world, an appreciation of these facts in the sensibility, and a life and action corresponding with them. Towards this ideal we must suppose that the entire movement tends, and the perfection of the life of heaven involves its complete attainment; but historically the experience of mankind has not exhibited this symmetrical combination.

Religious progress has often been partial, bringing first one, and then another, element into prominence, and concentrating upon it the energies of the community. Or, again, there has seemed to be a division of labor; the work of elaborating religious truth falling upon one portion of the community; another portion living and working in the line of feeling, furnishing the emotional impulse required; and still another giving itself to bring up the standard of the moral life. Doubtless such a distribution of labor has, to some extent, always existed, and perhaps a reasonable blending of these three operations is the best we can expect, in a world of imperfect religious development. But a marked deficiency or failure in either of these elements should awaken concern and counteracting effort.

From the nature of the case, there seems more reason to apprehend a failure of religious sentiment than of religious thought; doctrinal thought being naturally the more permanent of the two. Truth once attained is not easily lost; it takes permanent and, so to speak, tangible form in the symbols and literature of the church and the world. It may cease to attract attention, and may become in some sense inoperative; but let the emergency arise which calls for the truth, and it becomes at once available. Feeling, on the other hand, is more evanescent, although some degree of it is provided for in the permanent constitution of man. This

higher form of religious feeling may subside, and where it fails there is nothing to represent it. The thoughts and forms of action which once expressed it are utterly inadequate. Feeling alone is the test and measure of feeling; and all the signs, at first so significant and potential, become an unknown language when the sentiment has failed which they were designed to represent.

There is ground for the apprehension that the religious sentiment of the church and the world has suffered a marked decline; not merely a temporary or local ebb, but something like a permanent and world-wide subsidence; that, while religious science is well advanced and constantly advancing, and genuine morality is not, on the whole, losing ground, or the power of religion, as a whole, diminishing, there does still appear a deficiency in its affectional or emotional character. The hearts of men seem less moved by the great facts of religion than they were in remote ages, or even in times much less remote; and the result is that religion is not the power which, in view of its advantages of position, it ought to be.

Evidences of this change in prevalent religious experience will appear from a consideration of the facts in reference to the Jewish people, as gathered from sacred history. The Jews were a nation of worshippers. The history of religion among them is the history of the people. Their institutions were the institutions of religion; their entire life was moulded by their religion. To be a Jew was to believe in God and in the temple, in the altar and in the sacrifice. It was to stand at the gates of the temple with reverence and awe, to defend it with enthusiastic bravery from the profanation of the Gentile, and to worship towards it, with longing eyes, from the land of his exile. In prosperous times the people gathered from the remote parts of the land, three times a year, to worship about the temple, and spent days in these acts of devotion. It does not appear that careful arrangements were made to render the worship attractive, by the provision of orchestras, or of preachers and platform orators.



The service looked not towards the people, but heavenward. There was solemn music at times ; and, in a quiet way, the doctors of the law discoursed of the doctrines and duties of religion to groups of listeners about the courts ; but the great centre of interest was God in his own dwelling-place, and the solemn rite in which God was acknowledged and their own sin confessed. While the sacrifice was offered, the vast multitude were praying without ; not under groined arches, with softened light, and in an atmosphere tempered to the most delicate sense ; not sitting in luxurious seats that invited to repose ; but standing under the open heaven, and waiting in silence while the mysterious ceremonial, hidden from their view, was in progress. When we remember, too, that these were not a special class of the people, religiously inclined, like those who gather at our daily prayer-meetings, but the entire people, in their normal experience, we have evidence of the permanent power of the religious sentiment among them—a power which shaped their thought and life, and which has kept them, down to our time, a peculiar people, with enough of the religious sentiment remaining to hold them to their burdensome worship against the aggressions of modern worldliness.

It is not probable that in genuine morality they were essentially in advance of the modern religious world ; but they were sustained in a morality far above that of the nations by which they were surrounded. The strength of the religious sentiment among them is further shown by the fact that even in apostasy this sentiment still prevailed. They did not renounce religion when they forsook the true worship. They still had their divinities, and built their altars upon every high hill and under every green tree. The tendency to worship was so strong among them that the groves and high places, devoted to idolatry by the original inhabitants of the land, could not be suffered to remain. They proved a temptation.

The facts of our modern Christian civilization, in relation to the religious sentiment, are quite in contrast with all this.

The prominent fact strikes us at the outset, that we are not a community of worshippers. Large portions of the people never gather to a place of worship, and never share in any act of worship, or in any common exhibition of religious feeling. A single exception should perhaps be noted. The religious sentiment is aroused in the presence of death, and religious observances are always connected with the burial of the dead. The exception is so striking as to mark more distinctly the general fact. The religious sentiment is so low and inoperative as to leave large portions of every Protestant Christian people in a state of apparent indifferentism. Christian worship seems a matter in which they have no concern. A portion of these may afford pecuniary aid in erecting churches and in sustaining the institutions of religion, in the same spirit in which they would aid in the construction of a railroad, or in any other public enterprise. It tends to the general prosperity and advances the price of real estate. The impulse to worship they do not feel, they have no conscious want in that direction. No such class of people existed among the Jews. Even the Sadducees of the Saviour's day, a sect of materialistic philosophers who denied a spiritual existence, and immortality, had not emancipated themselves from the necessity of worship. They maintained the temple service as zealously as the Pharisees themselves.

The most advanced Christian sentiment of the modern world lacks this pervasive power. Large masses of men in close contact with the Christian church are not reached by the light and warmth of religious feeling. This is the more remarkable, as it stands in contrast with the fact that Christian doctrine and Christian morality are much more widely diffused. Modern Christianity controls, to a great extent, the external morality of the entire people, and gives direction to the popular thinking; but the feeling of worship, the sentiment of religion, does not keep pace with the thought or the morality.

Leaving these outsiders, and coming to the professed

worshippers themselves, we find similar evidence of lack of power in the religious sentiment. We build houses of worship, often artistic and magnificent, not generally comparing in costliness with the temple of the Jews — but ours are many, and theirs was but one. In the aggregate, our houses of worship exceed in cost the greatest of their temples. But we build capitols and exchanges and public halls and school-houses and hotels at even greater cost, and much in the same spirit. The Jews erected their temple as a dwelling-place for God. It was God's house; and they covered its beams and doors and roof and turrets with gold, to make it meet for God's presence and glory. Nothing was too costly or magnificent to express their sense of God's excellence and majesty. For themselves they never ventured into the sacred place. In their worship their souls were directed to God. In his presence the sacrifice was consumed, and to him the incense ascended. To him the solemn chant and the prayer were directed. The great inquiry was "wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the high God"? We build our houses of worship to accommodate ourselves, with such adornment and furnishing as shall be pleasing to mortal eye, and add to human comfort. The preference of sittings in our temple we sell to the highest bidder, and thus save ourselves from the burden of a tithing to sustain our worship. We gather to our service and listen to music, attuned artistically to the cultivated ear, rather than adapted to be the vehicle of praise to God from the great congregation. One voice utters the prayer while the people sit; and it is sometimes difficult to decide whether the prayer is addressed more to God or to the worshippers. If in any part of the service the people stand, it is chiefly as a matter of bodily relief. But these forms of worship are only the preliminaries. The people have gathered for the sermon, and some give unequivocal proof of this by arriving just in season for this essential exercise. The preaching is the great feature of our modern Protestant worship. It is intellectually stimulating; it affords instruction in doctrine,

and incentive to right action; but it is not the natural channel of the sentiment of worship. In reference to the entire service, the effort is apparent to make it attractive to the hearers; for the congregation seems to be an assembly of hearers rather than of worshippers; and so we spend the brief hour, and retire to refresh exhausted nature at our homes.

We would not intimate that in these barren forms there is not genuine worship, or that these worshippers are not morally approved of God, as fully as those of ancient days, who stood in solemn awe around the temple. The great principle "if there be first a willing mind, it is accepted, according to that a man hath, and not according to that he hath not," applies to worship, as to every other service. But what a poverty of soul do these cold forms betray — not a barrenness of religious thought, or ethical character, or outward activity, but of hearty, vital sentiment and feeling! Nor do we intend to intimate that these forms are not adapted to the condition and conscious want of the worshippers. Just here lies the difficulty. We seem to need nothing warmer or more expressive. There is a startling deficiency in the religious sentiment that makes us intolerant of anything more demonstrative, and any attempt to elevate the service above the prevalent tone of feeling produces a reaction, and chills the heart instead of kindling it. Indeed, from our modern point of view it is difficult for us to understand the propriety and power of the ancient worship. The symbolic movements and representations were addressed to feeling, and not to thought. They are not to be explained but felt; and when the feeling is wanting, the symbolical language is an unknown tongue. As an example, how little is the propriety or necessity of fasting, felt in modern experience! We have what we call, out of deference to tradition, our days of fasting and prayer; but the fasting is a matter of exceptional personal observance, rarely, if ever, attended to by the body of the people. So little is the need of this observance felt, that its very meaning and significance

are, to a great extent, lost from modern thought. The ascetic idea represents it as a solemn requirement, an act of self-denial, in itself pleasing to God; or a sort of penance which God imposes as an expression of his displeasure. The humanitarian view is that its value is physiological, that it operates to clear the mind and subdue the body, to give the spiritual nature predominance, and fit the soul for prayer and worship. Under the illumination of true and elevated religious feeling, we should probably see that both these views are out of place, and that fasting is merely the natural form in which intense emotions of penitence or sorrow express themselves, or the natural result of such emotions. "The children of the bridechamber fast when the Bridegroom is taken away."

If we leave these outward indications of religious feeling, as shown in the institutions and forms of worship, and come to the direct utterances of emotion in prayer and sacred song, we shall find the difference between the past and the present no less striking. The religious sentiment of the scriptures differs from that of modern experience, not only in degree, but in kind. The highest form, that which most exalts and inspires the soul, is its direct response to the great facts of God's being and attributes. In the contemplation of these, the soul is drawn out of itself, and lifted up in awe, reverence, adoration, and love, or is occupied with the correlative facts of its own weakness, dependence, want, and unworthiness. These views are the natural counterparts of each other. "I have heard of thee by the hearing of the ear, but now mine eye seeth thee; wherefore I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes." In its deepest emotional exercises the soul does not contemplate itself, or its own experiences, analyzing and dissecting them and holding them up to its own admiration, but is wholly absorbed in the grand object of the emotion. This is the most simple and natural form of religious sentiment, and is eminently characteristic of the religion of the Bible.

A lower and less wholesome type of feeling involves special



attention to the experiences themselves, a work of analytic introspection and self-consciousness; the soul noting each varying phase and movement of its own life and enveloping itself in a spiritual cocoon, spun from its own feeling and fancy, occupied with the changing phenomena of its own inner existence, rather than going out to the great fountain of life. It is significant that men have never thought of pursuing this method in other departments of experience, even where the emotions are most fully exercised, as in the social and domestic relations. No man pauses to entertain himself with his feelings towards his family or friends, or holds up, even to his own thought, any of these emotions as an object of contemplation. The natural emotion takes him out of himself to the objects of his affection, and he rejoices in the goodness and excellence which have won his heart. The moment any emotion becomes itself an object of thought and of culture it loses its transparency and something of its genuineness. It becomes rather the echo of the genuine, than the genuine itself. The grief that entertains itself with its own pain is little more than the remembrance of a grief that has passed away; and the love that dwells on its own strength and intensity awakens distrust of its vitality. The religious emotions come under the same law. They exist in their most satisfactory form, when transmitting directly to the soul the object which arouses them. Like a flame of fire, they cannot be separated from that on which they feed.

The Psalms of the Old Testament are an embodiment of the religious emotions of those times; and our modern sacred songs are an expression of modern sentiment. These lyrics are to be taken, not merely as an expression of the feelings of their immediate authors, but as representing the great body of the church which has adopted and consecrated them. In a careful comparison of these, one cannot but be struck with the contrast. Open the Psalms where you will, and the soul is instantly lifted up on the wings of adoration and out-going to God. Does the Psalmist long for God's

presence, how direct and childlike is his cry to him : " As the hart panteth after the water-brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God ; my soul thirsteth for God, for the living God ; when shall I come to appear before God ? " Here we are taken into the very heart of the emotion, instead of contemplating it as spectators, and are drawn into full sympathy with the longing after God.

When the Psalmist would express his love to God, he sets God before us in his loveliness : " I love the Lord, because he hath heard my voice and my supplication ; because he hath inclined his ear unto me, therefore will I call upon him as long as I live." This is the simple and direct expression of the emotion. In our modern hymns, on the other hand, we are often made spectators of the emotion, and are set upon gauging its depth and intensity :

" Do not I love thee, O my Lord ?  
Behold my heart, and see ;  
And turn the dearest idol out  
That dares to rival thee.

Is not thy name melodious still  
To my attentive ear ?  
Doth not each pulse with pleasure bound  
My Saviour's voice to hear ?

Would not my heart pour forth its blood  
In honor of thy name ?  
And challenge the cold hand of death  
To damp the immortal flame ? "

Here we have love introverted, and feeding on its own life — a very poor diet ; but such hymns are the natural result of a direct observation and study of the religious emotions ; a work in which the distinguished author of this hymn has been a prominent leader. Similar instances of the contemplation of the emotion, instead of the expression of the emotion, abound in our collections ; and some of these are special favorites. Many hymns relating to prayer are of this class — a meditation upon the privilege of prayer, rather than the utterance of prayer :

"I love to steal awhile away  
 From every cumbering care,  
 And spend the hours of setting day  
 In humble, grateful prayer.

I love in solitude to shed  
 The penitential tear,  
 And all his promises to plead  
 When none but God is near."

or again —

"From every stormy wind that blows,  
 From every swelling tide of woes,  
 There is a calm, a sure retreat—  
 'Tis found beneath the mercy-seat.

There is a place where Jesus sheds  
 The oil of gladness on our heads;  
 A place, than all besides more sweet—  
 It is the blood-bought mercy-seat."

Again we have

"Sweet hour of prayer, sweet hour of prayer!  
 That calls me from a world of care,  
 And bids me at my Father's throne  
 Make all my wants and wishes known.  
 In seasons of distress and grief  
 My soul has often found relief,  
 And oft escaped the tempter's snare  
 By thy return, sweet hour of prayer."

The hymn continues in this artificial strain, until, in the last line, it reaches the preposterous climax

"Farewell, farewell, sweet hour of prayer."

That such instances of false sentiment should appear among our hymns, would have no special significance; they appear in other departments of literature. But it is significant that the church should adopt these hymns to express devotional feeling. We have many noble hymns expressive of hearty and true emotion, bringing into direct view the objects of the emotions instead of the emotions themselves; and it is somewhat remarkable that we should have any of a different character, with such divine models in our hands

as the Psalms of David. The fact indicates a low state of religious feeling — a culture too subjective and introverted.

In attempting to give the thought and feeling an outward, objective direction, our hymns sometimes reach only the poetic and sentimental.

“Brightest and best of the sons of the morning!  
Dawn on our darkness and lend us thine aid;  
Star of the East, the horizon adorning,  
Guide where our infant Redeemer is laid.

Cold on his cradle the dew-drops are shining;”...

This must pass for poetry, but we cannot accept it as an expression of devotion. In a similar strain we have the less familiar hymn

“Thou art, O God, the life and light  
Of all this wondrous world we see:  
Its glow by day, its smile by night,  
Are but reflections caught from thee;  
Where’er we turn thy glories shine,  
And all things fair and bright are thine.  
  
When day, with farewell beam, delays  
Among the opening clouds of even,  
And we can almost think we gaze  
Through golden vistas into heaven,—  
Those hues that mark the sun’s decline,  
So soft, so radiant, Lord, are thine.”

It is not strange that the author of these lines should have confounded poetic sentiment and fancy, with religious feeling; but that the people of God, with a lofty utterance like the nineteenth Psalm before them, should have shared in that mistake, is passing strange. “The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth his handiwork.” etc. There are, doubtless, passages of a subjective character in the Psalms, but the general contrast can scarcely be questioned.

But the Old Testament is not peculiar in bringing men face to face with the great facts of religion. The New Testament deals in the same manner with the religious emotions. In the incarnation we have the objective personality of God

brought almost within the reach of our senses. We have the Immanuel living and walking with men, and at last taken bodily from mortal sight through the opening cloud, leaving his followers gazing steadfastly into heaven, his own words of grace still lingering in their ears: "In my Father's house are many mansions. I go to prepare a place for you." The gospel system differs from the older revelation in bringing the worshipper, if possible, more directly to God, rending the veil which excludes him from the holy of holies, removing the priest who was the medium of the worship and inviting him to "come boldly to the throne of grace."

Paul cannot be supposed to have been deficient in religious experience. Converted suddenly, in an overwhelming vision, from a proud persecutor to a humble believer, receiving his gospel, not in conference with man, but taught it by the Spirit of God, caught up to the third heavens, where he heard unspeakable words, not lawful for man to utter, why should he not have left us an epistle on the "Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul," or a discriminating treatise on "The Religious Affections?" He deems it enough to say of himself: "I am crucified with Christ; nevertheless I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me; and the life which I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me."

John was a man the natural current of whose life was pure and transparent, but profound. His opportunities were rare. He had stood with Jesus on the Mount of Transfiguration, had reclined in his bosom at the last supper — "the disciple whom Jesus loved," had followed him to the judgment hall when all others fled, had received his last words addressed to human ear upon the cross, had looked first into the open sepulchre, and seen with spiritual insight the resurrection. Why did he not, when in the Spirit on the Lord's day, give us, instead of the outward conflict of the powers of good and evil, an apocalypse of the interior life? If any man has known the meaning of that life, John was that man. He contents



himself with saying: "Little children, let us not love in word, neither in tongue, but in deed and truth. Behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the sons of God. It doth not yet appear what we shall be; but we know that when he shall appear we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is. And every man that hath this hope in him purifieth himself, even as he is pure." The New Testament abounds in expressions of emotion; but it is always in contemplation of the outward facts of God and his grace, of man's sin and salvation: "Oh, the depths of the riches both of the wisdom and the knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out!" Of that painful handling of the religious emotions, so common in later days, marking their varying shades and intensities, and labelling each as in a cabinet of dried specimens, we find nothing. The introverted, dreamy, and mystical type of religious experience does not appear in the pages of the New Testament. It sprang up at a later day, in connection with the monastic tendency, which encouraged religious contemplation and separation from worldly relations and active life. It is the natural product of the monastic idea. The soul shut out from the natural channels of action must occupy itself with an unwholesome self-consciousness, and entertain itself with its own movements and fancies. Thus, the habit, coming down through the perversions of Romanism, has invaded every branch of the Protestant church, sometimes, even, in our day, claiming attention as "the higher Christian life."

This misdirection of the religious sentiment must be regarded as a cause, as well as a consequence, of a decline in its power. Religious feeling, as well as every other emotion, vanishes under a direct examination of its nature and strength. It is an element of power only when it fastens on God, and makes his personality and presence more real to men. The man who walks with God, and whose presence suggests the thought of God, is the one who takes hold of the hearts of men; not he who dwells with himself, and

whose experiences become to himself a matter of absorbing interest. While the church has given so much attention to the nature of religious emotions, and has made the direct contemplation of them so prominent in public worship and instruction and in didactic literature, it is not surprising that religious experience should have lost its vigor, and that the sense of worship should have vanished, in a degree, from the hearts of men. The mass of men can never be interested in the study of religious feeling, and, even if they could, it would not be an exercise of that feeling; but they can and must be drawn towards the natural and proper objects of religious contemplation. The great themes of religion have in their very nature a charm beyond any others. No other interests could gather men from week to week, as do those of worship and religious instruction. The church and the pulpit, even indifferently sustained, will continue to attract congregations of the people when the secular lecture shall have been forgotten. But the power of religious worship and thought is greatly diminished when turned in any degree from God and from man's relation to him.

There are, doubtless, other causes which have operated in diminishing the tendency to worship. Among these stands prominent the fact that we have receded from those great manifestations of God which impressed the minds of men in the earlier ages. Such events as the creation, the flood, the destruction of the cities of the plain, the deliverance from Egypt, and the whole course of God's providence with the Jews and with surrounding nations, acted powerfully upon the thoughts and feelings of men; so that to question his personality or his power was an impossibility.

We are separated from the old theophanies by a hundred generations. The apprehension of God has lost something of its vividness. We may hold to the dogmatic statement of his existence; but our hearts are not moved by it as the hearts of men were moved of old. We can prove to men that these manifestations must have been made; they have lost nothing of their value as evidence to the understanding;

but they are too remote to stir the feeling of the careless and unbelieving, and men say in their hearts: "Where is the promise of his coming? For since the fathers fell asleep all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation."

It is a weakness of human nature thus to lose the apprehension of the past; but the practical fact must be accepted. The effect of the lapse of ages since these grand events of God's providence appeared is shown in the condition even of the pagan nations. The sentiment of worship is losing its power among them. The grim and fierce superstitions which led to human sacrifice the world over, from the plains of India to the heights of the Cordilleras and to the islands of the sea, have lost their hold upon the minds of men.

Much of this may be ascribed to the indirect influence of Christianity in the world, but more, probably, to the failure of the intense sentiment of fear and apprehension which God's early judgments produced in the minds of sinners. The earliest missionaries of the Sandwich islands found that the false deities had fallen into dishonor, and the old religion had lost its hold. The case is not a solitary one. There are many indications of the waning power of heathen superstitions. Mohammedanism shows a similar decay. The terrible earnestness and energy of its early years have failed, because of the failure in the human soul of the principle upon which it acted. Religion, except as it is sustained by Christianity, seems likely to perish from the earth, as it has already perished, in effect, from the great empire of China.

Again, the progress of physical science has doubtless had something to do with this result. When all the movements of nature were referred at once to God,—when the thunder was his voice, and the winds were the breath of the Almighty,—the thought of God was ever present. But as science connects these movements with the well-known forces of nature, and almost constructs the world without the intervention of creative power, the thought of God vanishes from the hearts of men; not logically, for, however far back

science may trace this series of dependent causes, we must at length find God standing at the source of all power and life, not dethroned, but only the more exalted, by these revelations of physical science. But human thought is superficial, and human imagination weak. Men grow bewildered in this search after God, and, when he disappears from the secret places where they thought was his abode, weakly or willingly they cease to follow him. The vast machinery of the universe comes in between the soul and God, and shuts him from their hearts. The reign of law, rather than of God, becomes the omnipresent fact to human thought, and checks the outgoing of the soul to him. He seems too remote to be reached by our prayer, and even the Christian heart is sometimes chilled by this overpowering sense of distance :

“ Hosannas languish on our tongues,  
And our devotion dies.”

We seem to need again the manifest Jehovah, in the pillar of cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night. “ Who shall deliver us from the body of this death ? ”

Through this superincumbent mass religious feeling must find its way; and in the midst of these difficulties we are almost tempted, at times, to accept the stupid proverb that “ Ignorance is the mother of devotion,” or the more pretentious doctrine of Positivism, that religion can flourish only in the dawning of civilization. But “ Jehovah lives, and blessed be our rock.”

It is possible, again, that an imperfect conception of the love of God, as presented in the gospel scheme, has tended to diminish the power of religious feeling. *Reverence* must lie at the foundation of all worship, because this is the proper response of the soul to God’s greatness and excellence. That love expresses the substance of God’s moral excellence, is the doctrine of revelation, fully sustained by reason; but a shallow interpretation of that love sometimes eliminates from the character of God all justice and sternness and

fidelity to the interests of his universe, and leaves a mere good-nature, an easy and inoffensive impulse to relieve mankind from every hardship, and to secure to them every pleasure. Before this perverted conception of God, true reverence and worship fail. He comes to be regarded, not as a moral Governor, with rights of his own, which his creatures are bound to respect, but as a great convenience, a servant of his creatures, as, in our ultra democratic language, we often speak of the ruler as the servant of the people. Such a thought may not be distinctly accepted; but the vague notion reacts upon the religious sentiment. A Scotch writer, who has recently visited this country to study our institutions, in hearty sympathy with much that he saw, relates the story of a little Massachusetts boy, who had offended his mother, and obtained her forgiveness. She suggested to him the importance of seeking the forgiveness of God. "Oh, no matter about that," says the little fellow. "Of course God will forgive me; *that's what God is for*. He loves to forgive little boys." The incident may seem too slight for notice; but it indicates a grave fact, and there is serious mischief in such a misconception of God's compassion finding its way down into the infant heart. It may be that we need to recast our idea of God's love, and to re-enthroned him in our hearts. There is no danger of over-estimating the love of God, or of expecting too much of that love in beneficent action towards our race; but there *is* danger that our view of God's love be partial and inadequate, lacking the strength and majesty of true goodness controlled by wisdom. Closely allied to this inadequate view of God is the growing sense of the importance of the individual man. The idea is in itself of prime value, and has its place in a true system of morals. It lies at the foundation of the gospel itself, and distinguishes Christianity from every system of false religion. But it is often the case that in the development of a new idea the truth becomes distorted, and yields a result which amounts at last to error.



The intense individualism of modern thought involves the impression that all institutions and ordinances and arrangements exist for the good of the individual man. Worship is appropriate, because man is a religious being, and needs the opportunity. Prayer is beneficial, because of its reaction upon the soul itself. Effort to extend religion in the world is a duty, not because God has rights and interests in the world which his children must sustain, but because men are perishing, and need salvation. This extreme humanitarianism puts man foremost, and God in the background, thus essentially corrupting the idea of worship, and rendering it, in fact, impossible. True religious sentiment humbles man, and exalts God. It elevates man, indeed, by bringing him up into communion with the Father of spirits, uniting God and angels and men in one great family interest; but it places God at the head of this great family, and gathers his creatures around to look up in reverence and dependence to him "who opens his hand to satisfy the wants of every living thing."

Another obvious and popular occasion of the depression of the religious sentiment may be found in the general good order and material prosperity to which modern Christian society has attained. Men call upon God in the day of trouble. In the midst of convulsions they need a rock on which to plant their feet. The interruption of the ordinary course of life brings apprehension, a sense of dependence and a want of God. Sickness and death have this effect in personal relations, and wide-spread social calamities arouse the religious sentiment in the community at large. This principle was often illustrated in the course of the great national struggle through which we have passed. Under the pressure of the trial, the religious sentiment reached individuals and classes scarcely ever moved with the thought of God. Even the money-changers of Wall Street, upon news of a victory, uncovered their heads and lifted up their voices in the triumphant doxology:

"Praise God from whom all blessings flow,"

and when at length the final victory came, in spite of the fact that God and his providence are not recognized in the National Constitution, even the dome of the Capitol responded to the popular feeling in the illuminated transparency: "It is the Lord's doing, and marvellous in our eyes."

It was often remarked in our armies during the war, that while immorality prevailed in every form and degree, speculative infidelity was almost unknown. Young men who had thought themselves in doubt as to the realities of religion found, when standing face to face with death, that their doubts vanished.

The religious tendency, so prominent in its emotional form among the slaves of the South, was the product of their hard and hopeless earthly life. With the attainment of freedom and security, their religious fervor will subside, and we shall find among them the ordinary experience of civilized life. This does not prove that insecurity and danger are, on the whole, more favorable to religion than quiet and prosperity. It is only an instance of the many compensations which spring out of unfavorable conditions.

But whatever may be regarded as the occasion, the unquestionable fact remains, that the religious sentiment of the present age is deficient in power as compared with that of the olden times. There are doubtless both individuals and communities that must be counted exceptions to this statement, but these only set forth the more distinctly the great fact with regard to the general condition of religion in the world.

The result of this deficiency is a want of power on the part of Christianity as a whole. Christianity, as a system, stands to-day historically and rationally established. Its morality is the only morality, its essential doctrines have survived all criticism, and its history is the history of civilization. Its weakness is shown by the fact that even in Christian countries it does not practically command the hearts of men. They assent to its truth, acknowledge its claims, but are not moved to embrace it. It is true that this illustrates the

perversity of human nature and the exceeding sinfulness of sin; but if religion as practically set forth, moved more profoundly the hearts of men, a different result would follow. This is the one element that is wanting to the complete triumph of Christianity. The truth oftener takes possession of men through their hearts than through their heads. It has already won its place in the convictions of mankind; with greater warmth and vitality it will find a place in their hearts.

Has the human soul permanently lost its susceptibility to religious impressions? if not, how can it be restored? Is this depressed, subjective experience a necessary step in the religious progress of the world, determined by forces above our control, or has the Christian church some responsibility in regard to it? Can anything be done to arrest the tendency? These questions call for thorough inquiry, but only a few hints can be here suggested. The first step in the work must be to become aware of the facts. The sense of want itself, may prove the most potent force in lifting us out of our depression. It may be that the only condition lacking is an outgoing of soul to the great source of spiritual life, and thus "the Lord whom we seek, shall suddenly come to his temple." The sense of a present God and Saviour is all that is required. Let the people of God but lift up the prayer for the more complete fulfilment of the promise of the latter days: "I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams," and we shall find that God still fills the world and can reveal himself to men.

We cannot essentially change the outward conditions of our modern religious life. We cannot bring back the old dispensation of divine manifestations; nor can we bridge over the chasm of ages which separates us from those grand events. We must find in our present conditions, in the uniform movement of God's providence as it passes before our eyes, and in the indwelling Spirit of God, the permanent

support of the religious emotions. We must find God in our quiet life and in our daily duties, as Abraham and Moses and Daniel found him in his more startling manifestations.

Still less, if possible, can we set aside the results of science, or escape the reign of law in the natural world. A religious faith that shivers with apprehension at every new disclosure of the processes by which the work of creation has been conducted, is too effeminate to serve its purpose. A vigorous religious sentiment will gather up all these demonstrations of unknown laws and occult forces, as so many disclosures of the wisdom and power of God. While the materialist fancies that he is constructing a world without God, the truly reverent and worshipful soul will be able to see that he is only enlarging and adorning the temple which is made luminous with God's glory. The depression which seems to come with the revelation of law in nature is but a superficial and temporary result. Christianity should be able to take possession of this vast system which science is constructing, and sing with the Psalmist of old: "O Lord, how manifold are thy works; in wisdom hast thou made them all." Nor are we to account our material prosperity a disadvantage. If the religious emotions cannot flourish in the constant experience and expectation of good, then what are we to do in heaven? Until the earth is a paradise we must do what we can to improve it, and we need a religious sentiment, a sense of God and his love that will rise and expand with all this improvement. Only thus can heaven at last be safe to us.

Nor can we set aside the great fact of God's love, and man's importance in his regard. These things constitute the very essence of the gospel. In accepting these facts we are only learning the great lesson which God himself has been teaching men ever since they first began to distrust him. To displace in the hearts of men the love of God by the feeling of terror, is to relinquish the gospel and accept paganism. The religious sentiment of the future must exhibit more, not less, of the filial confidence of the child of God — the perfect

love which casts out fear. It is not a fault of the prevalent type of feeling that it is too cheerful and hopeful, or that it reflects too much of the light of heaven. Awe and reverence, love and hope, are not antagonistic to each other, and must all spring from a symmetrical apprehension of the character of God.

Any attempt to heighten devotional feeling by an immediate action upon the emotions themselves, must of course, prove a failure. This would be but a reproduction of the condition of things which in part constitutes the difficulty. The thing needed is to get out of ourselves, away from this self-conscious habit of watching and shaping religious feeling. The feeling must come from a contemplation of the objects adapted; to move the hearts of men if this is not effective, there is no remedy. A resort to elaborate and imposing forms of worship cannot afford relief. Even if such forms might possibly be the natural expression of feeling, yet when the feeling is wanting, they are an impertinence and an offence. The rattling skeleton of worship, when life and soul are wanting, cannot be pleasing to God or helpful to man. It seems probable, indeed, that the complicated movements of ritualism, the earlier and the recent, did not originate in the simple sentiment of worship, but in the grave misapprehension that the movements themselves were in some way pleasing to God. It is inconceivable that religious feeling itself should take on such forms.

Neither can outward activity in works of charity and religious labor be made to take the place of the activity and outgoing of soul which constitute true worship. Not that outward activity is in any sense opposed to the earnestness of soul which belongs to the true spiritual life. There is efficiency in the outward labor, when it is an expression of the feelings and affections which should prompt it. But religious labor prosecuted as a work required by God or due to man, will no more add power to our religion than the internal, subjective struggles which spring from a bewildered,



introverted experience. They both fall below the plane of a true Christian life.

The great want of man, now, as in all time, is the direct apprehension of God, the acceptance of the simple facts of religion. There is enough in these facts to constitute a perennial fountain of religious feeling. The problem is, to give these facts such a place in the hearts of men that they shall do their natural work.

Is there not opportunity and occasion to recall the simplicity and directness of the Christian faith? to secure to Christian experience more of the naturalness and reasonableness which characterize the relation of the soul to God? to infuse into our religious instruction and literature more of God and less of man, or to place these in more direct relations to each other, so that our religious system shall be religion, rather than philosophy; a living power, rather than a lifeless thought? Thus the religious affections shall be as simple and direct as the social, and worship as obvious a want as the communion of man with his fellow man.

Towards the establishment of such relations we cannot suppose that God himself will be indifferent. Such a lifting up of the soul to him on the part of his people will find a response in a divine baptism of love and power; and thus the promised glory of the latter days shall be realized, when "the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the tops of the mountains, and all nations shall flow unto it."

## ARTICLE VI.

## CICERO, AND REMARKS ON THE CICERONIAN STYLE.

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WE come, in the present lecture, to look at the eloquence of the great Roman orator and the class of speakers who bear similar characteristics.

For the sake of definiteness and despatch we will turn to one of his orations and describe, as briefly as practicable, both its *argument* and its *rhetoric*. I select for this purpose the orator's plea for Milo; all considering it one of the best specimens (some the best) of skilful oratorical structure which Cicero has furnished us.

In order to appreciate the argument in the case, it is necessary to survey some of the principal facts. The ~~main~~ fact is, that Milo on his way to Lanuvium, and Clodius returning to Rome, met with their respective trains at Bovillae, and the latter was slain by the former. Clodius is represented as a vile and profligate character, a contemner of the gods, and a scourge to the community. He became the enemy of Cicero, and procured his banishment, because the orator testified against him when on trial for a most flagrant offence, and otherwise opposed him in his flagitious designs. Milo, as the champion of Cicero, and the most daring and efficient of the tribunes in bringing about his restoration, came in for a share of Clodius's malignant hatred.

In the year of Rome 701, Milo was a candidate for the consulship against two influential competitors; and at the same time Clodius was a candidate for the pretorship. The friends of Milo were exerting themselves to the utmost to procure, and those of Clodius to resist, his election. While

everything was working advantageously for Milo, and the prospect of his election was very fair, all was suddenly clouded by that disastrous meeting in the Appian Way. Here Clodius, on horse-back, attended by three companions and thirty servants armed, and Milo, with his wife and a female companion and a company of gladiators, came together, and in the fatal affray which followed Clodius was slain. His body was left in the road, where it fell, till found by a senator named Sextius Tediis, who took it to Rome, covered with blood and wounds, and thus exposed it to the populace. In the midst of the factions and tumults that ensued, Cneus Pompey was created sole consul, and immediately published three laws, in one of which he specially noticed the circumstances of Clodius's death. Under these Milo was impeached *de Vi*, *de Ambitu*, and *de Sodalitiis* before a tribunal constituted of men of distinguished abilities and integrity, and headed by an extraordinary president. Pompey was also present, with a strong body of troops, to prevent violence from either side. Cicero conducted the defence alone, and not at the time with his usual ability, being disconcerted, when he commenced, by the rude clamor of the Clodian faction. The oration or plea we have is not so much what he did say as what he meant to say. It was afterward written out by the orator, and then received all the beauty and force his masterly hand could give it. The result of the trial was the condemnation and banishment of Milo; only thirteen of the tribunal being for acquittal and thirty-eight for conviction. It is very manifest that Cicero had a difficult cause to manage, inasmuch as the main facts were against him. The meeting between Milo and Clodius was probably accidental and the slaying a sudden act of revenge. It could not have been in self-defense because Milo was completely master of the field, his adversary having fled to a house, and been dragged out thence to be slain. It was a rash act; probably regretted soon after it was done. Another difficulty arose from the attitude and power of Pompey, who while he was heartily glad that Clodius was thus despatched, determined to take advantage

of the occurrence to put Milo, whose influence he dreaded, also out of the way.

Let us turn now to the oration, and see its structure and argument, and how the orator undertook to dispose of the difficulties in the case. We find in the oration the main parts of a judicial address, or plea, in due order, viz. exordium, proposition, narration, confirmation, peroration. The object of the exordium is to conciliate the good will of the judges, bespeak their attention, and render them favorable to his cause. He makes an apology for the agitation he manifested; pays a compliment to Pompey whose presence greatly refreshes him; intimates to the soldiers and the people that their own dear interests were involved in the fate of Milo. He alludes to the crimes and meditated outrages of the Clodian faction; touches upon the misfortunes of his client, who had failed of the honors just within his grasp, and was now agitated with fear of exile. The exordium ended, he takes his ground of defense. He was advised by some to take this ground: namely, to acknowledge the fact and the intention. We did kill Clodius, and we meant to, and we did it for the public good. But this ground he deemed too bold to be politic. As the other side took the ground that Milo waylaid Clodius, Cicero decided to meet them by confessing the fact that Milo killed Clodius and maintaining that he did it in self-defence, as Clodius was the assailant. This he promises to make clear as the light of day. But before proceeding to the argument, he disposes of a prejudice: namely, that it is never right to take the life of a fellow-man except through the forms of law. He shows that it is right in certain circumstances. He proves the right both from the law of nature and from written laws. Two other false impressions he removes: namely, that Milo had been condemned by the senate, and virtually by Pompey. Having disposed of these prejudgments, the orator proceeds to the main proposition that Clodius waylaid Milo. He has an advantage in taking this ground, by the concession on the other side that one or the other did waylay. This

is the point that Cicero lays himself out to prove; and, while laboring to confirm it, all along artfully insinuates that if Milo had plotted the death of Clodius, he deserves, not condemnation, but thanks for removing so terrible a pest from the community. Cicero's argument to confirm this main position, that Clodius was the assailant, is both artfully and artistically constructed. We first have the argument as occurring in the narration, which embodies and contains all the material of it. He begins with stating facts before the fatal departures: In the case of Clodius, there was the fear that Milo might be consul, while he was pretor; the threat of death to Milo, fixing the day in which he should perish; Clodius's knowledge of the very day Milo must leave Rome on official duty, and his consequent preparations. In the case of Milo there were none of these. Cicero next states the circumstances of each as they went on this fatal journey: Clodius was on horse-back with a well armed company. He had no impediments whatever — chariot, wife, Greek attendants — as he always had. Milo had his wife; was in his chariot, bound up in his cloak, with every common impediment, and a large train of boys and girls. When they came together the party of Clodius made the attack, from ground well chosen, slew the charioteer of Milo, and when in the ensuing contest Clodius was slain, it was without the presence, command, or knowledge of Milo. This is the narration. The question is then constituted, and the orator draws out his conjectural argument, as it was called. In other words, he turns his narration into strong presumptive proofs that Clodius was the assassin. The whole is brought to the test of these three topics: namely, the will, the power, the signs. So far as the will or disposition is concerned, Clodius is presumed to be the assassin. Under this head he affirms: first, it was for the advantage of Milo to have Clodius live, his success in running for the consulship depending greatly upon the life of Clodius; his prospects being utterly blasted by his death occurring as it did. Second, Clodius ever manifested a deadly hostility to Milo, as the friend and defender



of Cicero, and as restricting himself in his career of violence: Milo could look upon Clodius only as the instrument or occasion of his own glory. Third, the orator adduces the nature of each: that of Clodius, violent, blood-thirsty; that of Milo calm, virtuous, benevolent. Thus it is shown, that the will to slay was altogether with Clodius; the will not to slay, with Milo.

Then follows the argument from the signs, which, in this case, is chiefly the manifestation of the will in word; or that Clodius repeatedly threatened the life of Milo in general, and, at length, declared specifically that in three days he would perish, as was exactly accomplished. And secondly the promptness with which Milo returned to Rome after the fact; the calmness of his speech; his whole appearance of conscious integrity and security; and the readiness with which he surrendered himself to the authorities.

The third topic is the power of doing the deed. This the orator shows, was with Clodius. Clodius had a previous knowledge of Milo's journey; and thus could make, and did make, every arrangement. He picked and armed his men; he chose his place, one favorable to Clodius, unfavorable to Milo. Milo had every impediment — chariot, wife, clothing, companions. Clodius was free from all these impediments. Now, is met the question which comes up against this argument: How did it come to pass that Clodius, and not Milo, was killed? Something is attributed to fortune; but more to the intrepidity and energy of Milo, as against the unskilled, gluttonous, drunken, vacillating Clodius. Here the argument upon the proposition really ends; but there is added to the argumentative part an address to Pompey, containing a little censure and much flattery; and one to the judges, assuring them of safety in doing right; then a recurrence to the great topic, or point, that Clodius was justly slain, with citations to sustain it by the authority of Grecian and Roman precedents where slayers of public pests and enemies have not only been justified, but honored and rewarded. In his peroration the orator assumes a beseeching attitude,

or tone, and implores the compassion of the judges for his client.

Closing up here this so imperfect analysis of the oration, I pass on to remark upon its argument, stating and answering these two questions: First, What is the nature of this argument? Second, what the marks of skill in the management? First, as to the nature of the argument. It is the argument *a priori*. The great fact admitted, then the main business is to account for it. Admitting that Milo slew Clodius, the orator reasons from certain causes to account for this fact, supposing, or assuming, in the argument, that Clodius waylaid Milo, intending to assassinate him. Thus the fact conceded is, that Milo slew Clodius. The fact assumed is, Clodius meant to assassinate Milo. This fact assumed, the great fact to be proved. The causes reasoned from are mainly those which have been named: First, the violent hatred Clodius bore against Milo — a hatred whose strength and deadliness and purpose are proved from his repeated declarations that he would be the death of Milo. Secondly, the great interest he had in the death of Milo. These constitute the gist and strength of the argument. Without them it would be contemptible — would, indeed, be no argument. These are the causes which naturally operated to lead Clodius to pick and arm his men, to choose his ground, to be there at the time he was for the purpose of assassinating Milo. In most cases, I think, the circumstantial argument is in its leading features *a priori*, that is, the search is for causes which will account for the effect. As in the case of a wretched man in Vermont, who, some time ago, lay convicted of the murder of his wife. She hangs suspended by his handkerchief in their chamber at dead of night. He rouses his neighbors with the report that his wife has hung herself. But he is arrested, tried, convicted; the evidence being his evident desire for his wife's death, arising from a notorious and most guilty attachment, and his having said to this other person that this obstacle should be removed. The argument here,

the same as in the case of Clodius — the cause existing in himself, and declared by himself, which would lead to that effect, as accounting for the effect. And when there is no other way of accounting for the effect, the argument is complete, conclusive.

The argument *a priori* and *a posteriori* may meet in the same case, as thus: The accused was known to have such feeling as would lead to the crime; this a consideration *a priori*. A knife such as would inflict the wound is found on his premises with gore upon it; — this last circumstance operating as an argument on the *posteriori* principle. In the terms of Whately, the murder is the condition of that bloody knife's being found in his possession. In other words, but for the murder that gory blade would not have been in his keeping. When the two kinds of argument fairly meet, they create, often, the assurance of certainty in conclusions from the fact.

But I pass to the next point, and designate some of the marks of skill in the structure and management of the argument. For the most part, there is a fine logical arrangement. The arguments are well put. Our orator is very skilful as to the time and place of answering the objections, or removing the prejudgments which stood in his way; because his argument, in face of those prejudgments, must have been wholly unavailing.

When he had thus cleared the way to his proposition, or the point on which the whole was to hinge, he is careful to state this with great skill and precision; and he repeats it and summons attention to it in such a way that no one can miss or mistake it. This is an admirable feature, and should always be attended to. Let every word in the proposition be well weighed and rightly chosen; let the whole be apprehensible, and *make it* to be understood.

The orator's skill in supporting the ground he took is very manifest. His cause, we must bear in mind, was not a good one. His ground of defence, though, as he thought, the best he could take, was very questionable. He doubtless

knew this. Hence his art in not resting his cause wholly on this ground. He really, but slyly, supplies this deficiency — shores up this weakness by another proposition; not formally stated, for he dare not thus state it, lest it should produce a revulsion; it comes in by the way, and yet it is prominent throughout the argument, namely, that Milo is justified in slaying Clodius, as thereby he removed from the state a most dangerous enemy. This point is argued indirectly, but with a good stomach, all through the plea. The strong facts in the case are made much of. They come up again and again and again; particularly Clodius's deadly hatred of Milo, his great interest in his death, the declaration that he would take him out of the way; above all, that in three days he would despatch him. These, in connection with the circumstances of the journey, the time, and place, are wielded with great effect. Here the reason is addressed — the *argumentum ad rationem*. The orator tries to corroborate the impression or conviction by the *argumentum ad invidiam*. He takes every opportunity to prejudice Clodius in the minds of the judges and of Pompey. His base deeds, his violence, especially his attempt on the life of Pompey, — these are constantly cropping out. So, also, our orator's examples and precedents are most significantly chosen for this object. As many are brought in as possible in which Clodius has figured infamously. Thus the same instances are made to do the double service of *argumentum ad rationem, et ad invidiam*.

Decided skill is seen in the progress, the climacteric structure of the argument. The orator gets on higher ground, and becomes bolder as he advances. He begins by proving that Milo ought to be cleared; he ends by showing that he ought to be praised and rewarded. When the object was to remove prejudice, at the opening of the argument, he only says it was right for Milo to kill Clodius. When near the close, and the object is more rhetorical, more to move by the vehemence of his argument, he shows that the deed was noble in Milo; by it he has become the saviour of his

country. Greece, Rome, have always honored those who have put out of the way such pests.

The recapitulation is very clearly, concisely, and rapidly stated, in the form of concentrated accumulation. Managed with the Roman orator's skill, there is great force in it. It is a sort of gathering and twisting of the several threads and strands of the argument into one hard and tough cord. It is thrown at the opponent's feet, with the challenge: "Break that rope, if you can."

In speaking of the *style* of Cicero, it is saying what everybody knows, that he took the greatest pains with it. He meant to gather into his own, the excellences of all styles, and thus furnish the world a specimen of perfection in this particular. And it is the opinion of Quintilian that there is found in his style the strength of Demosthenes, the copiousness of Plato, and the sweetness of Isocrates. Two thirds of this is probably true. "*Copiam Platonis, and jucunditatem Isocratis*" are found in the Roman orator's style, but not "*vim Demosthenis*." Strength cannot be claimed as a characteristic of Cicero's style; nor can simplicity. Copiousness, fulness, roundness, no one will deny to it. These stand out everywhere. There are a great many verbs, a great many nouns, a great many adjectives. Verbs, nouns, adjectives nearly synonymous, are often used in order to make out the fulness or swell, the rhythm or balance of the sentence. The style is therefore epithetical. The following pleonasms we opened to, all in the same vicinity: "*et imploro et exposco*"; Milo's address is: "*stabilem ac non mutatam*." Again, we have: "*fortes et animosos*." This fulness, amounting to redundancy, is everywhere seen. The style is not only full, flowing, copious; it is highly sonorous when spoken. Our orator manifestly loved noisy words. Hence the frequency of the gerundive. He loved the thunder of the gerundive: "*Ad lacerandam rempublicam*"; three lines further on: "*ad evertendam rempublicam, occidendum Milonem*." The superlative form, as helping this swell and sound, is often resorted to. This, with the roll and roar of



the genitive plural, doubtless made rapturous music to the Roman orator's ear. "Qui spe amplissimorum premiorum"; "Metu crudelissimorum, cavere non possumus." Everybody and everything is "issimus" or "issimorum," at one end of the scale or the other. It is said that in printing a work of Chateaubriand, the workmen throughout the office exhausted the letters *a*, *n*, and *t*, which was a mystery to them, till a critical friend pointed out the cause in that author's exorbitant partiality to the participial termination "ant," which he constantly used instead of the pronoun and the verb. We think the printer of Cicero's works would be obliged to prepare himself especially, or come short in his ability to set up all his favorite, high-sounding combinations. But, while there is sound, there is harmony. This is a grand characteristic in his style. He studied rhythm in every part. This was a matter of more importance in the Latin than in our language, because more practicable. The Roman loves a more frequent recurrence of long syllables. The Greek loved more of the short. We find this constant balancing of long and short in our Ciceronian-English writers and speakers. The following is an example: "Soon the laurels of yonder hero will have withered; those venerable senators will be incapable of legislating; those erudite judges, of presiding; the tongue of that resistless advocate will falter as he pleads; the persuasive accents of yonder pulpit orator will die away, and be heard no more; and all that active and successful talent which adorns the age will disappear; and its honored possessors, conducted in succession to their graves, will moulder amid sepulchral ashes, forgotten, or remembered only by the monuments of glory they shall have during their transitory life erected." Here, now, the rhythm is produced by the predominance of feet of two syllables, long and short, short and long. The following, from Mr. Grattan's peroration on the declaration of Irish rights, in which feet of three and four syllables preponderate, moves, as any ear will detect, very differently from the preceding: "Though he who utters this should die, yet the immortal fire shall outlast

the humble organ who conveys it, and the breath of liberty, like the word of the holy man, will not die with the prophet, but survive him."

No Ciceronian ear would be satisfied with this simple close. The Roman orator commonly constructed a more ambitious ending; and we should say that he has too much of the same style of ending. He loved to close with the pæan, that is, three short syllables and a long. His celebrated "*esse videatur*" is of this measure. The same movement is very oft occurring at the close of the period: "*esse fateretur*"; "*nullam haberemus*"; "*justa repetenda*"; "*silentium pollicentur*"; "*omnes concidissent*"; "*confere audeamus*"; "*certe non debeo.*" This will do better for the Roman than for us. A sharp critic tells us that it is not English, not idiomatic in our tongue, to be ever bringing about this balanced and swelling close to our sentences. It is evidence of an immature writer. Such an one will take care so to husband his more dignified words, and to plan their disposition that, instead of having some little word to end with, he may be possessed of a mighty expression with which to conclude.

The faults of the Roman orator's style are that the copiousness sometimes runs into verbosity; the sound sometimes exceeds the sense; that it is too artificial in the whole structure, the art being very manifest, even obtrusive; a too bold and unblushing display of the speaker's power, sacrificing the subject in hand to the vanity of the orator. The excellences of the style are its wealth of language; its brilliance and beauty, often, its harmony everywhere; its graphic, accumulative sketching; its lucid clearness; its solid argument and pregnant sententiousness, now and then, and, occasionally, deep pathos. All these are high excellences of style; and they belonged to the Roman, and to all the true members of the Ciceronian school.

What the effect of the Roman orator's eloquence? What the power? Though the effect of this type or style could not be so general and great as that of the Grecian school,

on some minds, for some occasions, it would probably be greater; but in all cases very different. There was nothing forceful, coercive, overbearing, in the power of the Roman orator. The secret of his power, was, perhaps, here. He would attract attention by the elegance and harmony of his periods, the frequent splendor of his figures. He would bear his hearers along on an obvious, straight line of discourse. He would have a respectable amount of argument for the reason, and intersperse striking philosophical sentiments to feed the intellect; he would utter fervid declamation, and, now and then, pour out a torrent of concise vehemence; but especially, and through the whole, would insinuate himself into the minds of his hearers, win their favor, captivate their affections; would touch all the feelings — flatter their vanity, rouse their selfishness, stir their hopes and fears, bespeak their pity; and thus, more by the force of persuasion than of conviction, would he carry his points.

The logic and rhetoric of Cicero may be further illustrated as we proceed to compare for a little the Roman with the Grecian orator.<sup>1</sup> Cicero and Demosthenes, we have said, stand at the head of two somewhat contrasted schools of eloquence. In some respects they were alike; in more they were different; in a few they were opposite to each other. They were alike in the pains they took to acquire the best oratorical gifts. They both sought the best masters, corrected every fault they could, and brought out every practicable excellence. They both perfected, according to their respective notions, their style and manner; were alike in vehemence and profusion of action. They were alike in the studied carefulness of their preparations; alike too, in skilful rhetorical repetitions; by both the strong points, facts, arguments, were presented again and again in different modes and connections.

Cicero has the advantage of Demosthenes, is superior to him, in clear methodical arrangement. The Roman has the

<sup>1</sup> This, which follows, constituted a separate lecture in Prof. Shepard's course.

*lucidus ordo*, the Grecian, not so perfectly. We can easily follow the former, tracing, as we proceed, the thread of discourse; not so easily, the latter. The discourse of Cicero was constructed more artistically, more according to rule; that of Demosthenes in a more free, untrammelled way. Demosthenes came, as it were, before rhetoric, and by a masterly practice suggested rules. Cicero came later, and availed himself of the precepts drawn from the antecedent masters.

Hence we have more nature in the Grecian, more art in the Roman. They were different in the feelings, under whose sway they spoke, and in the object held in view. Demosthenes had a single object and a rigid purpose; he spoke in a severe, intensely braced frame of mind; he meant, if possible, to do execution, accomplish something, make men act. Cicero was commonly in a less earnest, executive mood; was more relaxed, easy, sportive. While the aim of the one was to convince, and sweep away the hearer in the right direction, the aim of the other was in part to please, charm, and win admiration. The former forgets himself, except so far as he is personally linked with his cause; hides himself and puts forward his subject. The latter makes the orator prominent. Cicero, the man of so many noble deeds and brilliant honors, stands out boldly on the canvass.

The Grecian is abstemious in the use of language, figures, embellishments, rarely going abroad for them, or using them for their own sake. The Roman sought after beauties, worked up figures, and piled up language from a love, a strong relish, for such things. Hence the former was concise, strong, buisness-like, having nothing to be spared from any part. The latter was full, flowing, often redundant, or verbose. The Roman drew attention more to the costume; the Grecian more to the idea, the substance, the argument. Cicero has the most pathos; Demosthenes the most inwrought, intense, impelling passion. The former would coruscate, attract, and gain admiration by his union of splendor and harmony. The latter dealt more in the true electric

fire, and that not a flash in the horizon, but a living spark shot strait and hot into the minds of the people. They both had power; the Grecian far the most. They both had excellences; but all the authorities unite in saying that there are more things worthy to be copied, fewer to be avoided, in the Grecian than in the Roman model.

In proceeding to state a few rhetorical principles, or lessons, suggested by what has gone before, I remark:

1. The doctrine that rapidity is one of the great laws or conditions of eloquence, we derive both from the Roman and the Grecian orator. There is more of this in the Grecian than in the Roman; and for this the Grecian is the more powerful. And where the Roman attains to be truly effective he obeys this law. We here learn it from his success. We again learn it from his failure. He lingers in amplification upon his figures or his thoughts, till we are weary with standing still.

As to the gaining or securing of this rapidity, it is not, of course, gained by being in a hurry, not gained by quick enunciation, or violent gesture. One thing in the describing is: it is perpetual and manifest progress. We are getting consciously along all the while,—a very comfortable sensation when in the hearing of a discourse. Another, and the principal, thing is, that the speaker contrives to get out his effective things directly, without any circuitousness or lumber. The whole figure, thought, or scene, comes out with a suddenness and strength which thrills and electrifies often. The expanded, hard-ridden, long-ridden figure the orator repudiates. The poet may use it; the earnest speaker execrates it. Said Mr. Grattan, touching his connection with Irish independence: “I sat by her cradle; I followed her hearse.” This is the rapidity of conciseness. There is also the rapidity of enumeration and amplification. We are wafted, as on eagle’s wings, over a large field and see every object it contains. When this is well done it has at once beauty and force. The rapidity of the sketching increases, or it should, as the orator advances in the figure; as in this



instance from Cicero: "He has obtruded his lust upon the most hallowed rites of religion; he has broken the most solemn decrees of the senate; he has openly bribed the judges; harassed the senate in his tribuneship; has defeated measures adopted by all the orders for the safety of the republic; driven me from the country, plundered my goods, burned my house, vexed my wife and children, declared an atrocious war against Pompey; has slaughtered private citizens and public magistrates; has laid waste Etruria, ejected many from their seats and fortunes; has urged on his nefarious course till the city, Italy, provinces, kingdoms, could not hold his madness." In this sketching, amplifying movement, depending on its rapidity for its efficacy, Cicero abounds. He is, perhaps, the greatest ancient, as Dr. Chalmers is, probably, the greatest modern, master of it.

2. It is suggested to us by the combined example of the Roman and the Grecian orator, that the extreme of either copiousness or conciseness is faulty. The mingling of the two makes the truly effective oratorical style. The extreme of copiousness — this, of course, has always been condemned. But conciseness in eloquence has been praised so much, and, sometimes, in such a way as to give prevalence to the idea, the greater the conciseness, the more the power. There was a school holding this doctrine at Rome in the time of Cicero, and the disciples of it greatly censured his eloquence. "These men," says Middleton, "affected a minute and fastidious correctness; pointed sentences; short and concise periods, without a syllable to spare in them; as if perfection in oratory consisted in frugality of words, and in crowding our sentiments into the narrowest possible compass. These claimed to belong pre-eminently to the Attic school."

O'Connel, the Irish orator and agitator, has been set down as belonging to this extremely frugal, concise school. Mr. Shiel tells us, "that he flings, with the improvidence of his country, a brood of robust thoughts upon the world without a rag to cover them." There is certainly great conciseness in the Irish orator, but not to the extent here represented.

There is certainly great power in it, often, in the places, and for the purposes he speaks. — But to go back to the highest authority. The great Grecian orator has been thought by some to favor the extreme of conciseness. It is true that his practice teaches the beauty and power of conciseness as an element in oratory; but it does not by any means authorize the utmost conciseness. The extreme of conciseness would be fatal to any spoken discourse. There must be conciseness; and while this should have its place, copiousness also should have its place. We have the authority not only of the Roman orator, but also that of the Grecian, and of all the most effective speakers, for being, at times, copious in discourse. Demosthenes, for example, might have said: While the statesmen of Greece were all corrupted by Phillip, nothing ever prevailed on me to betray, in the least, the interests of my country. This gets out the idea clearly, fully, and in the fewest words. But the orator is not content thus to express himself, and the copiousness he resorts to gives far greater force to the sentiment, in the place, where it occurs. He says: “While the statesmen of Greece were all corrupted by Phillip, over me, neither opportunity, nor fair speeches, nor lavish promises, nor hopes, nor fears, nor favors, nor any other earthly consideration, ever prevailed, seducing, or driving me to betray, in any one particular, what I deemed the rights and interests of my country.” This is copiousness, Ciceronian, we might call it, but for the anachronism — a beautiful and an effective copiousness. Verbosity is altogether another thing. Copiousness, in its place, is picturesque and impressive. Verbosity is always unmeaning, heavy, frigid. Very strong feeling sometimes demands copiousness for its expression, sometimes, conciseness. When we wish to prolong attention to what most deeply interests us, we resort to copiousness, the cumulative enumeration. When we wish to drive a sentiment right into others, we resort to conciseness. Of this we find something in the Roman, more in the Grecian, orator. With his full, flowing utterance, the latter continually intersperses the brightest and sharpest sentences

and so frames the true, and cogent oratorical style. We find this intermixture in the best English orators. Mr. Grattan, for example, made his reply to Corry under a very fury, a whirlwind of excitement, and the speech as a whole is remarkable for its pithy, cutting, conciseness; and yet, we find in it, passages of amplifying copiousness. For instance, he says: "That language, if uttered out of the House, I should answer with a *blow*. I care not how high his situation, how low his character, how contemptible his speech; whether a privy councillor or a parasite, my answer would be a blow." A good ending; having none of the jingle of the *esse videatur*. I think all must have perceived, and sometimes felt that the very concise sentences, charged with meaning and uttered with struggling emotions, are the mightiest that are ever uttered. The most thrilling parts of Patrick Henry's greatest speech, were the phrases, "*We must fight*," "*Let it come*." The most eloquent and electric thing in a speech of Mr. Webster's which I once heard in Faneuil Hall, was the place and the manner in which he uttered the words "I know it." While, then, we concede the importance, and even necessity of copiousness, — and it is necessary to set off the conciseness, — we still say, if a man has not also the power of a pregnant conciseness, if he cannot, when occasion requires, condense a great meaning into a little language, and let it off with the true intensity and impulse, then he has not made his last attainment in oratory.

I wish, in the next place, to make a few remarks upon the subject of rhythm, measure, and sound in oratory. The Roman orator paid, as we have seen, great attention to these. Are we in the main to disregard these outward things? By no means. Eloquence consists, to some extent, in the movement, the balance, the sound. Indeed, much in this respect, even in our language, depends upon the structure that will please the ear. And let me remark, right here it is that many have made their fatal mistake. They have sought to please the ear all the time. This rightly done is well enough, but they have misjudged as to the mode. They

attain the one movement which to their ear yields the most music, and give us that all through. That precise measure and admirable balance appear in every sentence. That same beautiful cadence sets us sweetly down at the close of every period. This monotony of structure, no matter how melodious, we do not wish to hear it. We want nothing like the even, Johnsonian balance, made up of a stately beginning and a stately ending : a style which an English critic somewhat humorously compares to "that article of dress, which the French had then lately made peace with, a pair of pantaloons, divided into two parts, equal in length, breadth, and substance, with a protuberance before and behind." This is not the true rhythm in eloquence. One protuberance is usually quite enough for one sentence ; and often it is better with none. The true movement admits variety. It is not all rhythm, nor all flow, but rhythms and ruggednesses succeeding and interchanging, some round, some sharp. If some are artificial and stately, more are natural, flexible, easy. The effect of harmony is promoted by occasional discords ; so the fine rhythm in sentences, is set off, and even made more productive of pleasure by something which now and then strikes harshly on the ear. And here I make the remark distinctly, that this whole matter must be left with the ear. The end is to be gained not by formal rule, but through the dictates of the ear at the time. It is important that the ear be right, because the ear really governs us in our style, is higher in authority than the mouth. Perhaps I err in giving the ear too much pre-eminence. I am not quite sure that there is not something, sometimes, in the very build of the mouth which modifies the style of the person ; a certain roundness, or capacity of organ which demands, in order to fill it, a full and sonorous emission. This, evidently, was the opinion of the individual, who, having to prepare for the Lord Mayor a speech, desired, first, to take the dimensions of his Lordship's mouth. But to return to the ear, which doubtless, will have the precedence. We say, it is as safe, in rhetoric, to follow the ear, properly enlightened and



trained, as it is in morals, to follow the conscience. And for this service which the ear renders to the orator, it has a right to demand something for its own sake. A word may sometimes be put in, not so much to aid the sense, as to please the ear, to give a fulness and harmony to the combination.

Intimately connected with this subject of rhythm and the ear, is that of models. The utility of them under the right conditions, I think, is unquestionable. They contribute greatly, not altogether, to make every man what he is in style. Cicero took to the Asiatic models, rather than to the Greek, and the result was an extreme of the copious and flowing. It is all-important that the orator select right models. Right models are, as it were, to the ear, what the Bible is to the conscience. I assume that every one will have some model, or models. Indeed, there is no way to avoid this. The cry against models sometimes raised, as making men artificial, mere imitators, is perfectly nonsensical. As they will be had, those had, ought to be the right ones. How, then, is a person to select them? He should proceed, in the premises, not altogether according to his liking, but also according to his judgment. Let him know what are the faults of his style, what the false reports of his ear; then let him proceed somewhat on the principle of contrast, somewhat against predilection it may be. If too much given to sound and redundancy, let him select from the barren school, the severely Attic. If bareness, dryness, barrenness is the fault, let him take more to the prolific school. There are some men who would do well to read Jeremy Taylor. There are others who ought never to touch him. While correction is going on in any particular, there should be a preponderance in that class of models which stand over against our fault. If we are down in the ditch, the man who lifts us out must be above, on the dry, hard ground. If we are high up, the man who helps us down must, ordinarily, be beneath.

In what I have said of models, I wish to be understood only so far as consistent with another remark which I regard



as true and important, viz. that every person should, to some extent, consult his own idiosyncrasy, constitutional peculiarity, in the style he adopts. It is in the nature of some to be copious, wordy, of others to be close, stringent; these can never change places to advantage; of the constitutionally stringent man you can never make a Cicero; he may be better for being relaxed; but you can never relax him into a Cicero. Let him abide in his place. Nor of the constitutionally copious man, can you ever make a Demosthenes. He may be better for being braced and compressed; but you can never compress him into a Demosthenes. Let him abide in his place. The one may acquire from models, freeness and grace, the other, closeness and force. I remark again, that in pronouncing upon the Ciceronian style, we must concede, that in skilful hands, it is a good style; for some purposes, and some occasions, it is the best, the most effective. Where the object is to soothe, or please, or attract, or persuade, the fulness and the melody of the Roman are wanted. The Ciceronian is a more popular style of oratory than the opposite; I know not but it has ten admirers where the other has one. It is also far more easily caught than the other; far more successfully imitated. The consequence is, we have much more in English writing and oratory of the Ciceronian structure and movement than of the Demosthenian. We find, indeed, many admirable masters of this style. Edmund Burke is a pre-eminent example. Though Demosthenes was his favorite in the closet, yet, in his practice the predominance of the Ciceronian appears; the Ciceronian chastened and perfected. The two Pitts were, on the whole, Ciceronian; the younger decidedly so. The father was marked by a streak of the Grecian fire. Sir James Mackintosh was altogether of the amplifying school, and a very fine instance of it, too. Perhaps, the most finished and beautiful specimen of the Ciceronian eloquence is Robert Hall. We have in him the excellences of this style with none of its faults. He is a perfect model of it, whom we can commend without any qualification; one who will show us all the harmony the

English language is capable of. Though Burke and Hall are both of the school of Cicero, they are far less imitable than Cicero himself. We have fine specimens of this style in our own country. Mr. Wirt was decidedly of this school, and few men could give sounder sense in richer music. Colonel Hayne who participated in the great debate in the United States Senate in the winter of 1830, is splendidly, rather pompously, Ciceronian. And Mr. Webster in the opening of his reply to Mr. Hayne has not a little of the Roman's fulness, though, commonly, he is rather characterized by simplicity, verging toward severity. Mr. Clay, perhaps, is one of the most accomplished amplifiers of our country. The Southern speaker is expected to be warmed into more luxuriance than the Northern. John Randolph, at times, had great power, and might have fallen into the Ciceronian class; but he was commonly, when he rose too cross to speak in long and flowing periods. He seemed, often, to have so much of the cur about him, particularly in his later days, that he could only spit out his sentences, incoherently, in a sort of quick and snappish brevity.

One of the infelicities attending this style is, that its peculiarities are apt to be pressed to far. It is very easily abused; its music changed to mere jingle; its fulness blown up into disgusting bombast. We need not look long nor far for specimens, so strong is the tendency to excess, to an amplifying, overloaded luxuriance. If we go to what is called the Irish school, we shall find this abuse of the Ciceronian characteristics, legitimately run out, and existing in their most bloated perfection. We hear of "wreathing the immortal shamrock round the brow of painting, poetry and eloquence;" "of souls swelling with the energies, and stamped with the patent of the Deity;" of one "whose prayers are curses, whose communion is death, whose vengeance is eternity; in form a fury, in act a demon; her heart festered with the fires of hell; her hands clotted with the gore of earth; her path apparent by the print of blood; her pause denoted by the expanse of desolation." We may

well say, in the words of Burnett, "that this is a gibberish kind of language, which sounds like somewhat that is sublime, but, really, has nothing under it." Yet this is exceedingly taking in some quarters, and the admirers will read and praise, and then soar and sing in like strain. It is insisted that this is eloquence in its finest form and garb. If it *be* eloquence, then the clowns and the peacocks have it; the Grecian, the great Roman even, had it not. It would be eloquence, were the people made all ear and no brains. But considerable numbers happen not to have been so made. Some *thought, substance*, then, must go into the article. Whatever it is, in its perfect structure, eloquence is a noble combination, and noble, too, and wonderful often in its achievements. It has held spell-bound the minds and hearts of assembled thousands; it has made them tremble and made them weep; it has melted all hearts into one, beating with his who spoke; it has stirred the depths of passion, and fixed the stern resolve, and strung every arm to high endeavors. That one mind and voice has swayed his peers; swept onward the multitude; reached, as by an electric power, distant nations; changed the destinies of the world; and affected, widely, the immeasurable interests of the eternal scene.

## ARTICLE VII.

## ORIGIN AND SIGNIFICANCE OF JEWISH SACRIFICES.

THIS Article will be devoted to a somewhat detailed account of certain theories of the Origin of Sacrifices which have been advanced at different times. The one to which attention will be first turned is that of John Spencer, as set forth in his celebrated work *De Legibus Hebraeorum*, written in Latin, and printed in 1685.

It was almost unavoidable that the long period of servitude which the Israelites passed through in Egypt should have had the effect of obliterating from their minds, to a very great extent, the knowledge of the true God, and creating an attachment to the modes of worship which were practised by their oppressors. The means which God saw fit to use to bring them back to their former purer belief were not such as might seem to us the most direct and efficient. He adopted, instead, a very circuitous method. The Israelites had been habituated while in Egypt to a mode of worship which abounded in sacrifices, and God chose, therefore, to incorporate similar observances into the Mosaic economy, lest by creating too violent a contrast between this economy and the Egyptian form of worship, the minds of the Hebrews should be filled with disgust, and should reject with abhorrence the new religion. Sacrifices neither in themselves, nor by virtue of that which they typify, are directly pleasing to the mind of God; they are tolerated merely, in condescension to human infirmity, as a necessary though disagreeable means of preventing a greater evil.

The language of Chrysostom in his sixth Homily on Matthew gives a correct statement of the true origin of sacrifices. "All the religious rites, he says, prescribed to the Jews, and especially sacrifices, had their origin in the rudeness of

paganism. God, in his care for the salvation of men, allowed such forms to be used in his own worship as had been employed in the worship of idols; those only which were of a positively sinful character being excluded. It was intended by this," Chrysostom goes on to say, "to lead men by a gradual progress to a purer and less carnal form of worship."

It will now be attempted to show that sacrifices formally considered, that is to say, as offerings to Jehovah, are to be traced, not to divine appointment, but rather to the gross modes of thinking common among pagan nations.

We quote first the language used by David in Psa. li. 16 : "For thou desirest not sacrifice, else would I give it; thou delightest not in burnt-offering." The reader will easily recall Paul's allusion to this passage in the tenth of Hebrews. The words of Theophylact, commenting on this passage, are very pertinent : "Does any one inquire," he asks, "whether the sacrifices enjoined in the Levitical law were agreeable to the will of God? They were so unquestionably; but, then, it must be considered that the will of God has a twofold aspect, direct and indirect, as the will of direct purpose and the will of allowance. In affirming, therefore, the agreeableness of sacrifices to the will of God, reference is had to the will of allowance. The Hebrews were seen to be strongly disposed to the worship of idols in the use of sacrificial rites, and God allowed them therefore to sacrifice to himself, lest, if they were forbidden to do so, they should sacrifice to idols." The introduction of sacrifices into the Mosaic economy cannot be accounted for otherwise.

We quote also Isa. i. 11, 12, in which passage God is represented as saying to the Jews : "To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me; I am full of the burnt-offerings of rams and the fat of fed beasts?" etc. The obvious import of these words is that God has no direct pleasure in sacrifices, and never directly enjoined them, but merely permitted their use. It is admitted that a different view is sometimes taken of Isaiah's words. The Israelites,



it is said, were inclined to believe that altars laden with sacrifices, and the odor of incense ascending to heaven were in themselves, and apart from their significance, and from the mental state of the worshipper which they represented, pleasing to Jehovah. The passage before us was designed to correct this very crude notion. But, it should be carefully noted, not that sacrifices were offered by the Jews hypocritically, but that absolutely they were not commanded by Jehovah; not that God positively disapproved of them, but merely that he did not positively require them.

It may, perhaps, be asked here, why, if God did not have direct pleasure in sacrifices, Moses should so earnestly require them, and preface his requirement, in so many cases, by the formula: "Thus saith the Lord"? Why did David, when near the close of life, enjoin on his successor so careful an observance of these ordinances as they were written in the law of Moses? And why did the Jewish nation adhere to this law, on the whole, with so much constancy? One answer to these questions is, that many of the passages in which sacrifices are thought to be required are couched in the language of permission, rather than of command. Thus it is said, in Lev. i. 2: "*If* any man of you bring an offering unto the Lord, ye shall bring an offering of your cattle." By this language may be meant, not that Jehovah directly enjoins sacrifices, but merely that, if it is in one's mind to offer a sacrifice, it should be done spontaneously, cheerfully. Another answer to these questions is, that many of the commands relative to sacrifices refer rather to the Being to whom they are to be presented than to the sacrifices themselves. Let every one who wishes to sacrifice be careful and sacrifice to Jehovah, and not to any false god. The words addressed by the angel to Manoah may be regarded as a commentary on these passages. "Though thou detain me," the angel says, "I will not eat of thy bread, and if thou wilt offer a burnt-offering, thou must offer it unto the Lord," — if the sacrifice must be presented, let it be presented to the only proper object of religious homage. Still another an-

swer is, that none of these commands were given until the people had already offered sacrifice to the golden calf. They betrayed in that act such an unconquerable fondness for this form of worship, that the necessity of yielding to it, in some measure, may be said to have now become apparent to the mind of God ; and, as this fondness had nothing in it which was intrinsically wicked, it was indulged, lest, if repressed too violently, it should break out in some more odious form. God uttered these commands, not spontaneously, but, if such language may be allowed, from compulsion ; they were extorted, rather than freely given. Sacrifices were allowed observances, rather than manifestations of obedience to a direct command. Thus Chrysostom affirms that God is not to be conceived as requiring sacrifices of his own accord, from direct preference, but out of indulgence to the people.

A third passage, which may be used in support of our main proposition occurs in Amos v. 25, 26 : " Have ye offered unto me sacrifices and offerings in the wilderness forty years, O house of Israel ? But ye have borne the tabernacles of your god Moloch and Chiun," etc. A certain class of interpreters, with a view of elucidating this somewhat difficult passage, have maintained that the Israelites did not offer sacrifices to Jehovah at all so long as they were in the desert—that they were relieved not only of the yoke of circumcision, but of sacrifices. This opinion, however, is open to very serious objection, on this, if on no other ground, that the Israelites sought permission to go into the wilderness for the very purpose of offering sacrifices. Other interpreters maintain that the words of Amos imply only that the Israelites sacrificed, while in the desert, sparingly ; or that, in as much as during their wanderings they were strongly inclined to idolatry, God regarded their sacrifices less as acts of homage to himself than of veneration to false gods, thereby denying to them the character of sacrifices. These interpretations are manifestly forced and inadequate. The passage expressly denies that during the wanderings of

the Israelites in the wilderness any sacrifices had been offered to Jehovah. In what sense, now, are we to understand this denial? The most satisfactory explanation is this: God is not to be understood as denying that the Israelites while in the desert offered sacrifices, but as affirming that he had not required any such form of worship, on his own account. We are to emphasize the phrase, "to me." "You suppose," he would be understood as saying, "that, in sacrificing you do what is extremely pleasing to me; you deceive yourselves. Did you not, while in the desert, worship the calf — sacrifice to Moloch and to Chiun? To hinder you, now, from going to greater lengths in idolatry, I directed that a tabernacle should be erected, and sacrifices be offered to me at its door. In reality, therefore, you sacrificed to your own passions, rather than to me. You contracted moral disease, while in Egypt, of such a nature that it could be healed in no other way than by a continuance of the same practice by which it had been produced at first." The explanation now given is by no means novel. It is in harmony with the opinion of the Fathers. The people, it is the remark of Epiphanius, sacrificed, not because God would be pleased with the act, but because such an inveterate habit of sacrificing had been acquired in Egypt, and Jehovah, by temporary indulgence, would allure them away from idolatrous worship. Tertullian and Justin Martyr speak, with equal plainness, to the same effect.

If the interpretation now suggested seems subtile and refined, let it be remembered that similar forms of expression are not unusual in the Bible. It is said, for instance, in Isa. xliii. 23: "Neither hast thou honored me with thy sacrifices," as if reproaching the people for not presenting sacrifices; while in other parts of the same prophecy they are blamed for the multitude of their offerings. Yet the prophet is by no means inconsistent with himself. The people are blamed for persisting in a practice in itself by no means grateful to Jehovah, though it was permitted on account of the hardness of their hearts. In a similar sense

we are to understand the words of Zechariah (vii. 5, 6): "When ye fasted and mourned, did ye at all fast even to me? And when ye did eat, and when ye did drink, did not ye eat for yourselves, and drink for yourselves?"

The theory which we now represent, relative to the origin of sacrifices, is less in harmony with the opinions of modern writers than with those of the Fathers. Justin Martyr, for instance, in the Dialogue with Trypho, wards off the reproach cast upon Christians that they abstained from offering sacrifices, by saying that God, out of condescension to the weakness of the people, permitted sacrifices to be offered to himself, lest otherwise they should be offered to idols. The language of Theodoret is of the same import. The long residence of the people in Egypt, he says, had familiarized them to the custom of offering sacrifices to gods and demons, and so God allowed the rite to be incorporated in the Mosaic economy, only making careful provision that no unclean animals should be used, and that sacrifices should be offered only to himself. Citations to the same effect might easily be multiplied, from Cyril of Alexandria, Irenaeus, Jerome, Procopius, and Eusebius.

Jewish writers concur with the Fathers. "At the time of Moses," says Maimonides, "it was the almost universal custom to offer sacrifices in the temples which contained the images of the gods, to fall down before these images, and offer incense. Now, to have instituted a religious economy from which all sacrificial rites were excluded, would not have been in harmony with the wisdom of God, as it would have disgusted men always reluctant to abandon a habit to which they have been long accustomed." So Trypho, the Jew, is represented as asking whether God enjoined sacrifices on account of his own poverty or the delight he felt in the rite, or because of the hardness of heart of our fathers, and their proneness to idolatry? Plainly on the latter account.

Certain modern writers have expressed themselves in a similar way; none, perhaps, more explicitly than Petavius.



"Sacrifices were enjoined," he says, "not as being in themselves grateful to Jehovah, but out of compassion to the infirmity of human nature; on the same principle that medicines are prescribed, not because they are in themselves desirable, but on account of their efficacy in the cure of diseases."

There are certain considerations which Spencer and his followers derive from the nature of the case, in favor of their theory respecting the origin of sacrifices.

We may insist, in the first place, on the time at which the Levitical law was given. This consideration has already been adverted to. Ancient writers have laid much stress on the fact that this law was not given until after sacrifice had been offered to the golden calf — an act which betrayed so deep-seated an attachment to sacrificial observances. "Previously to this date," it is the assertion of Chrysostom, "the name of sacrifices is not found, but living precepts and living words; not sacrifices, but miracles and signs." "Before the sin of the golden calf," says Jerome, "the Israelites heard only the decalogue; but after that act they received the many precepts of the ceremonial law, directing them to offer to Jehovah the sacrifices which it was now evident they would offer to some divinities at all hazards." No further testimonies from uninspired writers need be given, because we have an express assertion of the scriptures, in Jer. vii. 22: "I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt-offerings or sacrifices." Relying on this text, it was the opinion of the Fathers that God gave to the Israelites no laws concerning sacrifices, till the making of the golden calf, and not even then for any other reason than that they would otherwise render to idols the homage which was due only to Jehovah.

It may be remarked, again, that the scriptures, not less than reason, suggest that sacrifices cannot, in themselves, be grateful to Jehovah. The presenting of our bodies unto God, indeed, Paul assures us, is a sacrifice acceptable to



him, because it is a *reasonable* service. And Peter speaks of the duty of offering up spiritual sacrifices acceptable unto God through Jesus Christ; but these are living, spiritual sacrifices, such as correspond to the spirituality of the divine nature. On the other hand, God often and plainly insinuates that he does not wish brute beasts to be presented to him in sacrifice. Such sacrifices give him no pleasure, because there is nothing in them which suits with his own spiritual nature. "I will take," he says, "no bullock out of thy home, nor he-goat out of thy fold." "Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil?" It is given, in the scriptures, as a proof of the stupidity of the Hebrews, that they ventured to imagine God stood in need of sacrifices. God can receive no delight from any such source. Reason inculcates this doctrine not less forcibly than the Bible. The ancient heathen poets, the philosophers, Pythagoras, Plato, Porphyry, have given utterance, in the language they use on this subject, to the voice of reason. They wonder as to whence the custom of defiling all altars with the blood of sacrificed victims could have originated.

Still further. The multiplicity of sacrifices and rites joined with them, is explained most satisfactorily on the theory now advocated. Some very weighty reason must have existed for such an endless variety. No reason can be suggested, however, so conclusive as this — that at the time of Moses a multiplicity of sacrificial observances everywhere prevailed, and that God assimilated his own ritual to this peculiarity of the age; doing so at the prompting of compassion to human infirmity. No sooner had the custom of honoring the Divinity by means of sacrifices become prevalent, there being no rule beyond an innate sense of propriety by which to regulate the kinds of sacrifice and the rites which should accompany them, and to restrain the wayward fancies of men, than superstition at once gained such power that men in one region sacrificed either none or a very few animals, and with no rites beyond those of the

very simplest character, while in another country they ran into the wildest excesses. If, therefore, sacrifices must be incorporated in all religious worship, it is easy to see how God would be prompted to command a variety of sacrifices and a great diversity of rites, so as to humor men's innate fondness for change and novelty. Especially did he provide that sacrifices should be performed with such a degree of pomp and splendor as to gratify the popular taste. We may quote here, as not inapplicable to the argument, a sentence from Calvin on the Pentateuch: "There is no question," he says, "but that the custom of sacrificing is to be traced up to the holy patriarchs; but from the time at which the whole world turned aside to superstition the attendant rites degenerated in their character; every person contriving some new, and not unfrequently exceptionable, rite. God benevolently allowed these different forms to be observed, even by his chosen people, provided only it could be done innocently and carefully." This master of Israel here unequivocally owns that many sacrificial observances had been transferred from Paganism to Judaism. Only on this supposition could the very obvious resemblance of the one system to the other be explained. The pagans did not borrow their rites from the Jews; but the Jews borrowed theirs from the pagans. The sum of the argument, then, is this: God allowed himself to be worshipped with these multifarious observances, many of which had been used by idolaters, partly that the Jews might be attracted to his worship by the same pleasing variety which adorned the pagan worship, and partly that by thus seeing every variety of observance introduced into their ritual, no pretext should be left for the adoration of idols.

It is maintained now by a numerous class of writers, as in harmony alike with the scriptures and with the nature of the case, that God ordained sacrifices, not because they had previously existed among pagan nations, but that they should serve as types of Christ and of the mysteries of the gospel; that men might discern in them an emblematic representation of the sacrifice of Christ. Men were not prepared for the

direct view of this sacrifice ; it could be looked at best through the semi-transparent veil of types. This objection admits of a threefold answer.

It is incredible that God should have appointed sacrifices so diverse as to matter and form with a view to merely a typical representation of the death of Christ. The judgment given by Abarbanel seems much more in harmony with the truth. "We ought not," he says "to suppose all sacrifices to have the same end in view, and to be significant of the same moral truth."

We do not deny, again, that sacrifices may have been partly designed to illustrate the mysteries of the gospel. This purpose is by no means incompatible with what we conceive to have been their main purpose — the prevention of idolatry. No ancient writer asserts more positively than Justin Martyr, for example, that God ordained sacrifices out of regard to prevailing custom and the humor of the people ; and yet the same writer maintains that sacrifices were prescribed as types and emblems of Christ. Indeed the wisdom of God is illustrated in the fact, that sacrificial rites were meant to serve not only a legal but an evangelical purpose.

Yet again, it may be conceded that such sacrifices as were required to be performed with peculiar and emphatic rites may have been meant to embody some mystery, either ethical or evangelical. This may be conceded especially in respect to such varieties of sacrifice as were most at variance with the usages of other nations

It is also objected that the scriptures in very plain and emphatic terms not only permit but command sacrificial observances, and although in some, and especially the prophetic portions, God may declare that he places no value on sacrifices, and did not command them to be offered, these declarations are not to be understood as if sacrifices were not grateful to the Almighty, and did not proceed from a divine command, but, on the contrary, were designed merely to reprove the erroneous conceptions which the Jews entertained of the

nature of the command, oftentimes seeming to consider the substance of religion as identical with an outward and formal obedience. The existence of commands relative to sacrifices is readily conceded; but God may very properly be said to have given these commands, lest the Hebrews, bound by no external forms, should give to Satan that species of homage which they were forbidden by their own law from rendering to any other being than Jehovah, but which they were so strongly inclined to render at all hazards. But no sooner had the nation advanced somewhat in culture than they became able to hear God speaking more plainly in regard to sacrifices, and affirming that he placed no value on them, and had hitherto allowed their use only on account of the hardness of men's hearts.

It is objected that the patriarchs offered sacrifices before the epoch of Moses and, for all that appears, at the impulse of a true and rational piety. This objection has no small force. Its force may be broken, however, by remembering that the violent propensity which the Israelites betrayed at the time of Moses to worship under the form of sacrifices was obviously the effect of long contact with the Egyptians, rather than a relic of that primitive piety which displayed itself in the patriarchal sacrifices. The former, as has often been said, at the time of Moses cherished a superstitious attachment to sacrificial observances, and were inclined to practise them in a manner wholly abhorrent to the mind of Jehovah. It was to correct this rising tendency, and bring back the people, by means the most likely to be successful, to a spiritual worship, that the Levitical law was instituted.

The objection is also put forth sometimes that God is represented as smelling a sweet savor when sacrifices were offered to him, meaning thereby to express the pleasure which he had in them. God cannot, however, be thought to have had pleasure in sacrifices except as honest though mistaken manifestations of reverence and love for himself. That this pleasure is slight, appears from the very narrow limits within which God confined this species of worship. He would have



it rendered only in one place and at certain definite times, and in the use of certain prescribed victims, and with accompanying rites, which were all very carefully defined. We may well believe that these limitations would have been spared had sacrifices been intrinsically pleasing to Jehovah.

If we turn, now, and contemplate sacrifices in relation to the materials of which they were composed, we shall discern additional arguments in favor of the theory which we now present.

The material of sacrifices comprised three classes of animals — oxen, sheep, and goats. Three motives are thought to have led to this choice. First, it is probable that, before the time of Moses, these classes of animals were the ones principally used by other nations in sacrifices. Sometimes, indeed, though only occasionally, a larger liberty may have been enjoyed; but God restricted the Jews to these three classes, out of regard to this benevolent usage. Then, again, these animals may be supposed to have been used by the patriarchs on the ground of their superior value. They were, besides, best fitted, on various accounts, for sacrificial purposes. They were, emphatically, clean beasts. They were used as food; and, as eating at the same table and of the same article is always esteemed a symbol of friendship, it was fitting that in sacrifices, a symbol of friendship between God and man, such animals as were commonly used for food should be employed.

Certain inanimate objects, also, were used in sacrifices; and as the Jews used a smaller number of animals for sacrificial purposes than the pagans, they also used a smaller number of inanimate objects. The most common articles thus used were bread, wine, and salt. There are satisfactory reasons for the belief that the use of these articles by the Hebrews was derived from pagans. Especially is this true of bread. God may be supposed to have allowed every kind of bread in common use to be employed in sacrifices. This permission was given to gratify the not unnatural wish of the people for as close a similarity as possible between their



religious usages and those of surrounding nations. The opinion, again, is not an improbable one, that Noah used bread in sacrifices, and that from him the custom spread itself among all his descendants. This would easily account for the existence of the custom among the Jews. Furthermore, it has already been argued that the habit of offering animals in sacrifice existed among pagan nations before the age of Moses, and that it furnished a reason for a similar practice among the Jews. So bread was used by pagan nations, in connection with animals, and the same reason which justified the use of the animals would justify the use of the bread. The fruits of the earth have as much to do with the comfort of life, and men are under equal obligations to the benignity of heaven on account of them, as in the case of animals. Reason, therefore, dictates the use of bread in sacrifices, as much as the use of animals.

Is it objected, here, that, as the custom of using bread in sacrifice was founded on tradition from the time of Noah, it is wrong to ascribe the custom of sacrifice in general to rude and ignorant pagans? It has not been meant to imply that every sacrificial rite afterward sanctioned by the Levitical law, was deduced from paganism, nor that any rites were introduced without first passing under the amending hand of God. On the contrary, of the sacrificial rites prescribed by Moses, some had already been practised by the ante-Mosaic fathers, some by pagan nations, and all were in harmony with the rudeness and simplicity of a primitive period, and were allowed to be practised among the Jews only on this account, and as preparatory to a more spiritual worship.

The use of wine was evidently an outgrowth of pagan custom. As we have seen, it was made somewhat prominent in the Mosaic ritual. As there is an analogy between a sacrifice and a feast, it was ordained that, as meat and bread were present in sacrifices, wine also should be furnished, as being a usual accompaniment of a feast. Two reasons may be suggested in reference to the use of wine in Jewish sacri-

fices: one, that the use of wine was common with the patriarchs; the other, that God was willing to allow as complete a likeness as possible between Jewish and pagan religious ceremonies. The tendency to a hurtful religious superstition can sometimes be best cured by temporary indulgence. Human nature must not be subjected to too violent remedial agencies. Indulgence may be vouchsafed to certain native propensities, care only being taken that indulgence does not run to a sinful excess. This principle was observed in reference to the use of wine. All objectionable features belonging to its use among pagans were first carefully removed. For example, the pagans were in the habit of distributing the wine among the worshippers. This was not allowed to be done by the Jews. Wine was not used by the pagans in sacrifices to certain gods; not to Ceres, for instance, because Ceres had nothing to do with the vine. No such restriction could exist in the Jewish ritual; for God was the Creator of all the fruits of the earth. With the pagans mixed wine was allowed; but none except pure wine was lawful in Jewish sacrifices.

The pagans, then, in the ante-Mosaic period, used wine in sacrifice. As they looked upon Mars as the dispenser of martial virtue, on Minerva as the dispenser of wisdom, and Ceres of corn, they offered to each of these deities sacrifices correspondent to their respective characters. They offered wine to the god who presided over the vintage. To Jehovah, therefore, as the sole Creator of all things, and the Dispenser of all good, wine, among other things, should be offered in sacrifice. That salt was used in heathen sacrifices, no one questions. No sacrifice, says Pliny, can be considered as complete without the addition of a salted cake. \*The reader will easily recall allusions to salted cakes in connection with sacrifices in the *Aeneid* of Virgil. There can be no difficulty, then, in deriving the custom of using salt from paganism.

We are next to consider sacrifices in relation to the purposes meant to be answered by them, with a view to deriving thence an argument in support of our theory. Sacrifices

are conceived by some writers to be merely the sanction of a covenant or league of friendship; by others, as a rite properly accompanying prayer; by others, again, as a propitiation; and by others, as a mere form of adoration. They ought rather to be regarded in the light of gifts, which, in an age of primeval simplicity, were brought to the Divinity, to operate on his mind as they are wont to operate on the mind of men. These gifts were viewed as tokens of allegiance and subjection, or as means of appeasing the anger and gaining the favor of the sovereign, or to indicate gratitude. Sacrifices were employed for similar purposes in the worship of Jehovah. They bore different names, as one or another of these different purposes was designed to be answered by them. Thus there came to be sin-offerings and trespass-offerings, burnt-offerings, and thank-offerings.

Sacrifices of this varying character were in use among the heathen, and were transferred from heathen to Jewish worship.

In support of this general statement, we ask attention to three considerations. In the first place, Moses speaks concerning sacrifices in their various forms as if well-known and in general use. He prescribes with minuteness the rites and ceremonies which ought to be used in sacrifices, and the materials which were proper to be used; while in regard to the purpose to which they were meant to be subservient he is more silent, as if it were a matter already well understood. Rites and ceremonies might vary at different times and places, and would therefore need, in a given case, to be stated with particularity. The meaning, the purpose, of sacrifices, on the contrary, is constant and invariable, known to every one — known to the Jews, because sacrifices with these ends in view had been, even before the time of Moses, in almost universal use. The purpose, the object, of sacrifices could not be lost sight of; modes and rites might be; and, therefore, the Mosaic ritual abounded in directions with respect to these, and was silent in regard to the former, just as would naturally be the case on the supposition of the truth of our general statement.

In the next place, we remark that the sacrifices presented by the patriarchs, before the age of Moses, are spoken of as having been spontaneous offerings. Abel's sacrifice is styled in the Epistle to the Hebrews a gift. Similar phraseology is employed at times subsequent to the Exodus. Moses uses the term "Corban," or gift, — the word afterwards employed by the Saviour in Mark vii. 11, — as the title of a certain class of sacrifices. It is worth while to take notice that Plato viewed the act of sacrificing as of the same nature with that of presenting gifts to the Divinity; as therefore sacrifices were regarded in the light of gifts, and as these gifts might be brought with very different objects in view, sometimes to appease the divine anger, at others as a token of gratitude, we should expect to find in the Mosaic ritual just such a division of sacrifices into various classes as actually appears, on the supposition of the truth of our general proposition, that they were transferred from pagan to Jewish worship.

We know, in the third place, that sacrifices were thus classified anterior to the time of Moses. Cain and Abel brought thank-offerings. Eliphaz presented sacrifices of a propitiatory character. Abraham offered what may be termed covenant sacrifices. All this is in keeping with the truth of the proposition we are now attempting to establish. We are led to form a similar judgment by viewing sacrifices somewhat more minutely in reference to their different varieties. Those of a piacular character, there is good ground for believing, were in use before the period of Moses. Noah seems to have presented offerings of this nature. Noah, it is affirmed, built an altar, and God smelled a sweet savor, "a savor of rest," as if he had before been angry, and was now reconciled. Job and Eliphaz, as before stated, presented offerings with the same end in view.

To the more unsophisticated minds of men, at a period previous to that of Moses, it was apparent that the anger of God, not less than that of men, could be appeased by means of gifts. The ease with which the anger of men, even when it is most intense, can be allayed by means of gifts, is such

that it has passed into a proverb: "A gift in secret pacifieth anger." It was a common opinion alike with Hebrews and pagans that the anger of God as well as that of men could be thus pacified. The former loaded the altars of God with gifts, even at times when they were most inclined to violate his law. The heathen poets, Homer for example, in the same spirit represent it as easy to mollify the anger, to turn the will of the gods by means of incense and vows and libations. The Philistines are represented as supposing the anger of Jehovah capable of being allayed by means of golden gifts, and that punishment could thus be averted from offenders. Sacrifices, again, appear to have been considered as of the nature of prayers. Viewed in this light they were in use both among the Hebrews and pagans. Abraham and Isaac built altars, we are told, and called upon the name of the Lord; as if the one act would have been altogether incomplete and meaningless unless accompanied by the other.

It was wholly in harmony with the simplicity of a primitive age to imagine that gifts would procure favors of any description and to any extent from the Divinity. Men seem to have fancied it to be right to conduct a series of bargainings with God. For this reason they offered prayer in the form and by the use of gifts. And it is not difficult to see how the prevalence of this sentiment in the minds of men should have led to the incorporation of sacrifices into the Mosaic worship. Nor need we wonder at the absence of any specific command in the Mosaic law to accompany sacrifices with prayer. The propriety, the necessity, of this would be so readily recognized, that such commands would be wholly superfluous. What we have now said is strengthened by the fact that sacrifices of a *precatory* character are known to have been customary among pagans at a period so early as to give color to the belief that the usage was derived from them by Moses.

Peace-offerings are not infrequently alluded to by heathen writers, in such terms as to indicate that they were a customary element in worship. Their general prevalence, in-



deed, scarcely admits of a question. Moses makes allusion to them in Lev. iii. 1 without any prefatory remark, which would scarcely have been the case had they been a novelty. Jethro, at a date previous to the giving of the law, is represented as presenting burnt-offerings, and as entertaining Aaron and all the elders of Israel after the fashion of a peace-offering.

We find early traces, also, of the use of votive-offerings. These were sacrifices presented in fulfilment of a promise which had been made to the Almighty, with the view either of obtaining some special favor or of averting an apprehended calamity. The Mosaic law refers to sacrifices of this nature without preface, as if already well known and generally practised. Eliphaz also (Job xxii. 27) speaks of such votive-offerings, as if they were, even in his day, a prevalent rite, and deserved to be regarded as an institution of peculiar sanctity.

We thus see that all the classes of sacrifices were known and practised at a period before the giving of the law at Sinai, and among pagan nations as well as among the descendants of Abraham. This is a phenomenon which is best explained in accordance with the theory that sacrifices were transferred from the realm of paganism into the Mosaic worship. It certainly does away with what would be a very formidable objection to the theory now under discussion.

We now come to another argument in favor of the Spencerian theory of sacrifices, deduced from a consideration of the principle and origin of *patriarchal sacrifices*. It is admitted by all that the first fathers of the race offered sacrifices. Such we know to have been the case with Cain and Abel—in this respect, no doubt, treading in the footsteps of Adam—as well as with Abraham and Noah. It is argued, now, that men of such a character as these, actuated by such reverential views of God, would not have ventured on the practice of this rite without a direct divine command. They would have waited for a distinct announcement from Jehovah that this mode of worship would please

him. The writers who urge this argument insist, that the law of sacrifice was not merely *sanctioned* by Moses, but rather that being an old rule, it was renewed and confirmed by him; and that sacrifices, instead of being merely permitted as a usage already prevalent, and in condescension to the rudeness of an unlettered people, were directly ordained by Jehovah, and all this for reasons which, though perhaps sometimes obscure, were yet important.

In opposition, now, to this mode of reasoning, it is maintained that the patriarchs offered sacrifices at the mere prompting of their own religious feeling, and without an explicit divine injunction. In favor of this assertion, however, only probable arguments can be alleged.

The first argument is drawn from those passages in which, for the purpose of lessening the excessive value which the Israelites were inclined to place on sacrifices, God denies that he had ever enjoined on the forefathers of the race their performance. In the first chapter of Isaiah and in the seventh of Jeremiah it is explicitly asserted that Jehovah never desired sacrificial victims at the hands of the people, and had given no commands concerning burnt-offerings in the day when he led the people forth out of the land of Egypt. Why should God have thus asserted that he gave no commands to the Israelites concerning sacrifices at the date of the Exodus, if he had already, at a period long before this event, instituted the rite of sacrifice? Who would judge a law given to Adam and his immediate descendants concerning modes of worship to be of weight so inferior to those given to the Hebrews during their march to Palestine as to be undeserving of mention?

It is to be noted, in the second place, that Cain and Abel offered sacrifices of a nature corresponding to the difference in their pursuits and resources. Cain as a husbandman offered to the Lord of the fruits of the earth, and Abel of the firstlings of the flock. But this circumstance gives room for the conjecture that their offerings were nothing but a spontaneous testimony, on their part, of gratitude to God, who

had given them success in their different labors. They seem, as the fruit of their own private reasoning, to have judged that a portion of that which they had received from God should be returned to him as a thank-offering. There is in short no proof, that in these offerings they conceived themselves to be obeying a divine command.

It should not be forgotten, in the next place, that in the New Testament God has established no positive institutions nor rites of worship, except the two sacraments. He seems to have left the regulation of the outward forms of worship to the church, in the idea that different forms would be required in order to suit the varying exigencies of different times and places. Nor in the old Testament do we discover any regulations in respect to external worship, until the superstition and the rudeness of the people required such regulation as a necessary check to the disposition to run to a criminal excess in this matter. It would seem, therefore, most fitting to suppose that Jehovah left the rites of worship during the patriarchal age to be fixed by the innate sense of men as to what was becoming. In the simpler and purer states of society men sought no other guidance than the dictates of sound reason in regard to spiritual worship. Why should a different rule have been though needful in regard to merely ceremonial worship?

In fine, it may be positively asserted that not the faintest trace of any law, given to the earliest fathers of the race, to worship God in the use of sacrifice can be anywhere found in the scriptures; and it is altogether inconceivable that had such a law been set forth this silence would have been maintained in regard to it, as if it were a matter of no moment. It is worth while to notice, also, that the opinion now maintained is supported by a very general authority: "The ancient patriarchs," writes the author of the Apostolical Constitutions, "animated by the love of God, offered sacrifices, not because they had been formally commanded to do so, but at the prompting of a certain native instinct, spontaneously, from a grateful sense of the divine benignity."

Justin Martyr lays down a similar judgment. "No one of those," he declares, "who before the Sinaitic law offered sacrifices, did so by the command of God, though even then he accepted the offering, and by that means indicated his approval of the conduct of the worshipper."

The sum of the matter, then, is this, that the ancient fathers of the race, not out of obedience to any positive law or direct divine suggestion, but altogether of their own accord, under the guidance of their own reason, offered sacrifices, conceiving that by presenting to Jehovah a portion of their most valued possessions, they best exhibited their veneration and love for him.

We turn now to a consideration of the objections which have been sometimes urged against the views just advanced.

The affirmation in the Epistle to the Hebrews, that by faith Abel offered unto God a sacrifice more acceptable than that of Cain, is relied upon as containing a forcible objection. A faith which deserves to be called divine, it is said, is distinguished from superstition in this, — that the former rests on a declaration or promise made by Jehovah, while the latter is based on the doctrines and precepts of men. Reason, therefore, teaches that we ought to suppose Abel to have cherished a divine faith on the occasion of his sacrifice — a faith in a divine injunction to present such an offering as he did. The faith of Abel, now, which made his offering worthy of being styled a more excellent sacrifice, was a persuasion, deeply fixed in his mind, of the favor which God bears to all truly pious dispositions, and the certainty of a most ample recompence — a persuasion such as prompted him to form his life by the rules of piety, and to consecrate not only his property, but himself, to the service of Jehovah. The acceptableness of his sacrifice, which in the Epistle to the Hebrews is ascribed to his faith, God in the Old Testament, and John in the New, ascribe to the holiness of his life, that is, to a faith whose genuineness was demonstrated by correspondent works. If we define the faith said to have been cherished by Abel as a belief in a divine command relative



to sacrifice, it is difficult to see why such a faith on his part should have given to his sacrifice an acceptableness greater than that of Cain, since, for aught that appears, it was a similar faith which induced the latter to bring his offering. What was the ground of the distinction between the two sacrifices? Or did Cain deserve to be stigmatized as an evil-minded man, because he did spontaneously what Abel did in obedience to a specific divine direction? The fallacy involved in this objection will be apparent to one who observes that Abel's sacrifice is denominated, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, a gift, and not the payment of a debt. It was prompted by his pious disposition, rather than by a desire to render obedience to a specific law.

It is asserted, again, that the patriarchal sacrifices proceeded not only from a disinterested anxiety to render to God an acceptable worship, but also from the hope of a future recompence. We are told, for instance, that as soon as Cain perceived that God had no respect for his offering, and that he must consequently abandon his hope of reward, his countenance fell. But how, it is asked, could these ancient patriarchs have persuaded themselves that the offering of brute beasts as a sacrifice to Jehovah would insure a reward to the worshipper, unless the law of sacrifice had been directly promulgated from above, unless it had been explicitly announced that such sacrifices were required, and would be accepted?

This objection seems to be rash and unadvised. While the early patriarchs retained in grateful recollection the kindnesses they had received from God, nor could conceive of any better token of their gratitude than the consecration to him of some portion of the good things which had been given them, it was in harmony with their imperfect views to testify their sense of the goodness of God in this form, and what they knew of the divine clemency in general prompted the hope that he would graciously receive the gifts which they brought in token of their thankfulness. These suggestions may be relied on with the more confidence, because



other servants of God are referred to in the scriptures who, in testimony of their gratitude, thus brought offerings to the Almighty; the offerings being accepted, even though they had not been commanded.

Another objection is founded on the condemnation pronounced by Paul, in the Epistle to the Colossians (ii. 23), on all will-worship — worship originating in the choice and contrivance of men, rather than in a law of God. If the patriarchs, it is argued, brought sacrifices merely of their own accord, and at the mere dictation of a heart burning with pious affection, they must be owned to have fallen into this sin of will-worship, and, by their pernicious, though otherwise holy, example, to have done much to corrupt their posterity. Let us carefully estimate the force of this objection. It would seem that the apostle, in the Epistle to the Colossians, could hardly have meant to use the term “will-worship” in a bad sense. Grotius affirms “that Paul could not have designed to condemn all will-worship; for in so doing he would have condemned the sacrifice of Abel.” Indeed, if all will-worship is to be blamed, we must blame, not Abel only, but the whole generation of sons of God; for it is manifest, from many instances, that the Jewish church worshipped God in an acceptable manner in the use of not a few rites that rested on no explicit command from heaven, but merely on the human will. The same affirmation may be made of the Christian church. It may, in short, be safely asserted that the term “will-worship” does not necessarily denote the worship which originates in the human will, but that which is hypocritical, schismatical.

It is objected, furthermore, that, previously to the Sinaitic law, sacrifices were offered not only out of a grateful sense of the goodness of God, but as an atonement for sin. The sacrifices of Abel and Noah, those offered for the three friends of Job, were of a propitiatory character. But, inasmuch as it depends exclusively on the good pleasure of God whether or not the sins of men shall in any case be remitted, it is to be supposed that the only conditions on which pardon

is granted would be such as Jehovah appoints, and, consequently, if the substitution of a sacrificed beast becomes such a condition, the inference must be that Jehovah commanded such a substitution.

It must be allowed that this objection has much weight. Still, it is not unanswerable. This, certainly, may be affirmed without hesitation, that peace-offerings, that is, offerings presented in token of gratitude or as a mere act of adoration, had their origin in the dictates of natural reason. Nor can it be denied that in times anterior to the Sinaitic law men presented expiatory offerings, as they would bring gifts to an offended sovereign, in order to avert from themselves his indignation. It may be said, indeed, that the unaided eye of reason could hardly be expected to perceive that God would for any reason forgive transgression, and still less that he would regard the death of a beast as a proper equivalent for the punishment of an offender. An express revelation is needed to inform us of this fact. May it not, therefore, be that originally men presented slain victims under the influence of a certain childlike faith, not as being thoroughly persuaded that such sacrifices would be efficacious, but actuated by a cheerful hope that a merciful God, out of respect to their gifts, offered as they were with truly pious motives, would pardon their iniquity, and restore to them his favor? That such would be the case may be presumed the more confidently, because the heathen, having no other ground on which to rest than a mere instinctive sentiment, seem to have believed, oftentimes, that gifts would have such an influence with God as they were known to have with men.

*"Munera, crede mihi placant hominesque deos."*

Again, it is said to be irrational, and therefore incredible, that the patriarchs, unless explicitly instructed to that effect by the Almighty, could ever have conjectured they would do what was pleasing to him by worshipping in the use of sacrifices. There is nothing in such a form of worship

which, antecedently to a divine revelation, would be believed to be grateful to Jehovah, or in harmony with his nature.

It may, indeed, be apparent to a mind even but slightly informed as to the nature of God, that there is nothing in a sacrifice, considered in itself merely, that could be supposed to be of value in the divine estimation. Yet when the sacrifice is viewed in connection with the religious sentiment which prompts it, the matter assumes an altogether different aspect. The patriarchs, therefore, on the strength of their inborn conviction of the mercy of God, might easily persuade themselves that he would regard with benignity an expiatory sacrifice prompted by such a conviction.

It is argued, yet again, that those cases in which fire was caused to descend from heaven in order to burn the victim on the altar, should be regarded as evidence that the offering was acceptable to Jehovah, which could not have been, unless sacrifices were directly commanded. The descent of fire from heaven may be looked upon as equivalent to the utterance of such a command.

It may, indeed, be conceded that in the time of the patriarchs God may have occasionally intimated, by means of some palpable sign, that sacrifice was not an offensive rite; and yet, at the same time, there may not have been any recognition of the service as an act of obedience to a specific command. It may have been regarded merely as a manifestation of pious sentiment on the part of the patriarchs, of a heart inflamed with genuine love to the Creator. Fire may have thus been sometimes sent down from heaven in order to consume the sacrifice, that by this means the confidence of men in the goodness of God and in his faithfulness to his word might be confirmed.

The universality of the custom of sacrifice is, it is said, wholly inexplicable except on the supposition that this rite is in accordance with an explicit command.

The universality of this custom may, however, be accounted for without resorting to such an argument. The fathers of the human race, struck, as they must have been,

with the palpable tokens of the majesty of God everywhere perceptible, and convinced, as they were, that they ought to ascribe every good thing which they enjoyed to the divine beneficence, would very naturally be solicitous to find some mode of manifesting their sense of these things. As has already been intimated more than once, they would have been likely to judge no mode of doing this more suitable than to give back to the Almighty some portion of what he had bestowed upon them. For this reason, Abel, leading a pastoral life, and Cain, a tiller of the ground, brought, respectively, as offerings, the firstlings of the flock and the fruits of the earth. The sending down of fire from heaven to consume the sacrifice proved that sacrifices flowing from such a disposition were not displeasing to Jehovah. It emboldened men to obey the suggestions of a grateful and reverential spirit in offering sacrifices to Jehovah, even though he refrained from the utterance of any command on the subject.

The distinction between clean and unclean animals merits attention in this argument. This distinction was recognized even as early as the time of Noah. It was, as it would seem, an arbitrary distinction to some extent. We can but obscurely discern the ground of it in the nature of the animals to which it applied. It seems to have amounted to but little more than this, that certain animals were declared to be suitable for sacrificial uses, and others not. No reason can be discerned, it is said, why men, led by the light of of nature exclusively, should have contrived this distinction, especially as it is well known that the majority of pagan nations were utterly unaware of such distinction, and used for sacrifices animals of all classes. It is, therefore, by no means an unnatural supposition that the distinction in question is to be ascribed to divine appointment, and if so, then we may properly consider sacrifices, to which this distinction principally refers, of divine appointment.

It has been said, with a view to the refutation of this argument, that inasmuch as the origin of sacrifices is to be traced

to the suggestion of human reason, unaided by any express command of Jehovah, men would spontaneously make a distinction among animals, judging it suitable to offer some, and to refrain from offering others, on the ground of purity or of some other quality. Nature dictates that nothing should be offered to the Almighty but the best of its kind. For this reason it was, that Jehovah, though never directly enjoining sacrificial services, yet did not blame the act when proceeding from a right motive, and approved the distinction made between clean and unclean animals. The distinction did not originate in the will of God, but rather in the mind of man ; still, having once come into existence, it offered an adequate reason for using the one class and discarding the other in sacrificial services.

[On the strength of such reasonings as have now been brought forward, rests that theory of the origin of sacrifices which traces them to the suggestions of a mistaken religious sentiment and to the indulgence of God towards such a sentiment, rather than to any explicit injunction of Jehovah.]

We now turn to the examination of that theory of the origin of sacrifices which Bähr describes in his *Symbolik* (Bd. ii. 269), and which he styles the anthropopathic theory. It is the more worthy of the attention we propose to give it, because it is in many respects analogous to that of Spencer, which has just been exhibited, and Bähr's statements and reasonings may aid somewhat in showing the unsoundness of that theory.

The anthropopathic theory finds the origin of sacrifices in the want of correct conceptions of the divine character, and defines the purpose of sacrifices in accordance with this view. At a low stage of religious development, men have convictions more or less just of the infinite attributes of God, but convictions altogether anthropopathic. They identify the divine character with their own ; transferring to the nature of God their own grovelling and sensual wants. These low conceptions have given birth to the idea that it was wrong for one who would approach the Divinity to do so with



empty hands ; but that it was needful, in order to secure and retain the favor of God, uniformly to bring a present. Each worshipper would be guided in the selection of a present for his god by a consideration of his own wants, and as these were almost uniformly of a sensual nature, he would choose objects correspondent to these wants, such objects as he was himself most eager to possess, and which gratified most completely his own grovelling desires ; under the natural supposition, that what was most grateful to himself must necessarily be so to the deity.

This theory, now, is contradicted by that principle which we have said in a previous Article is recognized among all nations, that it is the blood which constitutes the essential element of sacrifice, and blood never has been a customary, still less a favorite, article of food, and for this reason, could never have been selected as the material of sacrifice on such an account ; as little would it be likely to be fixed upon as the best means of conciliating the favor of one's sovereign, to offer him as a present the blood of slain animals. " We have not to do," it is an excellent remark of De Maistre,<sup>1</sup> " in this matter of sacrifices only with presents, gifts, first-fruits, in a word, only with a simple species of homage, such as would properly enough be paid to a feudal lord ; for had such been the case, men would have brought the flesh which was sold in the shambles in order to lay it on the sacrificial altar ; and in the public worship of God, would have confined themselves to those ceremonies with which they were wont to accompany their domestic repasts. We have to do, on the contrary, with the blood, with a sacrifice in the proper sense of the term. We are to inquire : Why men of all ages and in all places have united in the faith that an atoning efficacy lay, not merely in the offering up of the flesh of a slain animal, but *in the shedding of blood* ? This is the problem before us."

Of this problem, the anthropopathic theory of sacrifice gives a very easy, but unfortunately an inadequate, solution.

<sup>1</sup> Abenstunden zu St. Petersburg, iii. S. 387.

Nothing can be more easy than to deduce this deepest and richest idea of religion from the lowest fetichism ; and with a view to this calmly to ignore all antagonistic considerations, even such as are so obvious that they can be apprehended by the senses. How does this theory accord with that idea of sacrifice which prevailed, for example, among the Persians ; according to which, only the soul of the animal, which was supposed to reside in the blood, was offered to the divinity, while the flesh was taken by the person who offered the sacrifice, and eaten by himself and his friends ? How does it suit with those primitive forms of sacrifice which were emblematic of the cosmogony ? What, on this anthropopathic theory, were the libations, especially those of flowing water, which were poured out on the earth ? Were these libations presents of a favorite drink to the divinity ?

It is possible, indeed, that there were among the nations of antiquity some who associated with sacrifice gross anthropopathic conceptions ; and in Homer, expressions may occur which seem to be coincident with the theory now under discussion. This is nothing to the purpose. It is now an established conclusion that the old religions and forms of worship had a symbolic character. Homer evidently so understood the religions of his age. What, then, was characteristic of these religions and forms of worship as a whole, cannot be denied to that particular feature of them, sacrifice, in which their whole essence was, as it were, concentrated. The gods of the ancient religions, as now can no longer be denied, were not mere fetiches, but were personified powers of nature. The nations of antiquity worshipped the elements, the sun, the planets ; and the sacrifices, which they offered to these must of necessity have had some other design than that of satisfying the hunger and thirst of such divinities. Sacrifice is as old as religion itself. It is with all people the first expression of the religious consciousness. It goes back to ante-historical times, and whoever deduces religion from the rudest sensualism may refer sacrifices to the same source ; whoever, on the contrary, seeks the origin of

religion in that element of our nature which is the most truly divine, will be apt to trace sacrifices to the same divine element.

The common supernaturalistic opinion, that sacrifices were originally prescribed by Jehovah, is only so far ill-founded and absurd, as it supposes some external instruction to have been given in the outset as to sacrifices in detail, and the particular rites that were to be practised. This opinion, correctly understood, is far from being unworthy of Jehovah. It cannot be supposed to be thus unworthy only under the notion, that sacrifices were meant to gratify certain sensual wants on the part of the Divinity; a notion certainly altogether erroneous. As the idea of God, and the necessity of giving expression to that idea in some form, is not one derived by us from without, not one which can with any propriety be said to be learned, but on the contrary is immediate and original; so also is the idea of sacrifice, the mode of expressing this idea. From the point of view of our reflecting consciousness, in which we are wont to separate from each other the divine and the natural, the spiritual and the material, this mode of expression may appear strange, improper; but in the intuitive view, which regards the divine and the spiritual as inseparable from the natural and the material, it is by no means singular that men should be self-impelled to represent the surrender of their whole soul and life to the Divinity; and in this surrender all religion consists, by the outward act of giving up some living object which he loves as himself, or to which he bears some very close relation.

If the custom of sacrifice prevailed only here and there, among single nations, and those rude and uncultivated, we should feel less averse to the grovelling theory which we are now combatting; but all nations have retained the custom, and so far from renouncing the usage in the progress of refinement and culture, it has only grown in perfection and completeness along with that progress." We are not to judge of the religious ideas of a people by what the populace

think and believe, or by what an individual sage here and there may have taught; but by the religious documents, the inspired books, which it possesses; and if we examine the religious writings of ancient heathen nations, instead of finding aught favorable to this anthropopathic theory, we find statements which are palpably antagonistic. The religious writings of the Hindoos, for example, abound with the most exalted expressions relative to the object of sacrifices and their original significance. Thus it is said in one of their dialogues: "It is commanded us," says Narud, "to offer to the divinity such things as are pure and without blemish; from which it would seem to follow that God eats as does a mortal man; else what purpose do sacrifices serve?" To which Brimha replies: "God does not eat and drink as a mortal man, but if you do not love God your offering will not be worthy of him; for since all men long for the good things of this life for themselves, so God desires of his creatures a free-will offering of the substance of these things as the strongest proof of the gratitude and affection of men."

The Zend books know nothing of any feeding of the gods by means of sacrifices; on the contrary, such anthropopathic notions are repudiated in the most decisive manner, and the whole ritual ordained to be observed is most decisively antagonistic to these notions. The sacrificer is allowed to take home the flesh of the victim, the only part which can be enjoyed; the god demanding for himself only the *soul*. Greek writers, and especially such as are in other respects earnest apologists for pagan superstitions, scorn altogether this anthropopathic theory, as being wholly absurd and adapted only to the tastes of an ignoble populace. Roman writers do the same. We have no right to consider the language which these writers sometimes use relative to the matter now under discussion as applicable only to the *philosophy of religion*, but not to religion itself, and the rites of worship; they are proofs rather, that the original and pure conceptions of the nature of sacrifice, its fundamental ideas, were never, among any people of antiquity, and under whatever load of

superstition and merely ceremonial observances, wholly lost sight of.

In respect to the Mosaic sacrifices, in particular, it is difficult to see how any one with any amount of reflection on the subject should feel disposed to explain them on this anthropopathic theory. For certainly any clearer and more decisive expressions against it than are found in the religious books of the Jews can be found nowhere else. Reference need only be made here to the fiftieth Psalm. This Psalm was written at a time when sacrificial worship was especially flourishing, was looked upon as a divine institution — one whose credit with the people no religious man would wish to lessen, but, on the contrary, would take all pains to guard against abuse.

But, aside from all this, it remains a pure impossibility that a religion should, on the one hand, confessedly comprehend correct ideas of the personal unity and spiritual nature of the Godhead, and, on the other, prescribe a mode of worship suitable to the most degraded fetichism. The advocates of this theory have, therefore, been forced to represent these grovelling ideas which are involved in the anthropopathic theory, as not having been broached originally by Moses, but as being much older, and as showing themselves here and there in the Mosaic ritual as relics of a ruder and more primitive faith. Illustrations of this are given in such expressions as the food of Jehovah, and Jehovah's smelling a sweet savor. But this mode of relief from the difficulties of an erroneous theory can be used only in defiance of the most common principles of interpretation, according to which every book should be interpreted in consistency with itself. Paul describes the sacrifice of Christ as a sweet savor, and the Redeemer speaks of bodily members as belonging to Jehovah; but to whom did it ever occur, on this account, to impute either to Jesus Christ or to Paul gross views of the divine nature? And why should the ritual of Moses, which so expressly forbids every image of him to whom nothing either in heaven or on earth is like, be



understood literally when it speaks of the arm or the mouth of God, or of sacrifice as being to God a sweet-smelling savor?

If, now, the custom of sacrificing is to be referred to such views of God as were directly repugnant to the fundamental principles of Mosaicism relative to the spiritual nature of God, then would Moses never have allowed the observance of that rite, still less have given to it a wider extent, and enjoined it on the people as the decisive will of God for all time. By such a course, instead of drawing the people away from pagan superstition, he would only have attached them to it the more closely, and forever confirmed them in it.

We come next to consider the vicarious theory of sacrifice.<sup>1</sup> According to this theory, sacrifice is a vicarious atonement or satisfaction offered to the Divinity. The idea is this: Man, conscious of sin and guilt in the presence of God, chooses for himself an animal to which he imputes his sin and guilt, and causes the animal to be put to death. In this manner satisfaction is rendered to the divine justice, and in this consists the atonement. This is the most widely spread, the most common and orthodox view of the subject. It is adopted, for the most part, by the Jewish rabbins, and in modern times has been advocated by the majority of religious teachers, even those who in other respects have been very widely separated from each other. In spite of unimportant modifications which this theory has undergone, here and there, it has uniformly been characterized by this one feature, that sacrifice is of the nature of a substitutionary penal death. Sometimes the sacrifice seems to be regarded in the light of a fine imposed on one who has transgressed the law.

Passing over all subordinate matters, we direct our attention solely to the relation of this theory to the fundamental idea of sacrifice. And our first inquiry concerns the essential element of sacrifice as defined by this theory. This

<sup>1</sup> Bähr, *Symbolik*, Bd. 2, p. 277. It should by no means be forgotten that the compiler of this Article aims merely to exhibit the views of Spencer, Bähr and others, and not his own.

essential element is punishment. The sacrifice is offered as a means of averting punishment. Forgiveness, or the removal of punishment, and reconciliation follow upon the endurance of punishment. The disturbed relations of God and men cannot otherwise be adjusted. No fellowship can exist between the two parties. Now, the punishment cannot be effected otherwise than by the suffering of death, and thus the infliction of death is the only correct expression of the fundamental idea of sacrifice; it is the culmination, the central idea of the whole sacred transaction. Now, we think it is here that the theory is defective. Nothing is susceptible of more conclusive proof than that the shedding of the blood as the seat of the animal soul, but not the death of the victim, — the treatment of the blood, its sprinkling, but not the putting to death, — was the principal thing, the central part of the act.

It will appear, in the first place, on an examination of the Levitical law, that a distinction is very carefully observed between the act of putting the victim to death and the sprinkling of the blood. It was not by the former, but by the latter, that atonement, the object of all sacrifices, was effected. One who was not a priest might slay the victim; but a priest only, acting in behalf of men, and in the name and by the authority of Jehovah, was authorized to sprinkle the blood. All these circumstances indicate quite plainly the subordinate relation in which the killing of the animal stood to the use made of its blood. But, as no one would be likely to assert that the sprinkling of the blood was an act of a penal character, it would seem plainly to follow that the essential idea of sacrifice could not be punishment.

The subject may be regarded in another aspect, and the same conclusion will be reached. Sacrifice was, from the beginning, considered as the central point of worship, the first and strongest expression of the religious sentiment. If, then, the idea of punishment lay at the foundation of sacrifice, it must be supposed to lie at the foundation of religion and of worship — an opinion which few would be disposed

to entertain. Among all Eastern nations, and among the Israelites especially, prayer, or worship, and sacrifice were considered to be identical. This could have been the case only under the notion of the kindred character of the fundamental idea of the two. The idea of prayer and punishment, however, is by no means the same.

That sacrifice is of the nature of a fine is an altogether absurd notion. On this supposition its religious significance is entirely removed. It is no longer a symbolical act, but has degenerated into a species of police transaction. Besides, on this theory, why should one and the same sacrifice sometimes, as in the case of a thank-offering, be denominated a present, and in the case of a sin-offering be styled a fine?

The vicarious theory of sacrifice may, in the next place, be viewed in relation to the idea of atonement involved in it. Atonement, it is said, is effected by means of punishment, especially by the infliction of death on a beast, instead of the sinner himself. By this act the demands of divine justice are said to be satisfied, the anger of God appeased, and God, rather than men, to be reconciled. The scriptures, however, seem to contradict this view of the meaning of the word "atonement," in pointing out the shedding of blood, rather than the death of the animal, as the great means of atonement, allowing, in regard to this point, no interchange of blood and death. Let it be attempted to make such an interchange in some of the passages which relate particularly to this matter, and the correctness of the view we have taken will at once appear. Again, it has been argued, in a previous Article, that the scriptural meaning of the word "atonement" is covering-up or concealing, and, therefore, cannot have as its object anything in God; but in that theory of sacrifice which we are now discussing the direct object of atonement is something in God — the sentiment of anger. Still further, in the case of the thank-offering, the animal sacrificed was put to death; but in this species of sacrifice, surely, God cannot be regarded as an avenging Judge, neither can the infliction of death be viewed as a punishment; and

punishment, therefore, cannot form the essential idea of sacrifice. Finally, it has been not incorrectly argued that if the death of the sacrificed animal was meant as a symbolical punishment, therefore every sin for which a sacrifice was presented ought to be considered as worthy of death. Sacrifices, for example, were required to be presented in the case of sins of ignorance, such as no one, with any show of reason, could regard as capital offences.

We consider, in the next place, the relation of the sacrificer to the sacrifice. We think the vicarious theory of sacrifice faulty in that it confounds a symbolical with a real substitution. Now, the animal was not merely a symbolical, but a real, substitute, and the death inflicted on the animal in order that it might acquire the nature of punishment would have to be preceded by a change of persons — the animal and the man becoming one. The punishment is not figurative, but real. The whole transaction becomes a solemn judicial act; the sin of man being formally laid upon, imputed to, the animal, made to become his; and upon this follows the strictly literal execution on the substitute of the judicial sentence. The transaction, we think, in this way, loses its symbolical religious character, it becomes a mechanical execution of a legal penalty. Yet the ritual of which sacrifices form a part is confessedly religious, symbolical. Sacrifices, therefore, must have this character.

A powerful argument for the vicarious theory may be found, it is alleged, in heathen sacrifices. A thorough examination of the subject, however, will perhaps make manifest the falseness of this allegation. The allegation proceeds upon an entire misconception of the character of the heathen religions. All heathen religion was essentially nature-religion; its worship was the worship of nature, of which sacrifice was the most important feature. A substitutionary or a victim death, the execution of a judicial sentence, would be utterly out of place in such a worship. The idea of death is, of course, wholly out of keeping with the continued existence of nature; and sacrifice, conse-



quently, on the theory in question, could not be the animating principle, as, however, it confessedly is, of pagan worship. In the very earliest times, as far back as the very dawn of history, sacrifices were offered to the elements and to the heavenly bodies. What connection could the idea of a vicarious death, a transference of punishment, have with such sacrifices? And still further, a theory which is so plainly the offspring of reflection as the vicarious theory, would seem incapable of having existed among nations addicted to nature-worship, who lived so exclusively in and with external nature, whose mode of religious thought was wholly cosmical, rather than ethical and religious. Antiquity, in a word, knew nothing of any process of punishment, a judicial execution on the altars of the gods. The life of an individual being was surrendered to the divinity, the original fountain of all life, in order to derive life again from the god, to live henceforth in vital fellowship with him. This is sacrifice in the conception of pagans; and with this, the idea of vicarious punishment is entirely at variance.

Let it be borne in mind, that the idea of atonement in natural religion is altogether different from that which prevails in the Mosaic religion. Sacrifices occur in paganism which are designed to appease, in a certain sense, the anger of the divinity, while such is not the design of any of the Mosaic sacrifices, except on the vicarious theory. At the same time, it is not the design of pagan sacrifices to avert punishment in the usual ethical meaning of that word. The divinity, whose anger is meant to be pacified, is only a power of nature, not a righteous, personal God, whose anger expresses itself merely in the form of natural evil in consequence of the violation of a natural law. Its anger is turned away by means of the death of some being highly valued by those who are enduring the evil. But nowhere is such a sacrifice represented as a punishment, in the proper sense of that term, by which satisfaction is rendered to divine justice.

Finally, there are particular features of pagan sacrifices



which seem decidedly antagonistic to the vicarious theory. The sacrificial victim, it is said, suffers the death due to the sinner, bears his sins. Hence, instead of being regarded as something pure and holy, he becomes in consequence of this imputation of sin, impure, an odious, execrable object. But among the pagans the victim sacrificed is regarded in a very different light. According to Hindoo conceptions, the animals and even the plants used in sacrifice underwent in that act a process of deification, and in the future life were most highly exalted. Especially was this the fact with human sacrifices. So far from speaking of the victim in such terms as would be fitting if sin had been imputed to it and it was thereby accursed, it was addressed in terms like these : " O best of men, most fortunate, who art an aggregate of all celestial virtues, grant to me thy protection. O most excellent, mayest thou reach the highest felicity." His death is never represented as a curse. Instead of the victim's becoming morally odious in consequence of sin imputed to it, the vilest transgressor is, when used as a sacrifice, freed from all moral taint ; his blood is transmuted into ambrosia ; his brows were encircled with garlands ; no symbol certainly of sin and punishment, but of life and the highest honor.

On the whole, one may well ask, with surprise, how an argument for the vicarious theory of sacrifice could be found in heathen usages ? Still there are certain passages in the writings of the ancients to which appeal is sometimes made and which therefore must not be altogether overlooked. One such passage, for instance, is found in the account given by Herodotus of the Egyptian modes of worship. The custom prevailed of cutting off the head of the victim in the case of a sacrifice offered with the design of removing a public calamity, and of saying over it these words : " Let the evil now menacing the land of Egypt, or the individual sacrificing, be all turned on this head ; " on which the head was either cast into the river or sold to a stranger. But this statement of Herodotus loses much of its force as an argument, when one

remembers that the animals to which he refers are Typhonic animals, objects of peculiar dislike in the mind of an Egyptian, and which he would by no means allow to be considered as a representative of himself. It would be difficult, besides, to prove that the Egyptians had any idea of even a figurative transfer of sin from one being to another, and the infliction of the punishment on such a substitute. This perhaps may serve as an adequate specimen of the amount of support which any particular theory of sacrifice finds in classical writings.

[The exposition which has been given in this Article of certain theories of the origin and meaning of Jewish sacrifices, will not be useless if it shall stimulate any mind to more earnest reflection on that theory which prevails among ourselves, and which, in our judgment, is a most essential element of a correct religious belief. A comparison of this theory with such theories as conflict with it can have no other effect than to disclose in a clearer manner the strength of the foundation on which the former reposes. This comparison we hope to make in a subsequent Article].

## ARTICLE VIII.

## LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

## A. EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE. — SANCHONIATHO IN COURT.

IN a work by Sir John Lubbock, on the Primitive Condition of Man, lately republished by D. Appleton and Company, New York, the author, at the 119th page, quotes from the "Generations" of Sanchoniatho, as contained in a work by De Brosse on the "Culte de Dieux Fetiches."<sup>1</sup> Thirteen Generations are quoted. It is my object to point out and explain the singular peculiarities of this alleged quotation from Sanchoniatho's Generations. But first, a word respecting the fragments of Sanchoniatho's history. Every scholar knows that Philo, a native of Byblus, one of the Phenician cities, published what he offered as a Greek translation of a history written in the Phenician language by Sanchoniatho, a native of that country. Fragments of this history, about all we have, were copied by Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea, in Palestine, into his work, called "Preparatio Evangelica." These fragments of the alleged history of Sanchoniatho were, at one time, not only considered genuine, but of the greatest value; at a more recent period, they were despised as contemptible forgeries of Philo; at the present time, notwithstanding Dr. William Smith (no independent authority), in his Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography, and Rawlinson, the present Professor of Ancient History at Oxford, pronounce them a forgery, and though that profound and sagacious critic Lobeck, in his *Samothracia*, declares that there are united in them all the indications of forgery, Ernest Renan says that M. Movers has changed his views of them, conforming to those of Ewald and Bunsen, by whose efforts the dominant belief in Germany is now that they are genuine; and Renan himself supports that view, by a criticism that will compel any candid unbeliever to reconsider his ground. To establish their genuineness, however, they are shorn of some of their first pretensions; but enough is left for use, such as it is, as will presently appear. Premising, then, that the fragments of Sanchoniatho embrace, at least, two distinct collections, the first named the "Cosmogony," with its Epilogue, the second the "Generations," I now quote the first, the second, and part of the third Generations, so called, as Sir John gives them in English, from De Brosse's work, placing beside them the actual first, second, and part of the third Generations of Sanchoniatho:

<sup>1</sup> It is quoted, at least in the American reprint, as by "De Brosse."

*Generations, so called, by Sir John Lubbock.*

1. The "first men consecrated the plants shooting out of the earth, and judged them Gods, and worshipped them, upon whom themselves lived."

2. The second generation of men "were called Genus and Genea, and dwelt in Phenicia; but when great droughts came they stretched forth their hands up to the heaven, towards the sun, for him they thought the only Lord of heaven."

3. Afterwards, other mortal issue was begotten, whose names were Phos, Pur, and Phlox.

*The True Generations of Sanchoniatho.*

1. Of the wind Colpia and his wife Baau were begotten Æon and Protogonus, two mortals, so called, and Æon found out the food from trees.

2. Those begotten of these were called Genus and Genea, and dwelt in Phenicia; but when great droughts came they stretched forth their hands to Heaven, towards the sun, for they recognized him as God, the only Lord of Heaven, calling him Beelsamin.

3. Afterwards, from Genus the son of Protogonus and Æon, were begotten mortal children, whose names were Phos, Pur, and Phlox.

A comparison shows a serious difference in the two third Generations, and an omission, in Sir John's second, of a few words at the beginning of the true second, and at its close; but the two first have nothing in common. Here follows the original of Sir John's first Generation, taken not from the Generations, but from the Epilogue to the Cosmogony:

*"These men first consecrated the plants of the earth, and considered as gods, and worshipped those things on which themselves lived, and those following them, and all those before them; and they made libations and sacrifices."*

The italics in this passage are mine; and observe particularly, in Sir John's first Generation, the change of the words *these men first*, which is the true meaning of the Greek, to *these first men*, and the suppression of the rest in italics. I proceed, now, to inquire what is the object of these substitutions, alterations, and suppressions. The design of Sir John Lubbock's book is to prove that the primitive type of man was more degraded than any known type, and, probably, he believes that man is an accidental brute development. Now, Sir John is a person of high social position; he is in the very first rank of English mathematicians, associated in reputation with Airy, De Morgan, Herschel, and Hamilton; therefore, and notwithstanding he is also vice-president of the English Ethnological Society, and quotes De Brosses in a very ambiguous manner, thus, at the 119th page: "*Since the above was written, my attention was called, by De Brosses's Culte de Dieux,*" etc., which language seems to claim, what it does not really claim, previous entire ignorance of Sanchoniatho's fragments, I will allow that this ignorance is possible; and, also, Charles de

Brosses was first president of the Parliament of Dijon in the last century, was a person of distinguished literature, and an object of enmity to Voltaire; therefore, I salute each of them, and say, *not they*, but some one, who *may* have deceived them both, glorying in his descent from the brutes, and resolved that the most ancient heathen history shall confirm the splendid genealogy, opens the book of fragments, to use or abuse the Generations, as the object may require. He at once cuts out the first Generation; for distinguished men have said that Colpia is Col-pi-jah, *the voice of the mouth of God*; that Baau is Bohu, the ἀκατασκέυαστος of the Septuagint (Gen. i. 2), or the ἀδιάκριτον of the same scripture, as interpreted by Symmachus; that Protogonus (first-born) is Adam; that Aeon is Eve; that *the fruit* (of the tree) *of trees* she *found* was of the fatal tree. From all *that* he can get no comfort; but then, not to betray himself too easily, he must also cut out, in the true third Generation, the words "*from Genus the son of Protogonus and Aeon*, which accordingly he does; and the more readily, because the Greek of Genus has sounded to some learned ears like Cain, to whom it has been said to refer. "Now," he says, "let us have a brand-new first Generation." He turns to that sentence, quoted above from the Cosmogony. The words *these men first* (he says, looking at the clause towards the end, namely, "*and those following them, and all those before them*") may mean the twentieth Generation, for anything in the Fragments, and if I write, as I wish, in spite of the Greek, *these first men*, *that* clause makes downright nonsense. Besides, it will never do to say my first men "*made libations and sacrifices*"; therefore strike out all after "*upon whom themselves lived*"; and now, as he wishes, his first men, that is, his first generation, worship plants, the lowest kind of worship, as he is resolved they shall do.

Is it possible that all this can be so? says the incredulous friend at my elbow. Surely, it could not be worth the trouble and cost to weave such a tissue of falsities, when, genuine though these fragments may be, they have, under a scorching criticism, lost so much of their pristine glory as to be of small use for making or marring any theory at all. Well, my good friend, si quid novisti rectius (as explanation of the above facts) candidus imperti; si non, his utere mecum.

G. W. K.

#### B. GERMAN INTELLIGENCE.

THE THEOLOGY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.<sup>1</sup>—The author himself speaks of this work as "an attempt to exhibit the history of the Old Testament revelation on the basis of a scientific examination of the extant sources, and in harmony with the principles of unprejudiced historical

<sup>1</sup> Alttestamentliche Theologie. Die Offenbarungsreligion mit ihrer vorchristlichen Entwicklungsstufe. Von Hermann Schultz. Frankfurt: Heyder und immer. 1869. Price, 2½ Thaler.



inquiry." He professes to be hopeless of securing the approval of theologians who abide by the traditional view of the Old Testament books and of the form of revealed religion that prevailed prior to Christianity. The present volume is mainly taken up with the Introduction, which he describes as "the theological discipline, whose object is to set forth historically revealed religion in the age of its rise." The Introduction is in two parts: the one, Introduction to Biblical Theology generally; the other, to the Special Theology of the Old Testament. "The *formal* principle of the Old Testament religion is defined as revelation; the *material* principle is salvation in fellowship with God." After the discussion of these two points there follow sections on Method, the Periods, the Literature, and so forth. The sources of our knowledge of the fundamental religious facts of Mosaism are then investigated and classified. In illustration of the author's critical views, we may mention that the only portions of the Pentateuch ascribed to the age of Moses are Exodus xx. 2-18; xxxiv. 6-7; Numbers x. 34; xiv. 18; xi. 24-26; xxxiii.; Leviticus xix. After tracing out the religious development of the Præ-Mosaic age, and examining the relation of Israel to its religious mission, attention is called to religious persons, as prophets, priests, Levites, Nazarenes, and the theocratic king; to the religious institutions and to the religious and moral ideas of the people. To many the work will seem a very singular, if not a self-contradictory, mixture. On the one hand Professor Schultz does not hesitate to acknowledge the presence of mythical and erroneous elements in the biblical books; while, on the other he entertains no doubt whatever that the peculiar religious development of the Jews was due to veritable revelations of God. He says, for example: "Even in the case of a Moses and an Isaiah, a careful distinction is drawn between their own thoughts and the voice of God, compelling itself to be heard in their inner being." "The natural life of Israel, when it followed its own inspirations, always went in opposition to the religion of the Old Testament." Such a point of view is clearly incompatible with the traditional doctrine of inspiration; and would scarcely seem compatible with that certainty which we desire to have regarding the nature, character, and dealings of God with man. We speak cautiously because Professor Schultz is a man who holds firmly to Christ.

THE THEOLOGY OF ZINZENDORF.<sup>1</sup>—This is the first volume of an exhaustive exhibition of the theological views of Count Zinzendorf, the founder of the *Brüdergemeinde* (commonly called Moravian Brethren), or of the revived *Brüderunität* (Unity of Brethren), by Dr. Plitt, President of the Theological Seminary of the "Brethren" in Gnadensfeld, Silesia. The author was honored with the degree of Doctor of Theology by the

<sup>1</sup> Zinzendorf's Theologie. Von Dr. H. Plitt. Die ursprüngliche gesunde Lehre Zinzendorf's 1723-1742. Gotha: F. A. Perthes. 1869. Price, 3 Thaler.

University of Halle in consideration of his *Evangelische Glaubenslehre*. The present volume treats of Zinzendorf's "original healthy views." These are drawn from his two earliest works, the two Catechisms which he wrote for children and people of riper years, and are discussed under sixteen heads: the Holy Scripture; his Confessionalistic position (Lutheran but Unionistic); Doctrine of God; Angels; Original State of Man; Man in the State of Sin; the Person and Work of Christ; the Church; Sacraments; and so forth. Dr. Plitt is thoroughly master of his subject, and expresses it with clearness and vigor. Those who wish to understand Zinzendorf's theology cannot have a safer guide.

HEBREW-GERMAN DICTIONARY.<sup>1</sup> — The design of this new Dictionary is to supply all that is needed for the use of learners without perplexing them with scientific discussions of words, phrases, and forms; and its distinguishing features are, that it does this, so far as we have been able to judge, very satisfactorily; and that it is extraordinarily cheap — indeed we may say, a miracle of cheapness. All the Hebrew and Aramaic words contained in the Old Testament are explained, including the proper names, on which special attention is bestowed. Of every verb, at all events, the future (imperfect) is given; where it is necessary also the infinitive, imperative, and participle, of every conjugation in which it occurs. Specially difficult forms are inserted in their regular places, in alphabetical order. In the case of substantives, not only is the gender of the plural specified, but also the status constr. and forms with suffixes; of adjectives, the feminine and plural forms; of prepositions, the connection with suffixes, etc. An appendix contains the essentials of Hebrew Grammar, including most useful paradigms of the verbs. The whole is comprised in three hundred and seventy-seven pages small quarto: price, *one thaler, ten silbergroschen*; not far from one dollar. If the enterprising publisher could bring out an English edition at about the same price, unbound, he would be sure to find purchasers.

SPINOZA'S THEOLOGICO-POLITICAL TRACTATE<sup>2</sup> — In this small treatise Dr. M. Joel, Jewish Rabbi at Breslau, has undertaken to show that Spinoza was far more indebted to the two early Jewish writers, Maimonides and Don Chasdai Creska, than is supposed by most readers, or allowed by critics. For this purpose he reviews the twenty chapters of the Tractate, and points out parallels in the works of the writers just mentioned, many of them we confess very striking. Professor Siegwart of Tübingen differs from Dr. Joel in his estimate of the indebtedness of Spinoza; and between the two doctors we do not undertake to decide; but the discussion by the

<sup>1</sup> Hebraisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch nebst Paradigmen der Substantiva und Verba. Von Dr. D. Cassel. Breslau: Skutsch. 1870.

<sup>2</sup> Spinoza's Theologisch-politischer Traktat auf seine Quellen geprüft von Dr. M. Joel. Breslau: H. Skutsch. 1870.

latter is certainly worth reading. It is interesting, on account both of the immortal Spinoza and of the great Jewish thinkers whose names we have mentioned above.

**ECCLESIASTICO-HISTORICAL LECTURES.**<sup>1</sup>—This is a collection of twelve lectures delivered by Dr. M. Baumgarten, author of the well-known Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles, and now chiefly noted in Germany as almost the only orthodox dove among the black crows of the *Protestanten-Verein*. The subjects of the lectures are as follows: The Present Crisis; the End of the Old World; Preliminary conditions of an understanding of the History of Jesus; Jesus the Head of the New Humanity; the World-overcoming Church as Apostolical; the World-overcoming Church as Post-Apostolical; the Church become worldly and freed from the World; the Reformation, or the New Beginning; a New Apostasy; the Need of the Present, or the Power of the Papacy and Powerlessness of German Protestantism; the *Protestanten-Verein* a necessary Helper in present Ecclesiastical need; the German National Church, or the Completion of the Reformation. Dr. Baumgarten presents us with a singular mixture of common sense and mysticism, of orthodoxy and heterodoxy, of truth and error; but still gives many hints that are worthy of being carefully weighed, and especially strengthens one's conviction of the dangers of state-churchism and ecclesiasticism. His estimate of the present state of Christian faith in Germany, though perhaps a little colored, is not very wide of the mark.

**MIRACLES AND THE KNOWABLENESS OF GOD.**<sup>2</sup>—In the introduction to this treatise the author is careful to say that he is concerned with the question of the *possibility* of miracles *generally*; not with that respecting the reality of this or that miracle recorded in the Bible. The possibility of miracles is assailed from two points of view: from that of the idea of nature, and from that of the idea of God. If nature be a continuous, inseverable chain of causes and effects, or if God be eternally one and the same, how can a miracle take place? The author first inquires into the relation of miracles to the law of nature. This latter he defines as the "constant mode in which a natural event arises or subsists." Accordingly, to say that nature may deviate from her laws is to say that under the same conditions, now this and now that may take place; in other words, we should have an effect without cause. If a miracle be regarded as an event, the conditions of whose happening are absent, a miracle is a self-contradiction. But this is not the case. The possibility of a miracle is

<sup>1</sup> Zwölf Kirchengeschichtliche Vorträge zur Betrachtung der Kirchlichen Gegenwart gehalten in Bremen. Bremen: Müller. 1869. Price, 1½ Thaler.

<sup>2</sup> Das Wunder und die Erkennbarkeit Gottes. Von Otto Flügel. Leipzig: L. Pernitzsch. 1869. Price, 1½ Thaler.

shown when we have shown (a) that the particular occurrence contains nothing essentially impossible, i.e. as to content; and (b) when we restrict ourselves to the position that the divine activity so contrives natural causes as to produce an event which otherwise would not be produced. Various miracles are then examined.

The second part of the treatise discusses the knowableness of God; i.e. not how the subjective conviction of the existence of God arises in the minds of individuals and people, but whether that subjective conviction can be raised into objective knowledge. The author comes to the conclusion that we cannot arrive at a knowledge, strictly so termed, of God and divine things; but that we may acquire a sufficient assurance of his existence and of certain of his attributes. In conclusion, the relation of the philosophical knowledge of God thus gained to the Christian revelation is investigated. We cannot say that the book seems to us very satisfactory; though others may and do entertain a different opinion regarding it.

THE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN and THE JAHRBÜCHER FÜR DEUTSCHE THEOLOGIE. — The former is now edited by Professor Hundeshagen of Bonn and Riehm of Halle, and, though now forty-two years old, betrays no trace of approaching old age. On the contrary, during the last five or six years it seems to have regained some of the vigor and liveliness of earlier years. No. 1 of the Studien und Kritiken contains an essay on the Vision Hypothesis relatively to the Resurrection of Christ, by Dr. Beyschlag, continued in No. 2; and another on "Religion and Morals in their reciprocal relations," by Professor Köstlin, author of the work on "Faith." Both are valuable: the former is both thorough and lively. In No. 2 the article on "Christianity and Modern Culture" deserves attention, though its tendency is negative. The anonymous writer (Dr. Hollenberg, probably) seems to pin his faith to the philosophical system of Lotze in Göttingen, whose "Microcosmos" is a remarkable work. The most interesting article in No. 3 is that on "Piety." There is also an appreciative review of Dr. Schaff's Church History, also a dry article on Concordances by Dr. Bindseil, the librarian at Halle. No. 4 contains articles on Johann Wessel, The Journeyings of the Israelites through the Desert, and the Zwingli and Calvin's Doctrine of Election, besides notices of Diestel's "Geschichte des alten Testaments," etc., and Weiss's "Biblische Theologie."

The Jahrbücher contains eighty-five shorter and longer notices of books and pamphlets. These notices are mostly written with critical care, by competent men, whose names are given. It also contains the following Articles of more general interest: The Image of God in Man; the Neo-speculative Christianity of Dr. Biedermann (expounded in his "Dogmatik"); Universalism; the Myths relating to the Flood in relation to the Account in Genesis; Chrysostom as an Apologist; the Eschatological Articles in relation to Dogmatics as a whole; the Theological Proof and



Contribution to the Logic of Theology; Heathen and Jewish Myths relatively to the End of the World; on the Law and Things permitted.

Many of our readers are acquainted with the Monthly Apologetic Magazine entitled "*Beweis des Glaubens*," conducted in part by Professors Zöckler and Grau. Among the Articles of interest there may be mentioned: The Relation of Nature and Revelation; the Volume of the Brain in various Races, and the Conclusions deduced therefrom; the Resurrection of Jesus; the Years of the Death of John the Baptist and Christ; the Doctrine of the Rock of Peter; Stephen; Christianity and Gnosis; Darwin's Theory and Geology; Spiritism in America and Europe.

#### C. ENGLISH INTELLIGENCE.

Rev. A. B. Grosart, a learned antiquarian, pastor of St. George's United Presbyterian church, Blackburn, Lancashire, England, who is still engaged in editing the Fuller Worthies' Library (a notice of which was prepared for this Number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, but is deferred to the next Number), has printed, not published, an important volume with the following title:

SELECTIONS FROM THE UNPUBLISHED WRITINGS OF JONATHAN EDWARDS. Edited from the original MSS. With Facsimiles and an Introduction. 8vo. pp. 209.

The contents of the book are as follows: 1. Facsimiles. 2. Dedication. 3. Introduction. 4. Treatise on Grace — Chap. I. [Showing] that Common and Saving Grace differ, not only in Degree, but in Nature and Kind; Chap. II. showing wherein all Saving Grace does summarily consist; Chap. III. showing how a Principle of Grace is from the Spirit of God. 5. Annotations on Passages of the Bible. 6. Directions for judging of Persons' Experiences. 7. Sermons. — (1) Matt. vii. 14; (2) 2 Tim. iii. 16; (3, 4) Rom. v. 1; (5, 6) Acts xxiv. 25; (7, 8) 1 Pet. iii. 19, 20. The second of the sermons mentioned in the preceding series was preached to the Indians at Stockbridge. Like the other sermons printed in this volume, it was never written out in full, and only the outline of it is preserved. Our readers will be interested in noting the manner in which President Edwards discusses the great theme of inspiration before an audience of savages. The following are extracts from the outline:

2 Tim. iii. 16: "All scripture is given by inspiration of God."

Doctrine: The Scripture is the Word of God.

I. *There must be some Word of God.*

'Tis unreasonable to think that God would always keep silence, and never say anything to mankind.

God has made mankind and given him Reason and Understanding.

Has made him the chief of all the creatures.

Given him reason that he might know God and serve Him.

Did not give the other creatures reason: He did make 'em to serve Him.



Other creatures are made for man.

Man was made for God; to serve God, or else he was made for nothing.

But we may be sure He did not make such a creature as man for nothing.

But how unreasonable is it to think that God would make us for Himself and never say anything to us.

God is the King that rules over all nations.

But how unreasonable is it to suppose that he should be a King and never say anything to His subjects. . . . be a King and never tell them what His will or what His commands are, that His subjects may obey Him.

Is as a Father: all His family.

But will a father be always dumb and silent, etc. ?

God has given mankind speech: so that they are able to speak and make known their minds to one another.

And therefore 'tis unreasonable to think that God never would speak to men and make known His mind to them.

[II.] Another thing that shews that the Scriptures are the Word of God is this:—

That when God told the wise and holy men to write the Bible *He gave em power to work great MIRACLES, to convince men that it was His work.*

[III.] Another thing that shews the Scriptures to be the Word of God is that the *Scripture FORETELLS a great many things.*

The OLD TESTAMENT that was given to the Jews a great while before Christ was born foretold Christ's coming.

And a great many things concerning Him. All which are FULFILLED.

The Scriptures of the NEW TESTAMENT foretell a great many things . . . all came to pass.

[IV.] Another thing that shews that the Scripture is the Word of God is this:—

*That the Scripture has been the means of enlightening so many nations.*

[V.] Another thing that shews [it, is]

. . . *Great opposition:* the Devil and wicked men make against it.

[VI.] Another thing that shows [that it is] the Word of God is this: *it has PREVAILED against such great opposition.*

Another thing: *no other Word ever was used as the means of bringing men to know the true God but the Scriptures.*

Where the Scriptures have come there has been light: all the rest of the world has remained in darkness. So 'tis now all over the world.

[VII.] Another thing that shews [it] is this: *No man could make such a book as the Bible. . . .*

It must be made by wicked men or good men. . . . Wicked men would not make it. Good men could not.

[VIII.] Another thing: no book reaches the hearts of men so much. *No word so AWAKENS the conscience.* No word is so powerful to change the heart. Great many have been made 'new men': very wicked men.

No word so powerful to comfort the hearts of men . . . in death . . . .  
cruel deaths. . . .

[ix.] Another: *good men all love the Bible*. Better they are the more  
they love it . . . the more they are convinced that it is the Word of God.  
The more wicked men [are] the more they are AGAINST it.

APPLICATION:

1. How thankful we should be to God. . . .
2. Hence we may learn that all the Scripture says to us is certainly  
true.
3. Hence 'tis worth the while to take a great deal of pains to learn to  
read and understand the Scriptures.

I would have you, all of you, think of this.

When there is such a book that you may have, how can you be contented  
without being able to read it?

How does it make you feel when you think there is a book that is God's  
own Word? That tells. . . .

And you think with yourself that you are not able to read it. . . . See  
and think about it. All that you know is only what others tell you. . . .  
see nothing with your own eyes.

Especially I would have you that are young people take notice of these  
things.

Parents should take care that their children learn. . . .

This will be the way to be kept from the Devil . . . Devil can't bear  
[the Bible]. Kept from Hell. To be happy for ever.

But if you let the Word of God alone, and never use, and you can't  
expect the benefits of it. . . .

You must not only hear and read, etc., but you must have it sunk down  
into your heart. Believe. Be affected. Love the Word of God. Written  
in your heart.

Must not only read and hear, but do the things. Otherwise no good;  
but will be the worse for it.

And you should endeavor to understand. To that end to learn the  
English tongue.

If you had the Bible in your own language, I should not say so  
much.

Endeavor to promote your children's learning English.

You that can read should often read . . . meditate . . . pray that God  
would enlighten you.

Consider how much it is worth the while to go often to your Bible to  
hear the great God Himself speak to you.

There you may hear Christ speak.

How much better must we think this is than the word of men. Better  
than the word of the wisest man of the world.

THE WHOLE WORKS (as yet recovered) OF THE MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, ROBERT LEIGHTON, D.D., Bishop of Dunblane, and Archbishop (Commendator) of Glasgow. Containing the corrected Text of the Pieces previously published, and including many Letters, Sermons, and other Pieces never before published. The whole carefully edited and furnished with Illustrative Notes and Indexes. To which is prefixed a Life of the Author and of his Father. By William West, B.A., Incumbent of St. Columba's, Nairn. In six volumes. 8vo. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1870.

"Devout Christians and thoughtful men of every school have vied with each other in expressing their admiration of the 'heavenly-minded Leighton,' and in testifying to the great solace and delight they have found in his works, as combining, in a way peculiar to himself, the choicest attractions of general literature with the most admirable devotional spirit. It may suffice to name e.g. such men as Newton, Cecil, Martyn, and Bickersteth — Wogan, Jones of Nayland, Alexander Knox, Bishop Jebb, H. J. Rose, and Isaac Williams — Coleridge, Archdeacon Hare, and Sir James Stephen; and among the Nonconformists, Benjamin Bennett, Doddridge, and Robert Hall."

"Leighton's ten year's residence in France and Flanders after leaving college, his intercourse with his relatives at Douay and other devout Roman Catholics, especially the Jansenists and Port-Royalists, as well as with eminent men of the Anglican church, tended greatly to enlarge his mind; and, in combination with his singular gifts and the peculiar bent of his disposition, united in forming a Theologian and Christian Philosopher who stands alone in English literature, and is the only representative we have of such devotional writers as S. Austin, S. Bernard, the Author of 'The Imitation,' and S. Francis de Sales. Leighton was well versed in books as well as in men; besides being a master of Hebrew, classical, and mediæval lore, he was well read in French, Spanish, Italian, and German literature. He was peculiarly fond of French literature as congenial to the natural vivacity of his own mind, and especially delighted in Montaigne and De Sales. He was extremely fond of history and biography, voyages and travels. He was familiar with the best Elizabethan writers, especially Hooker and Bacon; and amongst the writers, of the next age, his chief favorites were Herbert and Crashaw, Sibbes and Jeremy Taylor, Fuller and Sir Thomas Brown. Leighton's vast learning, while freely used, was habitually kept in subordination and subservience to the great spiritual ends he ever had in view, and moreover was used with admirable taste and judgment. His mind was singularly poetical and ideal; and in his masterly grasp of analogy, and in his exquisite similes, he has been rarely equalled, and never surpassed. His language is remarkably choice and elegant, often musical and beautiful, and always finely expressive; and all he writes glows with the most fervent love of God and man."

The preceding lines are extracted from "an earnest appeal to all who love and value the Life and Writings of Archbishop Leighton." The editor of this edition deserves great praise for the accuracy, the learning, and the patience which he has manifested in correcting the text of former editions of Leighton's Works, and illustrating the text with notes, always valuable, often interesting. Indeed, this has been well called, not so much "a new edition" as a new series of books. It is surprising that an author, so highly prized by those who have read him, and so loudly praised by those who have not read him, should, after the lapse of two hundred years, appear before the world in a more complete edition of his works than has ever been previously published. We regret very much that the edition is not larger of the second volume in the set; only four hundred and forty copies were printed for sale. This second volume contains the Archbishop's Sermons. The third and fourth contain his celebrated Commentary on the First Epistle of Peter. The fifth contains his Expository Lectures, and the sixth contains his Lectures and Addresses delivered before the University of Edinburgh, also his Spiritual Exercises and Letters. The volumes are beautifully printed on toned paper. We have not seen the first volume, which is to contain the Archbishop's Life, Letters, and Miscellaneous Pieces; also Indexes to the whole. The enterprising editor also promises a seventh volume containing the Latin Works of the Archbishop.

#### D. AMERICAN BOOKS AND REPRINTS.

**THE THEOLOGY OF CHRIST.** From his own Words. By Joseph P. Thompson. 12mo. pp. 295. New York: Charles Scribner and Company. 1870.

Theology may be treated as scientific and as biblical. The scientific theology consists of truths adjusted to each other so as to form a system self-consistent and complete. These truths may be as really derived from the Bible, and as truly biblical, as are the statements of biblical theology. The scientific theology may be considered as a whole, in which all the biblical doctrines are arranged and classified; or it may be considered in its different parts, as the scientific statement of the doctrine of the Trinity, of the atonement, of future punishment. Biblical theology consists of the biblical statements as they are, without any modification intended to make them fit together as a system coincident with the testimony of human reason. Biblical theology may also be considered as a whole, the collection of the statements of the entire word of God, or in its different parts, as the theology of Paul or of John. In the German language are many treatises on the theological opinions of particular writers of the Bible. Dr. Thompson has given us, in the present volume, the theology of Christ, i.e. the doctrines which Christ taught, as evolved "directly, exclusively from his words." Occasionally there are statements in the volume which



are derived from the apostles more than from Christ himself (see pp. 172-175). "A truly Christian theology," he says, "must be derived from the interpretation of his [Christ's] words by the laws of exegesis, and the collation of detached sayings in their relations to the whole course of his teaching" (Preface, p. 6). We presume "that this treatise will commend itself to the faith and charity of the universal church, and also that it will find a specific use as a text-book for Bible-classes, and for classes in the English course in theological seminaries."

This volume contains many graphic delineations of the truths taught by Christ. We give, as one example, the manner in which Dr. Thompson explains the phrase: "And I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me." "There is," he says, "much plausibility in the suggestion that, as our Lord spoke in the Aramaean tongue — then the dialect of the common people in Israel — he used the Chaldee term *z'kaph* (Ezra vi. 11), or *tah-lâh* (Esther vii. 9, 10; ix. 13), which the Jews would understand to mean to *hang up a criminal on a post*, or, adapting this to the Roman custom, to *crucify*. Dr. E. Riggs, in his manual of the Chaldee language, defines *z'kaph*, 'to suspend, as a malefactor on a gallows or a cross.' Fuerst gives the meaning: 'to raise up, as a cross, to hang up'; and *tah-lâh*, to hang up on a stake, for capital punishment. Thus Haman was 'lifted up' upon the gallows; and the same penalty was threatened by Darius for mutilating a royal edict: 'Whosoever shall alter this decree, let timber be pulled down from his house, and being "set up," let him be hanged thereon'" (p. 51). "That Christ habitually used this dialect is highly probable; at least, the fact that in his death-agony upon the cross he cried out in this tongue [Matt. xxvii. 46: 'Eli, Eli, lama sabaethani'] shows that it was most natural to him. Spoken in that tongue, the expression 'to be lifted up,' could have no doubtful reference to the manner of his death" (p. 52).

Another example of Dr. Thompson's clear explanations of Christ's words is found in his comments on Mark x. 45: "The Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many." "This word *λύτρον*, *ransom*, admits of no ambiguity. It means 'purchase-money, the price paid for the release of any one from captivity, from prison, or from peril'" (p. 63). "The same word, chiefly in the plural form *λύτρα*, is common in classic Greek, in the sense of ransom — a price paid for redemption. Plato uses it in describing the rich presents that Chryses brought to the Greeks for the *ransom* of his daughter. Thucydides speaks of Hippocrates, tyrant of Gela, having received the territory of Camarina as a *ransom* for some Syracusan prisoners. Herodotus, describing the victory of the Athenians over the Chalcideans and the Bœotians, says: 'All the Chalcidean prisoners whom they took were put in irons and kept for a long time in close confinement, as likewise were the Bœotians, until the ransom asked for them was paid. ....



The Athenians made an offering of a tenth part of the *ransom-money* — τῶν λύτρων.' Demosthenes and Xenophon used λύτρον in the same sense of a price paid for a ransom. In the great tragic poet Aeschylus is a striking instance of λύτρον in the sense of an expiation or atonement for murder. The chorus of mourning women, bewailing the untimely end of Agamemnon, exclaim: 'What *atonement* is there for blood that has fallen on the ground? . . . . All the rivers moving in one channel would flow in vain to purify murder.' How admirably comes in here the New Testament doctrine of an expiation, a ransom, sufficient to atone for every crime. The Son of Man gave his life 'a ransom, λύτρον, for many'" (p. 64).

Another illustration of Dr. Thompson's clear method of interpreting the words of Christ is seen in his comments on Luke xxiii. 43: "To-day shalt thou be with me in paradise." "The primitive paradise — the first abode of man — embraced these elements: a state of purity or innocence; a place of beauty, abundance, and delight, or a condition of peaceful and entire satisfaction: the nearness of God as the loving Father; and an implied pledge of immortality. The true life in paradise was without sin, for when man sinned he was cast out from the garden; life in paradise was free from want and care, for toil and pain came as the curse of sin; life in paradise was one of plenty and delight, for the garden was planted with 'every tree that was pleasant to the sight and good for food'; life in paradise was favored with frequent manifestations of the presence of God, for the Lord God walked in the garden; he talked with Adam, instructed and blessed him, making every provision for his happiness as an expression of his Maker's love. And this life carried with it the presumption of its immortality; for the symbolic tree of life stood in the midst of the garden, like a covenant in perpetuity, and death was threatened as a consequence of sin. Such a life, pure, peaceful, and satisfying, blessed with the presence of God and the promise of immortality, was the *Eden* of the Hebrew scriptures, which in popular language, long before the time of Christ, had come to be familiarly known as *paradise*. And the restoration of this paradise was looked for under the reign of the Messiah, whose coming would make the desert like the paradise of God" (pp. 168-169).

We regard the present volume of Dr. Thompson as well fitted to encourage what is commonly called "doctrinal preaching." We need not insist that the doctrines be preached in exactly the same style which was common with our fathers; but the strength of the churches requires that they be preached in some style. This volume exhibits the doctrines more or less clearly taught in the words of the Saviour; but the work scarcely mentions a technical term in theology, and is free from the old scholastic divisions. It brings these doctrines out in a new form, but retains the old substance. The church, we think, has far more inward strength when its members concern themselves with the question: "What think ye of

Christ," of the resurrection, of endless retribution? than when they devote themselves to the questions: Shall our children be allowed to dance? Shall we confine them to the square dances, or indulge them in the round?

**ST. PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS.** A revised Text, with Introduction, Notes, and Dissertations. By J. B. Lightfoot, D.D., Hulsean Professor of Divinity, and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. 8vo. pp. 396. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1870.

Professor Lightfoot's Commentary is distinguished by an admirable diction, and by sound sense, as well as learning. The Analysis of the Epistle, on pp. 68-73; the Dissertations, especially that on "St. Paul and the Three," Peter, James, and John, pp. 129-212; the Notes, of which that on "St. Paul's Infirmary in the Flesh" (pp. 354-360) is a fair specimen, are masterly. Mr. Draper has conferred a rare favor on our students of the Bible by giving them so good a reprint of a volume so rich and solid.

We have received two volumes of Lange's Commentary on the Holy Scriptures. One is Volume X. of the Old Testament, the other is Volume VII. of the New Testament. Their titles are as follows:

**THE PROVERBS OF SOLOMON.** Theologically and Homiletically expounded by Dr. Otto Zöckler, Professor of Theology at Greifswald. Translated and edited by Rev. Charles A. Aiken, Ph.D., Union College, Schenectady, New York; pp. 299. **ECCLESIASTES; or KOHELETH.** By Dr. Otto Zöckler, Professor of Theology, Greifswald. American edition; edited, with Annotations, Dissertations on Leading Ideas, together with a new Metrical Version and an Introduction thereto, by Prof. Taylor Lewis, LL.D., of Schenectady, New York. Translated by William Wells, A.M., Professor of the German Language and Literature, Union College, New York; pp. 199. **THE SONG OF SOLOMON.** By Dr. Otto Zöckler, Professor of Theology in the University of Greifswald. Translated from the German with additions, by W. Henry Green, D.D., Professor of Oriental and Old Testament Literature in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, N. J. pp. 135. Three octavo volumes bound in one. New York: Charles Scribner and Co. 1870.

**THE EPISTLE OF PAUL TO THE GALATIANS.** By Otto Schmoller, Ph. D. Translated from the German, by C. C. Starbuck, A.M. Edited, with additions, by M. B. Riddle, D.D. 8vo. New York: Charles Scribner and Co. 1870.

A commentary like that of De Wette or Meyer has the advantage of a self-consistent train of thought, which enables the student to compare every new statement with the general theories of the commentator. Lange's Bibelwerk is written by so many different authors that it necessarily loses this advantage, and requires the reader to form a standard

of his own, and to compare the different criticisms with it. What the *Bibelwerk* lacks in unity it gains in fulness and copiousness. The reader sometimes agrees with the German commentator, while he differs from the American annotator. Sometimes he differs from both. He occasionally fails to see the connection between the practical and homiletical Remarks on the one hand, and the exegetical on the other. All these Remarks, however, may afford him hints for a richer system than he would otherwise adopt. The two volumes which we are now called to notice contain a mass of learned criticism, and suggest many new thoughts, some of them visionary, many of them requiring prolonged examination, and many of them sober, sound, and edifying. — In the Commentary on the Galatians Dr. Riddle's Notes make frequent reference to the Commentary of Lightfoot noticed below. Zöckler's Commentary of Solomon's Song defends the typical interpretation of the Song, in distinction from the allegorical which is maintained by Prof. Cowles in the Commentary noticed below.

PROVERBS, ECCLESIASTES, AND THE SONG OF SOLOMON; with Notes, Critical, Explanatory, and Practical. Designed for both Pastors and People. By Rev. Henry Cowles, D.D. 12mo. pp. 363. New York: D. Appleton and Company. 1870.

Dr. Cowles writes with perspicuity, precision, and conciseness — three invaluable excellences of style for a Commentary. All his writings breathe a reverent spirit toward the Divine Word. Clergymen and laymen may derive profit from this, and from his preceding expositions of the sacred books. — There is unquestionably a difference between an allegorical and a typical poem or tale. Still, when Dr. Cowles uses the term "allegorical," he often has the same meaning which Zöckler has when he uses the word "typical." The design of many commentators who defend the allegorical interpretation is substantially the same with the design of others who defend the typical. We regard the latter term, however, and the shading of the theory involved in it, as more felicitous than the former term (allegorical), with the shading of the theory connected with it. The typical theory is more definite, and less liable to be run into extravagances. Dr. Cowles, however, is remarkably free from extravagance, uncommonly sober and reasonable in his interpretations.

BIBLE NOTES FOR DAILY READERS. A Commentary on Holy Scriptures. By Ezra M. Hunt, A.M., M.D., Author of "Grace Culture," etc. Two vols. 8vo. pp. 576, 794. New York: Charles Scribner and Co. 1870.

These large and well-printed volumes illustrate the desirableness of a brief, compact Commentary on the Sacred Scriptures. Multitudes of readers demand concise and plain, rather than full and elaborate, explanations of the inspired text. The author of these "Bible Notes" has

expressed his opinions with perspicuity, and has performed a good service for families and teachers of Sabbath Schools.

**A COMMENTARY, CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY, ON THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS.** By the Rev. Robert Jamieson, D.D., St. Paul's, Glasgow, Scotland; Rev. A. R. Fausset, A.M., St. Cuthbert's, York, England; and the Rev. David Brown, D.D., Professor of Theology, Aberdeen, Scotland. Vol. I. Old Testament. Genesis — Esther, Rev. Robert Jamieson, D.D.; Job — Malachi, Rev. A. R. Fausset, A.M., Two octavo volumes bound in one. pp. 742, 605. New Testament Matthew — Romans, Rev. David Brown D.D; 1 Corinthians — Revelation, Rev. A. R. Fausset, A.M.

We have examined this book, not thoroughly, but superficially. Nearly all the passages which we have read seem to be judicious and correct. We presume that the commentary will be very useful for teachers of Sabbath Schools and families. It is one omen for good that our laymen have such ready access to the results, rather than the processes, of learned criticism.

**COMMENTARY ON PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.** With an Introduction on the Life, Times, Writings, and Character of Paul. By Wm. S. Plumer, D.D., LL.D., Author of "Studies in the Book of Psalms," "The Law of God," "The Grace of Christ," "Vital Godliness," "Jehovah-Jireh," "The Rock of our Salvation," etc. 8vo. pp. 646. New York: Anson and F. Randolph and Co. 1870.

Dr. Plumer does not pretend to be a learned commentator, and he is by no means distinguished as a logical one. Still, he makes many sound and judicious remarks; and those who agree with him in his theological tenet, will be pleased with his steadfastness in bringing the Apostle into the same train of thought with the commentator.

**THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO MATTHEW, WITH NOTES;** intended for Sabbath-schools, Families, and Ministers. By Nathaniel Marshman Williams. With Illustrations. 12mo. pp. 332. Boston: Gould and Lincoln. New York: Sheldon and Co. 1870.

Well-written commentaries on the scriptures may be multiplied to such an extent as to fail of being remunerative pecuniarily to either author or publisher, but not so as to fail of being profitable morally to the public. It argues well for the industry and scholarship of Rev. Mr. Williams, pastor of a Baptist church in a comparatively small town, that he has had the inclination, and found the leisure, to prepare these Notes on Matthew. They resemble in form Mr. Barnes's Notes on the Gospels. They are concisely and clearly written. They indicate on the author's part a quite thorough acquaintance with the literature of the subject. The peculiarities



of Mr. Williams's views on baptism are, of course, not concealed; yet they are not set forth offensively. We are glad to see that in the preparation of these Notes the author had an eye to the peculiar aspect of the present times. "Phariseism," we are told, for example, "did not resemble modern Unitarianism, but rather modern ritualism." We doubt, however, the truth of what is added — that "Romanism is the greatest danger to which the churches of the United States are now exposed."

It is the author's purpose eventually to prepare Notes similar to these on the other Gospels.

**HISTORY OF THE SANDWICH ISLANDS MISSION.** By Rufus Anderson, D.D., LL.D., late Foreign Secretary of the Board. 12mo. pp. 432. Boston: Congregational Publishing Society. 1870.

It is a great privilege for a man to write the history of events in which he himself has been an actor. Dr. Anderson has watched the progress of the Sandwich Islands Mission from the time of its inception until the time of its completion. During a period of more than forty years he has labored, in a greater or less degree, for the success of the mission. He has now told the story of it with care and fidelity. The wondrous events which have occurred in connection with this mission, invite and amply reward the study of the Christian philanthropist. Appended to the volume is inserted an account of the ordained missionaries, the missionary physicians, and the assistant missionaries who have labored on the islands; also of the missionaries to Micronesia. There is also appended a catalogue of publications in the Hawaiian, Marquesan, Gilbert Islands, Marshall Islands, Kusaie, and Ponape languages. In the Hawaiian language alone have been printed about 150 different works; and these works contain more than 220,000,000 pages. In the period of thirty years 20,000 Bibles, 30,000 Testaments, and more than 100,000 Hymn-books have been printed and circulated on the islands. Among the publications we notice two editions of Wayland's Moral Philosophy, a work on Political Economy, on the Evidence of Christianity, a System of Theology, and a Church History. The volume is well entitled to bear, as it does, on its title-page the words, "*A Heathen Nation Evangelized.*"

**THE HISTORY OF ROME.** By Theodore Mommsen. Translated, with the Author's sanction and additions, by the Rev. William P. Dickson, D.D., Regius Professor of Biblical Criticism in the University of Glasgow; late Classical Examiner in the University of St. Andrews. With a preface by Dr. Leonhard Schmitz. New edition, in four volumes. 12mo. Vol. IV., with a complete Index of the work. pp. 778. New York: Charles Scribner and Co.; Boston: W. H. Piper and Co. 1870.

Our favorable judgment of this work has been expressed already in Vol. xxvii. pp. 793, 794. The fame of Mommsen is so great that he needs no



eulogium. Six years ago Prof. Leo, of Halle, remarked that Mommsen was better acquainted than any other man with the history of Rome, and had examined more thoroughly the archives of the ancient libraries in Italy and other parts of Europe.

**LIFE OF THE REV. JOHN MILNE OF PERTH.** By Horatius Bonar, D.D. 5th. edition. 12mo. pp. 496. New York: Robert Carter and Brothers. 1870.

We have been much interested in this biography. Mr. Milne was an early companion of Robert M'Cheyne, James Hamilton, William Burns. He labored diligently as a pastor for twenty-four years at Perth, Scotland, and four years as a missionary in India. He suffered keen afflictions, but shone the brighter for them all. He was born in Peterhead, April 26, 1807; died in Edinburgh, May 31, 1868. He lies buried in the Grange Cemetery, "not far from Chalmers and Tweedie and Cunningham and Bannerman and McIntosh." Few cemeteries, which are of recent origin, contain so many memorials of departed greatness.

**A TREATISE ON THE PREPARATION AND DELIVERY OF SERMONS.**

By John A. Broadus, D.D., LL.D., Professor in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Greenville, S. C. 12mo. pp. 514. Philadelphia: Smith, English, and Co.; New York: Sheldon and Co.

Dr. Broadus acknowledges his obligations to Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian among the ancients; to Whately and Vinet among the moderns, also to Alexander, Shedd, Day, Hoppin, Coquerel, Palmer, McIlvaine, and Dabney. His treatise is a result of practical instruction, and is well adapted to interest and instruct the young preacher. It might be criticised for want of neatness, and scientific accuracy.

**COMPANIONS OF MY SOLITUDE.** By Arthur Helps, author of "Friends in Council," "Realmah," "Casimir Maremma." From the seventh London edition. 16mo. pp. 276. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1870.

This volume, of which we are glad to see a new edition, abounds with wise sayings, which, were they not clothed in such a modest and graceful dress, would be often repeated as apothegms. As the world goes, a sentence must have some sharp point or rough edge, in order to gain the currency of a proverb. If it be smooth it does not run well. If we had space we might quote from the present work scores of sentences full of hidden wisdom. The following are specimens: "Knowledge brings doubts and exceptions and limitations which, though occasionally some aids to truth, are all hinderances to vigorous statement" (pp. 27, 28). A statesman "should doubt to the last, and then act like a man who had never doubted" (p. 68). "I suppose that even when they are good a man's words seem poor to himself, for the workman is too familiar with the wrong side of all

his workmanship. Moreover, much must always lie in the ear of the hearer. We say enough to set alight the hidden trains of thought, which abide in the recesses of men's hearts, unknown to them, and they are startled into thinking for themselves. After all, it is not often so requisite for a writer to make things logically clear to men, as to put them into the mood he wishes to have them in. I suppose the snake-charmer and the horse-whisperer have some such scheme" (pp. 114, 115). "What a strange, desperate notion it is of men, when they have erred, that things are at the worst, that nothing can be done to rescue them; whereas Judas might have done something better than hang himself" (p. 91). "The notion that there is a dead level in modern times is a mistake; it is only that there are more eminences" (p. 228).

The aphoristic style, the quaint illustrations, the sententious wisdom which lend such a charm to the "Companions of my Solitude," are also well-known characteristics of the two volumes to be named next; both of which were published previously to the present volume, and are now republished by a House to which the literary public are much indebted.—**REALMAH.** By the author of "Friends in Council." 12mo. pp. 509. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1870.—**CASIMIR MAREMMA.** By the author of "Friends in Council," "Realmah," etc. 12mo. pp. 449. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1870.

**A DAY BY THE FIRE,** and other Papers hitherto uncollected. By Leigh Hunt. 12mo. pp. 368. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1870.

The title well describes the book. But in its various parts it is delightful. In no other book within our observation has been collected such a series of charming essays since the time of Lamb. We rank this with *Elia*, but second to it. The articles were originally published in various English periodicals.

**THE SINLESSNESS OF JESUS; an Evidence for Christianity.** By Carl Ullmann, D.D. Translated from the Seventh altered and enlarged Edition, by Sophia Taylor. 12mo. pp. 300. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. New York: Scribner, Welford, and Co. 1870.

This book originally formed the first Article in the first number of the *Studien und Kritiken*, of which its author, Dr. C. Ullmann, in conjunction with F. W. C. Umbreit, was the editor. It was published in 1828. In this form it was translated by Professor Park in 1839, and printed in "Selections from German Literature," a volume prepared by himself and the late Professor B. B. Edwards. The edition before us, the seventh, is greatly enlarged and improved.

The object of this book is to prove that Jesus Christ was sinless, both positively and negatively. It might be worth while to prove this, merely on the ground that such an absolute perfection was a rare and most in-

teresting moral phenomenon; but the proposition has a practical import of great moment as related to the evidences of Christianity. Christianity claims to be an absolutely perfect religion, and of divine origin. This claim would have to be at once abandoned, unless it could be shown that its founder bore a character corresponding to that of the religion which he was attempting to establish. It was also a point of great moment that the founder of Christianity should give in himself an exemplification of the character which Christianity requires and tends to form in its adherents. Still further, none other than an absolutely perfect being could serve as a Mediator between God and sinful men. The scope of the book, thus viewed, is evidently one of great importance. We cannot say that it is either light or easy reading; but we can say that few doctrinal treatises, whether the product of the German or the English intellect, are of equal value.

**OUTLINE OF SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON'S PHILOSOPHY.** A Text-book for Students. By the Rev. J. Clark Murray, Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy, Queen's University, Canada. With an Introduction by the Rev. James M-Cosh, LL.D., President of Princeton College, New Jersey. 12mo. pp. 259. Boston: Gould and Lincoln; New York: Sheldon and Co.; Cincinnati: G. S. Blanchard and Co.; Toronto: Adam, Stevenson and Co. 1870.

This outline forms a convenient introduction to the study of Sir William's complete works, and facilitates the student's references to them.

**THE CHINESE CLASSICS;** a Translation by James Legge, D.D., of the London Missionary Society. Part I. Confucius. Part II. Mencius. 8vo. pp. 163, 219. New York: Hurd and Houghton; Cambridge: Riverside Press. 1870.

This is an American reprint of an English work. It is meant to be followed by four other volumes of translations of Chinese works, each of about the same size as this. The present volume gives translations of three works of Confucius and one of Mencius; accompanied by biographical sketches of each writer, and copious indexes. From our want of familiarity with the Chinese language and literature, we must refrain from any judgment as to the merit of these translations. They seem, however, to be as readable and interesting as such translations usually are.

**THE EARLY YEARS OF CHRISTIANITY.** By E. DePressensé, D.D., author of "Jesus Christ; his Times, Life, and Work." Translated by Annie Harwood. The Apostolic Era. 12mo. pp. 536. New York: Charles Scribner and Co. 1870.

The present volume forms a sequel to DePressensé's "Life, Work, and Times of Jesus Christ." Like all his other writings, it is eloquent, and

often brilliant. We are very much indebted to the accomplished translator, as well as to the learned author of this and the connected volume. The present work is divided into three books: The first devoted to the period between the Pentecost and the Council at Jerusalem; the second to the period ending with the death of Paul; the third to the period ending with the close of the Apostolic age. Thirteen valuable Notes, and three Indexes occupy fifty-six pages at the conclusion of the volume.

THE SERMONS OF HENRY WARD BEECHER, in Plymouth Church, Brooklyn. From Verbatim Reports of J. S. Ellinwood. "Plymouth Pulpit," Third Series: September, 1869—March, 1870. 8vo. pp. 438. New York: J. B. Ford and Co. 1870.

Rev. Mr. Spurgeon of London recently remarked in conversation: "I do not know any modern preacher whose mind is so much like that of Shakespeare as Mr. Beecher's mind." The present volume of Mr. Beecher's discourses explains the reason of this remark. It gives a new illustration of his exuberant fancy, his fertility of invention, and tact in approaching the minds and hearts of men.

LECTURE-ROOM TALKS: a Series of Familiar Discourses on Themes of General Christian Experience. By Henry Ward Beecher. Phonographically Reported by T. J. Ellinwood. 12mo. pp. 378. New York; J. B. Ford and Co. 1870.

The literary character of devotional works and works on practical religion may be comparatively unimportant; yet it ought by no means to be disregarded. Their usefulness in some cases varies as much as their literary merit. A devotional work, such as Cowper would have been likely to write, would have had far greater worth than those which his friend John Newton actually did write. Mr. Beecher's Lecture-Room Talks should be well spoken on the score of literary quality. In other respects, they have at once the faults and the merits one would expect to see in his productions. To point out the latter is unnecessary, they are so striking; to point out the former would do Mr. Beecher no service, and but little service to his readers. It is enough to say that, if read with discrimination, it is both a delightful and a useful book.

AS REGARDS PROTOPLASM, in Relation to Professor Huxley's Essay on the Physical Basis of Life. By James Hutchison Stirling. F.R.C.S. LL.D., Edinburgh. 18mo. pp. 71. New Haven, Ct.: Charles C. Chatfield and Co. 1870.

We can do no more in reference to this book than to state, as clearly as may be, the theory which it discusses, and the general conclusions to which it comes. The theory is, that there is a certain physical basis of life, or in other words, one kind of matter common to all living beings, to



which matter the name of protoplasm is applied ; that there exists in all beings, despite of the wide differences which appear, a threefold unity, that of faculty, that of form, and that of substance. The difference between the powers of the lowest plant or animal and those of the highest is one of degree, and not of kind. As to form, all that lives, and every part of all that lives, are only protoplasm, modified or unmodified. Another statement, not a little startling, and yet, for aught that appears, logically deducible from what has already been laid down, is, that all vital and intellectual, and apparently, too, all emotional and moral, functions are the properties of the molecular disposition, and the changes of this material basis (protoplasm) of which all animals and vegetables consist. This, as we understand it, is the theory of Huxley.

Without undertaking an analysis of the argument presented in this little book against this theory, it is enough to say that the conclusion to which it comes is, that instead of there being an identity of protoplasm as a common basis of life, there is an infinite diversity ; and that instead of all functions being only the changes of this material basis, these functions, and especially the intellectual, depend upon other factors than any merely molecular constituents ; and this conclusion seems to us to be triumphantly established.

MIRACLES PAST AND PRESENT. By William Mountford. 12mo. pp. 520. Boston : Fields, Osgood, and Company. 1870.

This work is not only very interesting, but is by no means unimportant, as illustrating the theories of a class of writers in regard to miracles. One fault of the treatise is, that it fails to give a clear and accurate definition of the term "miracles." Although it is devoted to the subject of these phenomena, yet it does not fully discuss the definition of them until the 224-248 pages. At the close of the discussion Mr. Mountford says : " I. A miracle is a 'sign' that men are vitally connected with a sphere which is wider than what is commonly called 'nature,' and which transcends it. II. A miracle is a 'sign,' as to individuals, and sometimes as to communities, of an increase in sensibility as to influence from the spiritual world. III. A miracle is a 'sign' that in the persons through whom it is wrought there is a state of openness towards the spiritual world, through which, more or less effectually, they may be receptive of spiritual suggestions, prophetic and doctrinal ; which suggestions, however, like the miracle itself, may possibly be not from above. IV. A miracle of magnitude and beneficence would seem to create a high presumption, and to be a 'sign,' as to the goodness, and therefore as to the reliability, of the person through whom it is wrought. V. A miracle or sign is a possibility of the present day, and from quarters both good and bad. VI. As to the significance of miracles, or as to signs given or coming from the spiritual world, men ordinarily may judge of themselves, and always they may learn from the



Holy Spirit; the monitions of which will never fail, while there are two or three disciples to gather together truly in the name of Jesus Christ" (p. 248).

Throughout the work (which evinces great familiarity with the words of the Bible) the influences of the Holy Spirit are classed among natural phenomena, and yet are represented as miraculous. Mr. Mountford says: "The soul of man is susceptible of the Holy Ghost. It is not born with the Spirit, but only with a nature fitted for its coming. The apostle Paul asks: 'Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?' And it may be that it is through the same susceptibility of spirit that one man receives the Holy Ghost, and another man 'drinketh iniquity like water.' As a young man with his face in the right direction, Saul had the Spirit of God come upon him. Thirty years afterwards, with his face set wilfully wrong, 'the Spirit of the Lord departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from the Lord troubled him.' And probably the same spiritual susceptibility by which he had been receptive of the Spirit of the Lord was the channel by which 'the evil spirit' sent on its errand got at him. That spiritual susceptibility for which, perhaps, Judas was chosen as one of the twelve, and through which, perhaps, he received 'power and authority over all devils, and to cure diseases,' was, in all probability, the same susceptibility through which diabolically it was 'put into the heart of Judas Iscariot, Simon's son, to betray him.' Demoniacal possession, as the Jews knew of it, and as it is known of to-day in many parts of the world, illustrates human nature, as to its susceptibilities spiritually, and as to its exposure to dangerous disembodied agencies and invisible forces. But from the scriptures it might seem as though in the age of Jesus Christ that that spiritual susceptibility by which the 'spirit of an unseen devil' could get entrance into the temple of a human soul was exactly what, with a better man, would have been receptiveness of the Holy Ghost. This spiritual susceptibility is by nature; though one man perhaps may have more of it than another, just as one man is more tender in heart, or poetic in thought, than another. But, perhaps, by prayer and other means, it is what a man can get quickened and purified for himself more surely than he can hope as to the enlargement of any other faculty of his nature" (pp. 322, 323).

The phenomena of mesmerism, many phenomena of dreaming, are classed among miracles. "Doubt about miracles as not perhaps being natural to man! But, really, even bread is not more so. Miracles—those of the scriptures, and, as being nearer to our own time, those of the New Testament especially—miracles are true to human nature" (pp. 324, 325). "Naaman from Syria had been directed, for a cure as to leprosy, by Elisha the prophet, to wash himself in the Jordan seven times. But he would seem to have felt himself aggrieved by the simplicity of the remedy. 'Naaman was wroth, and went away, and said, Behold, I thought he

would surely come out to me, and stand and call on the name of the Lord his God, and strike his hand over the place, and recover the leper.' That the prophet would move his hand up and down over the diseased part of his body was what was expected by Naaman, according to a correct translation of his words. Apparently it was a mode of healing which the Syrian knew of before his resort to Elisha. And it is certain that mesmeric practice is to be seen sculptured on ancient monuments in Egypt" (p. 326). "Such facts as have been supposed to be supernatural, of the nature of dreams, apparitions, and strange impressions and impulses, and which have happened and been published within the last twenty years, and such narratives of a mesmeric character as are to be found in the *Zoist*, — were these things to be gathered, examined, and collated with as much care as has been given to the lives and classification of butterflies, and with as much acuteness as what caught the lightning in its ways, there would result a pneumatology by which the scriptures would be illuminated for darkling readers, and by which men would believe in the immortality of the soul as they never can until they have some understanding about the soul itself, and discerningly 'have tasted the good word of God and the powers of the world to come'" (p. 325).

It is easy to see that if the phenomena of spiritualism be of the same nature with the miracles of the Bible, and if the dreams and visions of modern clairvoyants belong to the same genus to which the dreams and visions of the prophets and apostles belong, then the whole subject of miracles loses its importance, and the time spent on it by theologians has been wasted. Mr. Mountford quotes an opinion of Henry More, that often spirits "are very great fools; that there are as great fools in the other world as there are in this" (p. 201).

MARGARET. *A Tale of the Real and the Ideal, Blight and Bloom.* By Sylvester Judd. 12mo. pp. 409. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1871.

Mr. Judd was the grandson of Rev. Jonathan Judd, the first minister of Southamptton, Mass.; a clergyman who died at the age of eighty-three in the year 1803; a classmate at Yale College with Dr. Hopkins of Newport, R. I. He was a cousin of Dr. Hopkins, but a decided opponent of the Doctor's peculiar opinions (see Hopkins's *Memoir*, p. 253). Rev. Sylvester Judd was born in Westhampton, Mass., July 23, 1813, and died in Augusta, Maine, Jan. 20, 1853. He was ordained pastor of the Unitarian Church in Augusta, Oct. 1, 1840. He published several works, the first of which was "*Margaret*," now republished. This volume furnishes abundant proof of the rare genius of its author. The fact that after the lapse of thirty years, a new edition is called for, indicates its hold on the popular mind. An edition of it was published in 1856, with illustrations by Felix O. E. Darby. It has a far better claim than most works of fiction to be pictorially illustrated.

THE

# BIBLIOTHECA SACRA.

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## ARTICLE I.

### FREE PUBLIC LIBRARIES.<sup>1</sup>

BY REV. J. W. WELLMAN, D.D., NEWTON, MASS.

THE library, in the sense of a treasury of books, is not a modern institution. It can boast of great antiquity. The ancient Egyptians made vast collections of parchments. Osymandyas, one of the ancient kings of Egypt, it is claimed, was the first who founded a library. On the entrance of his library building were inscribed the words, "The Dispensary of the Soul"; and on the walls was sculptured "a judge, with the image of truth suspended from his neck, and many books or rolls lying before him." There was a library at Memphis so early in history that Homer was accused of having stolen from it the Iliad and the Odyssey, and of afterwards publishing them as his own. But the most famous collection in Egypt was that wonderful library at Alexandria, founded by Ptolemy Soter about B.C. 300, and afterwards greatly enlarged by Ptolemy Philadelphus. It contained at one time seven hundred thousand volumes; and when destroyed by the Saracens A.D. 642, so vast was the collection, that the parchments were distributed among the four thousand baths of the city to be burned, and it required "six months to consume them."

<sup>1</sup> The substance of this Article was delivered as an Address at the opening of the Free Public Library at Newton, Mass., June 17, 1870.

The Hebrews had their archives, their repositories of literature. The Persians possessed a "a house of the rolls." The Greeks gathered large numbers of books in public and private repositories. Plutarch tells of a library at Pergamus of two hundred thousand volumes. A public library was founded at Rome B.C. 167. Among the various magnificent projects of Julius Caesar for the embellishment of the Capitol, "was that of a public library, which should contain the largest possible collection of Greek and Latin works." During the reign of Augustus learning was liberally patronized, and large collections of books were made; and afterwards libraries were gathered, to which the public had access, not only at Rome, but in the principal colonies and cities of the empire. But in various ways, by fire, volcanoes, earthquakes, and by the irruptions of Northern barbarians, these invaluable libraries of Italy, which had been growing for several centuries, were destroyed.

The advent of Christianity opened a new era in the history of this institution. When the gospel came, wherever it went, it awoke a wonderful intellectual life, especially among the common people. Throughout Christendom, in the first Christian centuries, schools were established for the instruction of children and youth, and higher institutions of learning were founded in various places. Great Christian scholars soon arose, who wrote books, as well as gathered them into libraries. Libraries were necessarily established at all the chief seats of Christian learning; but the books of Christians were rather for use than for show. It is instructive to notice that in that first and purer age of Christianity, under the influence of the primitive churches, with their simple democratic organization, there was developed, as there always has been under similar conditions elsewhere, and especially in New England and in all the more northern of the United States, a powerful tendency towards popular education. Books were made and used, as they never had been by the pagans, for the promotion of general intelligence. This did not favor the amassing of large libraries in a few places, as

much as the placing of books in the hands and homes of the people, the very end that has always by various methods been sought in New England, and that we are now endeavoring to accomplish by means of our free library system. But as church government became more centralized and corrupt, and the people were taught more by symbols, processions, crosiers, ecclesiastical millinery, and less by books, the interest in promoting popular intelligence ceased.

Coming down the Christian centuries, we find that the chief libraries were connected with monasteries. The monks not only made large collections of parchments, but also, with great painstaking, transcribed them, and thus greatly multiplied the copies of valuable works. The facile pen of the monk was the printing-press of those earlier ages. And the service which the monasteries thus rendered to literature is beyond estimate, and counterbalances, in some measure, their evil influence in other directions. But these monastic libraries were in the hands of the various religious orders that founded them, and were of no public utility in their day.

It was not until the great Protestant Reformation came that any general interest was taken in the founding of public libraries. Then occurred a great change in the popular estimation of the educational value of this institution. Christianity, once more disenthralled and purified, immediately inspired the people with unwonted zeal in promoting popular intelligence. And, among other means brought into requisition in aid of the education of the masses, was the public library. Previously, large collections of books had been made for the benefit of particular classes, — of religious orders, of universities, and of the learned generally, — but not for the benefit of the people. Free libraries were not founded in any country for popular use before the time of the Reformation. Then appeared, for the first time, the germ of what we now call a free public library. This institution had its origin in that great religious movement. It is historically, therefore, and essentially, a Christian insti-



tution. The munificence of Protestant Christian men in Germany, some of them the personal friends and co-laborers of Luther, founded libraries, with the expressed stipulation that they should be open to all, without charge. Many of these, which date from the Reformation, still exist. In other European countries, also, under similar Christian influences, centuries ago, libraries were established which were designed by their generous founders to be free to all the people. Yet most of these, as well as most of the public libraries gathered in Europe in more modern times, so far as they were designed to reach all classes in the community, have failed of their end. For, while they were intended to be free, yet such has been their location or management, and such the character of the works gathered into them, that they have actually met the wants of only a few classes, chiefly students, professional, and learned men. Many of the public libraries of both Europe and America, which were honestly intended to aid popular education, fail of their purpose, simply because they are not popular in their character. They are not broad and catholic in the range of their books. They are not fitted to the immediate and pressing needs of all classes of people. They are valuable to scholars, but not to the working population. Professional men make great use of them; but the mechanic, the farmer, the clerk, and merchant are seldom seen among their alcoves.

The need of some change in the character and management of public libraries, and a deepening sense of this need among the people, have already opened a new era in the history of this invaluable institution. In bringing about this change, wise and benevolent men in our own country have taken a conspicuous part. The people of New England have always valued and made large use of the public library. It is no new institution with them. The founding of libraries was begun by the New England colonists at the same time that they founded their schools and colleges. In 1638, only eighteen years after the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, and only eight years after the settlement of Boston by

Puritans, Harvard College was founded at "Newtown," now Cambridge, and the gathering of a college library was immediately commenced. Sixty-two years later, or in 1700, when a few ministers of the gospel proposed to found a college in the colony of Connecticut, it is recorded that, at a preliminary meeting, "each of the ten founders brought with him some books, and, placing them on the table, said: 'I give these books for the founding of a college in this colony.'" Nor did our forefathers confine their attention to the establishment of libraries in their higher institutions of learning. School libraries sprang up in connection with the public schools of the colonies. Proprietary libraries, founded and owned by shareholders, and designed for a limited circulation, have been common in New England from the very beginning of her history. And probably in no country in the world has more interest been taken in the gathering of small private libraries, and in the general distribution of books in the homes of the people.

Nevertheless, during the present century, the great need of public libraries, both in this country and Europe, which should be better adapted to meet the wants of all classes, has been pressing itself more and more upon the attention of thoughtful men. But what could be done? Various expedients have been tried. Parochial libraries, or libraries connected with parishes and churches, and also Sabbath-school libraries, have been very generally established in both this country and England. But these are special in their character and aim, and do not meet the general need. Legislation has generously aided in the founding of school libraries connected with public schools, especially in this country and in France. But these have been sometimes too juvenile in their character, and always too limited in the range of their books, too meet the great public want. Subscription and circulating libraries have accomplished something; but they have been utterly inadequate to supply reading for the masses.

It was not until about the year 1847, that the idea of sup-

plying suitable reading in all departments of literature, to all classes in the community, without charge to any, began to take practical shape and embody itself in a permanent institution. What we now call a Free Public Library really had birth only twenty-three years ago. Not that there were no free libraries before this; there were many such; but on account of their character, or management, or for some other reason, they failed to meet the great popular want. But now, at last the time had fully come for the founding of libraries in cities, towns, and villages, designed especially not for the poor nor for the rich, not for working men nor for professional men, not for merchants nor mechanics nor scholars, not for young men nor old men, not for colleges nor for schools nor for churches, not for any religious nor for any secular order, not for any particular class or classes, but designed for all of every class in the community, so that every person, whatever his position or occupation, might have offered to him, without price, just the reading he would most need to aid him in his trade or calling, and in the attainment of general culture, limiting the range of books only by the rule that immoral and vicious, weak and worthless, books should not be provided. The idea is a grand one. It was entertained by individuals centuries ago; but it has never, until recently, been fully embodied in a permanent institution. "Twenty years ago," says a recent writer, an ex-librarian of the Boston Atheneum, Mr. William F. Pool, than whom no man is more competent to speak upon this subject, "there was not a free town library in this country nor in England. Now they number hundreds; and the time cannot be far distant when a well-furnished public library, free of access to all its inhabitants, will be as common in every intelligent and enterprising community as free common schools. The principle which lies at the foundation of our common school system, education for all, is the same which has led to the establishment and munificent maintenance of these free libraries."

But what has effected this great change? To whom is

the world indebted for this new facility for promoting popular education? Two questions are already in dispute; namely, Who had the honor of originating the idea of a free public library? and, What place has the honor of first possessing such an institution? It cannot be denied that this institution sprung up in several different places, both in this country and England, about the same time, through the suggestion and munificence of different men. A growing demand for a freer and more public use of books had made itself felt, and doubtless the idea of a free public library had been lying latent in many minds. But who first announced the idea, and embodied it in a living institution?

On commencement day at Brown University, September 1, 1847, President Francis Wayland made public his purpose to contribute five hundred dollars, upon the fulfilment of certain conditions, for the founding of a free public library in the town of Wayland, Massachusetts. On November 8, 1847 the town chose a committee to procure a room for the library; and on March 6, 1848, formally and legally accepted the offer of President Wayland. At the last date the town "had one thousand dollars with which to purchase books for a free public library." The first purchase of books was made June 28, 1850; and on August 7, 1850, books for the first time were delivered from the library. The purpose and character of this institution are made evident in Article fifth of the "Library Regulations." "Any resident in town over the age of fourteen may have access to the library, and may take therefrom one volume at a time, provided no family has more than three volumes at a time."<sup>1</sup> Thus it is evident that on August 7, 1850, a free public library, in full operation, was held by the town of Wayland in its municipal capacity.

In the process of establishing this library considerable embarrassment occurred from the circumstance that there

<sup>1</sup> A pamphlet, entitled, "Origin of the Free Public Library System of Massachusetts, by Rev. Jared M. Heard, 1860," to which we are indebted for the facts we have given in respect to the library at Wayland.

was then no legislative act authorizing cities and towns to found and maintain public libraries. During the session of the State Legislature in 1850 "the suggestion was made to one of its members by one of the inhabitants of Wayland to have such an act passed by that body, but no action was attempted." In 1851, Rev. John B. Wight was the member from Wayland of the Massachusetts Legislature. Familiar with the legal difficulties which had been encountered in establishing a free public library in the town he represented, he applied to the chairman of the judiciary committee, the Hon. Caleb Cushing, to prepare a law which should remove these difficulties. "Mr. Cushing expressed great pleasure that one movement was desired in the Legislature which had not for its object a selfish end or personal aggrandizement. He advised Mr. Wight to prepare a bill himself, convinced that he would be allowed to report the same, without reference to any committee. Mr Wight accordingly prepared the bill, and was allowed by the House the honor of reporting it without reference to a committee"<sup>1</sup> The act was passed May 24, 1851, and authorizes any city or town of the Commonwealth to raise money by taxation, to a certain amount, for the founding and maintenance of free public libraries. "The object aimed at in procuring the passage of this act," said Mr. Wight, "was not merely to prevent the necessity of special legislation whenever any city or town might wish to have such a library, but to bring the formation of free public libraries before the public mind, that it might recommend itself to universal adoption as an important supplement to the common schools, academies, and colleges in the subsequent and life-long education of the public."<sup>2</sup>

Thus the founding of a free town library by the suggestion and munificence of President Wayland led directly to important legislation, which was designed to encourage, and has greatly encouraged, the establishment of similar institutions throughout the State.

<sup>1</sup> "Origin of the Free Public Library System of Massachusetts." By Rev. J. M. Heard, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 9.



In the "First Annual Report of the Trustees of the New Bedford City Library," published in 1853, is found the following statement: "In the work of organizing a pioneer institution like our free public library, but little aid could be obtained from the labors of others. No such institution as that whose first Report is now submitted to the government of the city has ever thrown open its doors to the public in this, or in any other country. Ours is the first free public library." In subsequent Reports the same claim is repeated, and in the seventeenth Report, published in 1869, the trustees of the New Bedford library say: "We claim that ours was the pioneer institution of this character." This claim is repeated, in this instance, in connection with a just criticism upon a statement of our somewhat famous countryman, Elihu Burritt. In his work, published in London, in 1868, and entitled, "Walks in the Black Country and its Green Border Land," he gives an account of the Birmingham free public library; and, speaking of its establishment by the people, he says: "They did what no community in America has yet done; and in the doing of it they have taken a step in advance of anything we have accomplished in this department of popular education. We have taxed every man, whether he has children or not, to open and support free schools; but we have never gone so far as to levy a rate upon the population of a town to establish a free library. In this the Birmingham people have beaten the most enlightened and munificent community in America. To their credit, and our reproach, be this said; or, if not to our reproach, then to our stimulus in following this example."<sup>1</sup>

The New Bedford trustees justly rebuke the learned blacksmith for this careless statement, commend him to the works of Mr. Edward Edwards for better instruction, and affirm that their free public library was "a large and flourishing municipal undertaking when the capital of the black

<sup>1</sup> Seventeenth Annual Report of the Trustees of the Free Public Library of the City of New Bedford, p. 12.

country was in the blackness of darkness, as far as free public libraries were concerned." But can they sustain their own claim that when their library was founded "no such institution had ever thrown open its doors to the public, in this or in any other country," that theirs was "the first free public library," "the pioneer institution of this character"? The same Mr. Edward Edwards whose works they commend to the attention of Elihu Burritt makes the following statements: "The first free town library founded upon the territory which is now comprised within the United States of America was founded at New York, at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The founder was the Rev. John Sharp."<sup>1</sup> This institution, it seems, did not remain permanently a free library. "But it was not until 1779 that the institution of 1700 was avowedly converted into a mere proprietary library."<sup>2</sup> "The second free town library in order of date, which was founded within the United States, was the work of James Logan, the friend and confidential adviser of William Penn. . . . This foundation belongs to the first half of the eighteenth century, and to the city of Philadelphia."<sup>3</sup> It is added that this "Loganian library was, and is, an independent institution. It belongs to the citizens at large."

But does the founding of the free library at New Bedford precede the establishment of even the more modern institutions of the kind in this country? From the first Report of the trustees, we learn that their "city library was instituted by an ordinance of the city council, passed August 16, 1852, an appropriation of fifteen hundred dollars having been made on the twenty-sixth of the preceding month for that object." The library was first opened for public use March 3, 1853. The corner-stone of the library edifice was laid August 28, 1856. But the town of Wayland, at a legally called meeting of its legal voters, accepted the offer

<sup>1</sup> Free Town Libraries in Britain, France, Germany, and America. By Edward Edwards, p. 271. London: Trübner and Co. 1869.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 273.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. pp. 273, 274.

of President Wayland to found for the use of its inhabitants a free public library, and also unanimously returned thanks, "by rising, with uncovered heads," to the generous donor, on March 6, 1848. "Rules and regulations for the library were adopted May 8, 1848." Books were first delivered from the library May 7, 1850. "The first catalogue of the books of the Wayland town library was printed September 12, 1850." The free library of Wayland, therefore, was founded by municipal action nearly four and a half years before the library at New Bedford was established by an ordinance of the city council. And the former was opened for public use some two and a half years earlier than was the latter. The library at New Bedford is, perhaps, the first that was established under the legislative act authorizing cities and towns to appropriate money for the establishment and maintenance of such institutions, which was passed May 24, 1851. But that act was the result of the founding of the free library at Wayland. The Rev. Jared M. Heard, at the close of his pamphlet, already referred to, upon the "Origin of the Free Public Library System of Massachusetts," asks and answers the three following questions, thus embodying the results of his investigations: "First, What town or city in this commonwealth first established a 'free public library' upon the principle of the free libraries at present to be found in nearly every part of the State, and increasing in number from year to year? Answer: The town of Wayland. Second, What person or persons originated the idea of such libraries? Answer: Rev. Francis Wayland, D.D., of Providence, Rhode Island. Third, What person, or persons, originated the 'Library Act,' approved by the governor of the State, May 24, 1851? Answer: Rev. John B. Wight, of Wayland." The first and third of these conclusions, so far as we can judge from the data at present before us, are correct. But we think it would be difficult to prove that President Wayland was the first who "originated the idea of such libraries." Yet he may have been the first who embodied the idea in a permanent institution in the State of Massachusetts. And

it is undoubtedly true, as claimed by the authors of his excellent memoir, that his thoughtful and judicious gift to the people of Wayland led to the enactment of the library law of Massachusetts, and to the founding of many of the magnificent free public libraries of this state.”<sup>1</sup>

But the idea of such an institution, we have said, seems to have been entertained by many minds at about the same time. On October 14, 1847, Josiah Quincy, then mayor of the city of Boston, catching the spirit of the times, offered to the city, on certain conditions, five thousand dollars for the founding of a free public library. This led to important action by the city council, designed to encourage the founding of such an institution, which was followed in 1849 by a donation from Edward Everett of one thousand volumes; and this gift, a little later, or in 1850, by a contribution from John P. Bigelow, then mayor of the city, of one thousand dollars; and this in turn was succeeded by a noble gift from Joshua Bates, of London, himself a native of Boston, of fifty thousand dollars. Thus was founded the magnificent public library of the metropolis of Massachusetts. It was opened for public use as a consulting collection March 20, 1854, and as a lending collection May 2, of the same year.

In other cities and towns of Massachusetts large free libraries have sprung up in rapid succession, as in Peabody in 1852, in Worcester in 1859, in Lynn in 1862, and in Newton in 1869. Indeed it is invidious to name places. During the last twenty years the multiplication of these institutions has been remarkable. Full statistics have not been gathered. But in nearly all our principal cities and towns earnest attention has been given to this subject, and some action has been taken to supply the masses with proper reading. Free public libraries are springing up all over our country. At the present rate of increase, they will soon be numbered, not by scores, as they were a few years since, but by thousands, and the books gathered into them, and read by the people,

<sup>1</sup> Memoir of Francis Wayland, D.D., LL.D. Vol. ii. p. 73.



will be numbered, not by hundreds of thousands, nor by millions, but by billions.

At about the same date that the modern free library movement commenced in this country, the great need of establishing similar institutions in Great Britain began to engage the attention of different thoughtful and benevolent men. In 1849 the subject was brought before Parliament, and in 1850 an act, designed to encourage the founding of free town libraries, was passed, but only by the most persistent effort on the part of the originator of the movement, Mr. William Ewart, in the face of a strong opposition; the bill being carried in the House at first only by a majority of seventeen. This first "Free Libraries Act" of Parliament received the royal assent August 14, 1850. But it made no provision for any but corporate towns, and it was confined to England. In 1853 similar legislation was provided for Ireland and Scotland. Under the influence of this legislation, and through private energy and munificence, there sprang up, in 1852, the great free libraries of Manchester and Liverpool, each containing in 1868 about eighty-six thousand volumes. A free library was founded in Sheffield in 1853, an attempt to establish one in 1851 having been defeated by a large majority. Elihu Burritt thinks that the library at Birmingham antedates all similar institutions in this country, but "the first free library of Birmingham was opened to the public in April 1861.<sup>1</sup>" It was founded, therefore, nearly eleven years later than that at Wayland, Massachusetts. It began with about four thousand volumes. In eight years it had increased more than twelvefold, containing in 1869, fifty thousand volumes. Other free libraries were founded in rapid succession in different places. During the short period of eighteen years after the passage of the "Libraries Act" by Parliament, there were established within the United Kingdom twenty consulting and forty-four lending libraries, or sixty-four in all, within which more than four hundred and twenty thousand volumes had been provided for public use, free of charge, "with

<sup>1</sup> *Free Town Libraries*, by Edward Edwards, p. 139.



ample means for needful renewal from time to time, and for permanent maintenance"; and the annual issues of books from these had reached, in 1868, in the aggregate, nearly three million volumes. All, or nearly all, these libraries are rapidly increasing in magnitude, in popular favor, and in the extent of their usefulness. Thus much with regard to the history of this institution.

Another topic which has awakened not a little interest, relates to the position of the free public library among our popular institutions. Its general management and success will depend very much upon the idea that is entertained of its place and work. The history we have briefly sketched shows that this institution is not only, in many respects, a modern, but also distinctively an educational institution. It is not designed to be simply a depository of books, a garner, a treasury of the literature of past ages, holding what is committed to it for safe keeping, and charged with the mission of delivering over its contents in good order to some future age. That would be a worthy end; but it is not the end of this modern institution. This is rather a benevolent hand, giving our best literature to all the people. It is to enrich, not simply the minds of some future generation, but those of the present. It is not a dead, but a living institution. Nor is it designed to aid men in the pursuit of some particular profession or occupation only. Its aim is broader and grander. It proposes to carry onward and upward the education of the people already begun in other institutions and under other teachers. Its design is to elevate the general intelligence of the people, and also to provide instruction to every person in respect to his own calling, whatever that may be, and to do all this without charge to any. President Wayland briefly and clearly expresses his idea of this institution thus: "Our fathers founded schools where we are taught to read; when we know how to read, we want something to read, — we want books." This is the simple idea; first free schools, and then free books. The free public library aims at a higher, universal education;

and this education it proposes to give without charge. The noble sentiment of George Peabody in founding a public library at Peabody, Massachusetts, was: "Education,—a debt due from present to future generations." And the interpretation given to this sentiment by Hon. Abbot Lawrence, at the laying of the corner-stone of the Peabody Institute, in 1853, clearly defines the place and work of such institutions. "We live in a country" he said, "increasing in the number of its people at the rate of a million a year! And our only security for the preservation of our freedom, and our republican institutions is, *to educate the people*. Not only let there be education, but let it be universal — *a universal education of the people* — and this is the purpose of the institution whose foundation-stone we are called upon to place to-day. It is one of the *germs* of this universal education." And then, in the ceremony of laying the corner-stone, he gave emphasis to the idea that this popular education must be a Christian education, grounded upon the word of God. "I lay this stone in the hope and belief that the building which is to be erected will always be appropriated to the diffusion of knowledge among the whole people; founded upon the principles of true religion, drawn solely from the Bible. I beg to say, especially for the benefit of the younger portion of this great assembly, that, from my own observation and experience, which have not been small; the only safe chart of human life will be found in the holy scriptures; and to you, my young friends, I would recommend, on all occasions and in every position in life, to study the Bible."

A popular Christian education, then, is the idea that lies at the foundation of the free public library. And in its character and purpose, as an educational institution, it is more closely allied to our free common schools, as they have thus far been conducted, than to our academies, colleges, and professional schools. These, for the most part, are open only to those who can stand the test of a prescribed examination, and none of them offer their advantages to any except at a price. But the institution of which we now speak is free.

Its very name is significant of its aim, and of its close alliance to all our civil institutions. We call it the *free* public library. We love this word "free." As a people we have long believed in free governments, free churches, free Bibles, free schools, free men; and now, at last, we have come to believe in free libraries. This last of our free institutions has come late, but it has come; and it completes our system of popular education, and in some respects our system of free institutions also; for our free government and free churches, as well as our free schools, in order to attain the largest power and usefulness, require the aid of the free public library. It was the one thing needed. It will make an invaluable contribution to the intelligence which a free people must possess, if they would maintain their liberties. The elevation of the masses in knowledge as well as in virtue is essential to the perpetuity of our national unity and power. Our free churches also must be intelligent, if they would be saved from fanaticism and ecclesiastical tyranny, and be made wise and mighty in the fulfilment of their heavenly mission.

We hail, then, the advent of the free public library to our cities, villages, and towns with joy and thanksgiving. It comes to be the companion and ally of our common schools; to carry forward the education begun in our seminaries, colleges, and professional schools; to be the crown and glory of our whole system of popular education, and to strengthen and uphold all our free institutions.

But there is a still more practical subject that forces itself upon the thoughts of those who have already established, or are about to establish, a free public library. Of what special benefit shall it be to the people individually? What shall be its practical worth as a public institution? Its practical value and service will depend very largely, of course, upon the popular estimation in which it is held, and the manner in which it is used. A person, even in one of our best New England towns, favored as it may be with the highest order of public schools, may fail of a good common school educa-

tion, simply because he does not properly avail himself of the advantages offered him. And so any person may fail to receive any direct benefit from a free library simply through his own negligence. Nor is this all. It is no small thing for even an educated man to learn how to use wisely, or most beneficially for himself, a large public library. It may open wide its doors to all in the community, and yet many who crowd to its alcoves may find it of no special service to themselves, simply because they have no skill in the use of it.

Within the last twenty years there has grown up a new department of literature, which treats of this whole subject of free public libraries ; the founding and endowing of them, the plan of the building, the qualifications of the librarian, the selection, classification, and cataloguing of books, the best methods of making the treasures of the library easily accessible to the public, and of making the public intelligent and wise in their use of these treasures. One of the best works upon this subject is the book, to which we have already referred, of Mr. Edward Edwards, the former librarian of the free town library of Manchester, England, published in London, in 1869. This work is a repository of facts and suggestions upon the whole subject of the conduct and use of free libraries. The people generally, and especially those who have the charge of these institutions, need the information which such books furnish in order to secure to themselves and to others the largest service the free library can render. A series of Articles by Prof. Noah Porter of Yale College, published in 1868 and 1869, in *Hours at Home*, upon "Books and Reading," now gathered into a volume, if placed as a manual in all the homes of the people, and then faithfully consulted and followed by them, would augment the practical value of a free library a hundredfold. The extended Reports now prepared with great care, and published by the directors of the larger libraries of this kind, both in this country and in Great Britain, give the results of various invaluable experiments which have been made in the working of this institution, and abound in such practical wisdom and sug-



gestions as are now most needed, especially by directors and librarians. It is only through a wise use of the experience of others that the greatest benefit of the free library can be immediately secured to the community. Its actual worth to the public must depend very considerably upon its general management, and still more, perhaps, upon the intelligence, wisdom, and faithfulness of the people in the use of it.

But in one particular there can be no failure. Individual minds will discover for themselves the treasures of a free library, make large use of them, and receive great benefit from them. In every community there are certain persons, often among the young, who hunger and thirst after knowledge, and who yet have not the means to gratify their craving. These persons are often endowed with unusual intellectual capacities. With proper culture, they grow up to be largely influential and useful, the wise leaders in church and state. Without culture, they become wild and visionary, conceited and dogmatic, the disturbers and pests of society, and often prove to be the greatest hinderance to the intellectual, moral, and religious progress of the community. The great historic movements in the church and in the state, are not unfrequently occasioned by powerful individual minds. One or two men often determine largely the history of a town, sometimes of a nation. It would pay, if for no other purpose, to establish public libraries to give intelligence and discipline, tone and balance, to this one class of men. The library, indeed, in some of its various forms, has already, through its influence upon such persons, had much to do in shaping the history of our towns and our country. In the year 1766, some ten years only before the stormy days of the American Revolution, Thomas Hollis, one of the noble benefactors of Harvard College, wrote, from England, to Dr. Mayhew of Boston such words as these: "More books, *especially on government*, are going for New England. Should these go safe, it is hoped that no principal books on that *first* subject will be wanting in Harvard College, from the days of Moses to these times. Men of New England, brethren,



use them for yourselves, and for others; and God bless you!" And again he wrote: "I confess to bear propensity, affection, towards the people of North America, those of Massachusetts and Boston in particular, believing them to be a good and brave people. Long may they continue such! And the spirit of luxury now consuming us to the very marrow here at home, kept out from them! One likeliest means to this end will be to watch well over their youth, by bestowing on them a reasonable, manly education, and selecting thereto the wisest, ablest, most accomplished of men that art or wealth can obtain; for nations rise and fall by individuals, not numbers, as I think all history proveth. With ideas of this kind have I worked for the *public* library at Cambridge, in New England."<sup>1</sup> "For nations rise and fall by individuals, not numbers, as I think all history proveth." Truer or more pertinent words were never written as expressive of reasons for founding a public library. Reach these powerful, leading individual minds in the community with the wisdom and learning of good books, and you will largely control the sources of local and national history. And there are many such minds in all our communities—minds that turn naturally and eagerly towards knowledge, as plants do to the light. These will find the free library, search it through for its treasures, and receive from them a tone and culture that will greatly augment the degree and healthfulness of their influence upon the grand history of their times.

One of the most remarkable instances of this intellectual hunger, of which we speak, and of the salutary results of properly gratifying it, is found in the life of Daniel Webster. His father was a hard-working farmer, of very small pecuniary resources, living in a wild, frontier town, in the state of New Hampshire. But he knew the worth of books, and had taken the lead in establishing a small circulating library in the neighborhood. The boy Daniel, prompted by the craving

<sup>1</sup> The Pulpit of the American Revolution, by John Wingate Thornton. Introduction, pp. 32, 33.

within him, flew to this library, and read all its books with the greatest avidity. This eagerness for learning impressed the father, and although in very straitened circumstances, and with a large family to support, he resolved that his boy, then fifteen years of age, should have a collegiate education. The announcement of his purpose to his son is one of the most touching incidents in modern biography. It is best related in Webster's own words: "I remember" he says, "the very hill which we were ascending, through deep snows, in a New England sleigh, when my father made known this purpose to me. I could not speak. How could he, I thought, with so large a family, and in such narrow circumstances, think of incurring so great an expense for me? A warm glow ran all over me, and I laid my head on my father's shoulder and wept."<sup>1</sup> Repairing to a neighboring town to be fitted for college under the instruction of a Congregational minister, he found in the place another circulating library, and the intensity of delight with which he read the books is illustrated by his own subsequent reference to one of them. In this library was a copy of *Don Quixote*. It is said to have been "the common translation, and in an edition of three or four duodecimo volumes." "I began to read it," says Webster, "and it is literally true that I never closed my eyes until I had finished it; nor did I lay it down, so great was the power of that extraordinary book on my imagination."<sup>2</sup>

Now it is not true, that every youth, even with proper educational facilities, can become what Daniel Webster became; but it is true that in all our communities there are many who have this same thirst for general learning. Let the intellectual wants of such youth be met, not by a library of perhaps a dozen volumes, but by the ample provisions of such institutions as are now established so numerous in our country, and their minds will early become enriched with a wisdom and culture, which will give them balance

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Daniel Webster*, by G. T. Curtis. Vol. i. p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. i. p. 24.

and completeness of character and vastly augment their usefulness in the world.

But this is only one of the benefits of this institution. Directly or indirectly it will render invaluable service to the whole community. A free public library is a civilizing institution. Its constant influence will be to elevate the conversation and manners of the people. It is a symbol itself of culture and refinement. Its very presence in a town or city, will be an educating power. Its healthful influence will reach far beyond those who read its books. Ideas are like fragrance, pervasive. They cannot be confined to one mind. When the free library has reached one person with the influence of some invigorating thought or truth, it has reached a score of persons. Free books will give the whole community something to think of and talk about. They will improve social life. They will make the homes of the people better. When new and good books come freely and constantly to their firesides, a new and refining element will be introduced into domestic life. Pleasant and profitable occupation will be found at home, and to many there will be less temptation to spend all the time possible away from their families. Each person also will have facilities for making himself abler and more successful in his particular occupation. Every mechanic in the community may be a better mechanic for the opening of a free library, every merchant a better merchant, every artist more skilful, every farmer more scientific and economical, every professional man better qualified for his profession, and so every person more intelligent and successful in his own calling.

Nor is this all the good that will result. Such an institution is not without a healthful moral influence. Some of the most disagreeable traits of character are seldom found in connection with much intelligence. Conceit and stubbornness, prejudice and bigotry, are born often of ignorance; while humility and courtesy, manliness and charity, are closely allied to culture. It is the ill-informed, and not the

intelligent community that is troubled with all the wild and visionary schemes for social and religious reform. "These books" said Lord Houghton in his address at the opening of the free library of Manchester, England, pointing to the walls around him, "these books are to be enjoyed by all the inhabitants of this place in full community . . . . They will be shared equally by the wealthiest and most intelligent among you, and by the poorest and simplest . . . . It is what lies in these books that makes all the difference between the wildest socialism that ever passed into the mind of any man in this hall and the deductions and careful processes of the mind of the future student who will sit at these tables, and who will learn *humility* by seeing what others have done and taught before him; who will gain, from sympathy with past ages, intelligence and sense for himself." <sup>1</sup>

Weighty words are these, and forcibly expressive of one of the noblest benefits of a free public library. By nothing is true moral and religious reform more impeded than by the wild vagaries of the ill-informed and the fanatical. It is only those who are ignorant of the past, who, in political, educational, and Christian work, insist upon wasting time in experimenting with old methods, which they idly imagine they, or the advanced men of their day, have originated, but which in truth have already been tried a thousand times, and found to be worthless. Make the community intelligent, and you save years of valuable time and measureless human energy for the service of true civilization and Christianity; you destroy the occupation of mere zealots, and give ample opportunity for those great moral and religious forces, and those Christian instrumentalities, which God has appointed to accomplish their immortal work.

We know, then, of no valuable interest in the community, educational, secular, social, moral, or religious, that is not promoted by this modern institution, the free public library. Its plan is broad and comprehensive. Its purpose is to be helpful to everything we most value and love in our political,

<sup>1</sup> Free Town Libraries, by Edward Edwards, p. 93.

educational, and religious life. The library building itself lifts its comely walls, and opens its beautiful library and reading-rooms as a common social centre. It draws together all classes, and promotes their mutual acquaintance and friendship. The object of their common pride, it can hardly fail to be a bond of union, binding together the whole community in fraternal harmony. This new and popular institution comes to bless the people in their homes, in their secular business, in their social life. It comes to enrich their minds and hearts with wisdom, to make them capable of greater happiness and usefulness, and to fit them to act better their part in every place of personal responsibility. It comes to elevate not only the intellectual, but the moral culture of the people, to give character to the very place in which they dwell, to make their town the most desirable possible to live in, to make every square foot of land, every stone and tree, every house, shop, and store worth more in the market, and to conserve and strengthen every good institution and every good influence in the community.

Another topic of great practical interest pertains to the manner of founding a free public library. How shall a community, destitute of this invaluable institution, come into the possession of it? In Great Britain, and in some of the states of our own country, it may now be established by direct taxation. There is no reason why towns and cities, acting in their municipal capacity, should not support free libraries, as well as free schools. Where the law permits this, there is furnished an easy and equitable method of securing at once the advantages of this institution.

But it is instructive to notice that nearly all the free public libraries that have sprung into existence, in this country and in Great Britain, have been founded largely by private munificence. The first free library in New York, and the first, so far as we know, in this country, was founded by Rev. John Sharp. James Logan, a man worthy to be the friend and adviser of William Penn, founded the first free library in Philadelphia. John Jacob Astor, one of the



remarkable men of his day, — a man who could amass vast wealth for himself, and “put many men beside himself on the road to competence”; the founder of the “American Fur Company,” and yet “ambitious to become a civilizer, as well as a pioneer in both trade and in geographical discovery”; in whose “hands peltries became, surely though indirectly, civilizing agents in far distant parts of the world, as well as sources of vast immediate wealth, and also of expanding reproductiveness to American commerce”; and who could number among his “beloved friends” such a man as Washington Irving, — founded the great Astor library, in the city of New York. Rev. Francis Wayland, D.D., President of Brown University, a leading man in the Baptist denomination, and one of the first educators of his time, founded the free town library of Wayland, Massachusetts. The munificence of Joshua Bates, of London, himself once a poor boy in Boston, but who, amidst all the honors and the prosperity conferred upon him at the great commercial centre of the world, “did not forget the period when he was a poor apprentice boy in Boston,” founded the magnificent library that is now the pride of his native city. George Peabody, whose memory two nations conspired to honor at his death, and of whom Rufus Choate, in his address at the dedication of the Peabody Institute, said: “I honor and love him, not merely that his energy, sense, and integrity have raised him from a poor boy — waiting in that shop yonder — to be a guest, as Curran gracefully expressed it, at the table of princes; to spread a table for the entertainment of princes, — not merely because the brilliant professional career which has given him a position so commanding in the mercantile and social circles of the commercial capital of the world, has left him as completely American — the heart as wholly untravelled — as when he first stepped on the shore of England to seek his fortune, sighing to think that the ocean rolled between him and home; jealous of honor; wakeful to our interests; helping his country not by swagger and vulgarity, but by recommending her credit;

vindicating her title to be trusted on the exchange of nations; squandering himself in hospitalities to her citizens; a man of deeds, not of words,—not for these, merely, I love and honor him, but because his nature is affectionate and unsophisticated still; because his memory comes over so lovingly to this sweet Argos, to the schoolroom of his childhood, to the old shop and kind master, and the graves of his father and mother; and because he has had the sagacity and the character to indulge these unextinguished affections in a gift not of vanity and ostentation, but of supreme and durable utility,”—*he* founded the noble institution that bears his name, in Peabody, Massachusetts. The Hon. J. Wiley Edmands, one of the leading and successful business men of Boston, and a man whom his fellow-citizens always love to honor, founded the free library in Newton, Massachusetts.

And equally indebted are the people of England to private munificence for the establishment of their free libraries. Sir John Potter, a benevolent merchant prince of Manchester, England, founded the great free library of that city. William Brown, a merchant and a statesman, a man of such commanding position and influence that he was able, when the relations of our government to that of Great Britain, during the administration of Franklin Pierce, became very critical, to step forward and act the part of a mediator between the two great countries; a man of whom Hawthorne wrote at the time: “Mr. Brown grasps England with his right hand and America with his left”; this man founded the great free library of Liverpool, and it is already written on the page of history that this was one of the crowning acts of his noble life.

In the same manner many other wealthy and benevolent men have become honorably associated with free public libraries. The number of these historic names has rapidly increased of late years. May their number enlarge still more rapidly in the years to come. Such men will not be forgotten in the communities that are blessed by their benefactions.

The founding of such an institution is one of those deeds that live in the grateful appreciation of many successive generations; live too, not only to be admired by men, but to instruct and ennoble them, fitting them to act a greater and better part in the history of their times. It is well to read history, but it is nobler to make history. The benefactions of these thoughtful and benevolent men will make history. Not for any brief period of time, but for ages, we trust, they will aid in moulding the character of individuals, in ordering public events, and in shaping the history of towns, cities, and nations. All honor, then to these men whose large and wise benevolence has already secured to so many communities this invaluable institution. And all hail to those who shall come after them, taking up the same work in other cities and towns. Every person who founds, or who, by any word, influence, or gift, aids in founding, a free public library will not have lived in vain. He will have done something for which he will deserve well of mankind.

## ARTICLE II.

## JUSTICE — WHAT IS IT?

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*Τίς εἶη ἡ παραβολὴ αὕτη.* — Luke viii. 9.

SOME of our most obvious ideas are obvious only to a superficial attention. They grow obscure when we begin to think. They open a door into a dark temple; but every one to whom the door is open does not explore the recess. When an opponent denies the truism, though at first he may seem very absurd, yet his denial excites inquiry, and new difficulties only lead to new solutions. Suppose a column of some old temple should be found in the sands of Palmyra, and some one should deny that it was a column, but say it was brought there by foreign aid, and, on digging, should find that it rested on a stone pedestal, and that pediment on charcoal, and the charcoal on shells; every step of our investigation would go to remove our first impression, and to show that the column was placed there by art, and was a relic of a now desolated edifice. So some common words challenge investigation, and every step in the progress serves to modify our views and lead us to a longer examination and a profounder principle.

No word is more common in our discourses than "Justice"; and no word opens a sharper investigation, or leads to a longer train of thought.

Such a remarkable word calls for examination: First, we shall consider what justice is; and, secondly, consider its importance to a local polity, limited in extent and duration, and then to a whole universe of immortal beings.

### I. *What is Justice?*

It is a growing idea. It resembles that fish in Hindu story, — one of the incarnations of Vishnu ; first seen in a basin, then in a tub, then in a cistern, then in a lake, and last in the vast ocean ; and, in whatever receptacle thrown, instantly filling them all. Justice is as essential to the moral world as space is to the material ; as we survey it more, we better comprehend its vast extent. It passes through successive gradations. It begins with children in their family experience, and accompanies them in their sports and games. Most children have experienced this in the discipline of the family ; however kind or just their parents may have been, it is impossible for them always to proportion their blame or punishment or their rewards exactly to the disposition of their child. Hence most children can remember occasions when they received more censure than they expected, and rewards which they felt they did not deserve ; all signifying that they had formed an idea and expected the execution of strict justice. So in the sports and plays of boys you will frequently hear, as you pass along the streets, sharp disputes ; and, in nine cases out of ten, the substance of these disputes will be about puerile justice : “ you ought to have done so and so ; you were unfair ; I wont play unless,” etc. When we pass to manhood justice begins in regulating property, in making a bargain, in fixing the rate of taxing. Our first idea of it is paying a debt ; signing a promissory note ; paying a workman ; keeping a promise ; or in removing or not removing an ancient landmark. But we soon find that justice extends to invisible things, to mental qualities ; to all the injuries and blessings which affect the heart. We read in scripture that “ Hanun took David’s servants, and shaved off the one half of their beards, and cut off their garments in the middle, even to their buttocks, and sent them away ” (2 Sam. x. 4). Here is no robbery, no very great loss of property, yet a bitter injury, an act of injustice, leading to a fierce war and an extensive destruction.



We must not regard the act merely, but the signification of the act. Hume, in his *Essay on Justice*, seems to be disposed to confine its influence to property. He makes two suppositions to support his theory. Suppose the spontaneous productions of the earth to be as abundant as they were in the golden age, when the rivers ran with wine, and honey dropped from the oak. He thinks that this plenty would supersede the necessity of justice or law, as now we need no law to restrain us in the use of water or air. We have a curious example of the effect of such abundance in our own country. At the close of the revolutionary war, a British officer was passing through Virginia. He says: "If a traveller, even a negro, observes an orchard full of fine fruit, either apples or peaches, in or near his way, he alights without ceremony and fills his pocket, and even his bag, if he has one, without asking permission; or, if the proprietor should see him, he is not in the least offended, but makes him perfectly welcome, and assists him in choosing out the fairest fruit. But this is less to be admired at when it is considered that there is no sale here for any kind of fruit, and the finest peaches imaginable are so abundant that the inhabitants daily feed their hogs with them during the season."<sup>1</sup>

Hume presents another example. "Suppose," says he, "that, though the necessities of the human race continue the same as at present, yet the mind is so enlarged and so replete with friendship and generosity that every man has the utmost tenderness for every man, and feels no more concern for his own interest than for that of his fellows; it seems evident that the *use* of justice would, in that case, be suspended by such an extended benevolence, nor would the divisions and barriers of property and obligations have ever been thought of. Why should I bind another by a deed, or promise, to do me a good office when I know he is already prompted by the strongest inclination to seek my happiness, and would of himself perform the desired service, except the hurt he thereby received be greater than the benefit thereby accruing to

<sup>1</sup> See *Annual Register*, 1784, p. 84.

me? In which case he knows that, from my innate humanity and friendship, I should be the first to oppose myself to his imprudent generosity. Why raise landmarks between my neighbor's field and mine, when my heart has made no division between our interests; but shares all his joys and sorrows with the same force and vivacity as if originally my own? Every man upon this supposition, being a second self to another, would trust all his interests to the discretion of every man, without jealousy, without partition, without distinction. And the whole human race would form only one family, where all would be in common and be used freely without regard to property; but cautiously, too, with as entire a regard to the necessities of each individual as if our interest were most intimately connected.”<sup>1</sup>

We can hardly conceive that so subtle a writer should not have seen the fallacy of his own logic. In the first case, when justice is suspended as to its use by the outward abundance, there is always a possibility of intervening scarcity; the peaches may fail; the harvest may be burned; the plenty is seen to be precarious; and thus the use of justice returns with the returning wants of man. And even in the author's own examples of air and water, which are commonly so abundant as to need no restraint in their use, we all see that cases may occur in which their distribution must be regulated by law, as in the use of wells in Abraham's day (Gen. xxi. 25-30). When one hundred and forty-six Englishmen, in 1756, were confined in the Black-hole in Calcutta, and twenty-three only were found alive the next morning, in this sad condition how valuable would have been a breath of air, communicated for an hour by some tube in the wall! The modification of justice is only confined to the specific lines in which the plenty is found. As to the other case which the writer imagines, namely, supreme benevolence, it is only exchanging coercive justice for voluntary; for who has a clearer idea of what justice is than the man whose generous heart contains the fountain

<sup>1</sup> Essays, Vol. ii. p. 212, 213.

from which it flows? In his soul it is pictured to perfection. One man has learned the importance of justice by his sad experience on the other side of the question — by a life of trickery, and spending half his days in a state-prison; and another by the most spontaneous integrity of character and the most effusive benevolence. In which breast is the clearest conception found?

It must be granted, we think, that it is impossible to confine the use of justice to the use of property; for the only evil of invading a man's property is, that through his purse you wound his heart. Now, if the same pain is inflicted in any other way, it is impossible not to see that the same analogy holds. Pain has been inflicted, and a bad intention has been evinced in the deed. The apostle enjoins: "Render, therefore, to all their dues; tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear, honor to whom honor" (Rom. iii. 7). If you meet a man one day, and slip your hand into his pocket, and take out a ten dollar bill, and never return its value, and meet him again a few months after, and refuse to call him Captain, or Colonel, if the title is contested, and he value it the more, and you know it, I cannot see why refusing the title should not be a greater act of injustice than purloining the paper. The Bible says: "He that uttereth a slander is a fool." If a man, now, values his character more than his property (and thousands do), we cannot see why the slanderer is not a thief, in being a fool.

"Who steals my purse steals trash; 'tis something, nothing;  
'Twas mine, 'tis his, and has been slave to thousands;  
But he that filches from me my good name  
Robs me of that which not enriches him,  
And makes me poor indeed."

The analogy is perfect, and cannot fail to be seen. *Property is not the limit of justice.* Justice is a divine principle, and disdains to have either her privileges or duties confined within these material precincts. When you have led *ethereal justice* to these material walls, like invisible space she is

sure to stretch beyond them, and sure to impress the conviction of the authority of her claims.<sup>1</sup>

Hume makes the object of justice to be utility. It is founded, he says, solely on utility; but he does not say whether this utility is confined to our span of time, or whether it reaches to the retributions of eternity. The word "utility" suggests a meaning which goes back to a mental motive, and stretches forward to all the joys of heaven and all the agonies of hell. It is *useful* to escape the one, and secure the other.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See how Cicero introduces justice in an unexpected connection: "Ne justitia quidem sinet te ista facere; cui minimum esse videtur in hac causa loci; quae tamen ita dicet, dupliciter esse te injustum, cum et alienum appetas, qui mortalis natus, conditionem postules immortalium, et graviter feras, te, quod utendum acciperis, reddidisse" (Tusculan Questions, lib. iii. § 17).

<sup>2</sup> The word "utility" is a remarkable one. A materialist, when he uses it, is not apt to consider all its suggestions. As a diamond in perfect darkness, however excellent, cannot give out any of its light, and always sparkles more the more external light is shed upon it, so utility enlarges its meaning as it changes its position and shows its connections. If a friend or a sovereign seeks my utility, his motive is good-will to me, or benevolence. What is utility in my experience is benevolence in his. If he gives me an annuity, the gift increases the longer my life lasts. If that life is prolonged to immortality, the gift and the motive for giving swell into an infinite idea; and utility must be an eternal heaven and a release from guilt and punishment. Now, it is impossible to understand Hume's utility, without surveying it through these magnifying-glasses. Nay, the gift itself becomes a spiritual one, when we consider what true happiness is. It is perfect virtue in the heart, and an endless progression to enjoy it in. When a metaphysician, therefore, tells us that utility is the foundation of justice, we must endeavor to show him what he means. He must mean (there is no stopping short) that justice is one of the modifications of divine benevolence, promoting by necessary rules the immortal happiness of his immortal kingdom. And if he replies: "I never thought of all this: I used the word in a narrower sense; I was thinking of man and his weakness, and time with its limitation," you must reply to him: "You have no right to draw a finite line, and say it cannot be extended; you must be prepared for all the questions which your principles provoke. Utility is nothing in morals, but as the object of a previous intention that seeks it; and the very possibility of the extension of the laws of justice shows that we can only see its nature in its final operation. If even in a speculative dream you plant a tree under a high heaven, you must expect it to grow, until 'it was strong, whose height reached unto heaven, and the sight thereof to the end of all the earth.'"

Utility implies an active being that seeks it for a passive being who feels it. It is a benefit existing between two minds; and these minds may be immortal,

This is a question of some importance; and this opens the field in which justice must ever be a growing idea. One of the most fanciful, and at the same time one of the most philosophic of the Roman poets has thus sung the praises of the goddess of corn:

“Prima Ceres unco glebam dimovit aratro,  
Prima dedit fruges, alimentiaque mitia terris,  
Prima dedit leges — Cereris sumus omnia munus,  
Illa canenda mihi.”<sup>1</sup>

Even over material things a higher spirit must always preside. There must be foresight and retrospection, and earth must always lean on heaven. “A goddess first taught to plough the earth; a goddess first gave them laws. All things are her gift, and she is to be celebrated with the loudest praise.”

The meaning is, soon as man leaves his acorns and his hunting-grounds, and becomes a wheat-eating and an iron-using citizen, justice is necessary to procure his daily bread. For who will use the iron, or cultivate the earth, unless he is protected by law in the enjoyment of his crops? In early times civilization seems to have been in the centre of surrounding barbarism, and there was a contest whether men should live by the plough, or the sword — by industry, or by robbery. Such was the condition of Abraham and Job. The latter described the population among which he dwelt: “But now they that are younger than I have me in derision, whose fathers I would have disdained to set with the dogs of my flock. Yea, whereto might the strength of their hands profit me in whom old age was perished? For want and famine they were solitary, fleeing into the wilderness in former time, desolate and waste. Who cut up mallows by the bushes, and juniper-roots for their meat. They were driven forth from among men; they cried after them as

and the benefit as lasting as they are. You cannot creep out of the sublilities of religion by calling its benefits utilities. An immortal soul, when sanctified, is a utility; Heaven is a utility; the death of Christ, to sinful man is a utility, but a utility beyond the enjoyments of time, or the conception of a sensual heart. An earthly utility may grow into immortal bliss.

<sup>1</sup> Ovid, Met. lib v. l. 341-344.



after a thief; to dwell in the clefts of the valleys, in caves of the earth, and in rocks. Among bushes they brayed, under the nettles they were gathered together. They were children of fools, yea, children of base men; they were viler than the earth" (Job xxx. 1-8). They were men whom idleness had reduced to want, and want had compelled to be robbers. In Palestine, even now, men are still reduced to two classes—the industrious, who are oppressed, and the robbers, who will not work. We talk of Abraham's faith; but, considered as a citizen of this life, he had something better than even faith. Surrounded by tribes that were daily degenerating and living on the toils of their neighbors, he set a persevering example of living an industrious and peaceful life, and never drew his sword, but to repel invasion and defend the rights of his family and kindred. He taught industry; he taught honesty; he promoted a religious civilization. "Was not Abraham your father justified by works, when he had offered his son on the altar?" And was he not justified by works when he armed his trained servants, "born in his house, three hundred and eighteen, and pursued them unto Dan, and brought back all the goods, and also brought again his brother Lot" (Gen. xiv. 14, 15, 16)? "Seest thou how faith wrought with his works, and by works was faith made perfect" (James ii. 22)? There was no opposition between faith and works, in the examples of Abraham; for his faith was the only principle that could produce such works.

But justice is a magnitude that still expands upon us. Justice is nothing, if it is not executed; and to give it its utmost power it must be perfectly executed by a perfect being. This is what we never see done on earth; and to reach it the soul must be immortal, and God must be on the judgment-seat, and a perfect judge must be himself a perfect witness. It is melancholy to see how rarely perfect justice,<sup>1</sup> even according to our low ideas of perfection, is found in our best courts.

<sup>1</sup> Modern metaphysicians tell us of the absolute, which always peers up over

“ In the corrupted currents of this world  
Offence’s gilded hand may shove by justice;  
And oft ’t is seen the wicked prize itself  
Buys out the law. But ’t is not so above;  
There is no shuffling; there the action lies  
In its true nature, and we ourselves compelled,  
Even to the teeth and forehead of our fault,  
To give in evidence.”

Justice may be known, by considering what it proceeds from, and what it tends to. It proceeds from perfect wisdom and benevolence in God, and tends to the everlasting happiness of all that imbibe its spirit and submit to its laws. The *utility* which Hume makes its object, as we trace the growing idea, expands into celestial felicity and an eternal escape from the pangs of hell. If we wish to know the nicer shadings of this great thought, we may lay alongside of it some of the adjacent virtues. We speak of a holy man, an honest man, a righteous man, and, more than all, a merciful man. The distinction, in the last instance, is very obvious. Mercy has no existence but as an offshoot of justice. Justice is the staple in the great beam from which all the virtues are suspended, and mercy is the first link in the dependent chain.

Thus justice is always a growing conception. It begins in our childhood, in regulating our very games. It is enlarged and enforced by our acquisition of property. It should preside over our bargains. We cannot till our grounds and raise our crops unless justice is enforced by the protection of laws. We then pass to the conception of

our material ideas, and shows us the perfection of which they are the ruder copies and indications. Thus a point, a line, or a surface in matter suggest an absolute point, or line, or surface in pure space. The finest dust is a copy of an indivisible atom. So justice, in all its lower forms, suggests an absolute idea; and that is found only in the mind of God, and seen only by him (See Calvin’s Institutes, p. 121). The difference in explaining the divine law from what there would be in explaining any other, suggests this upward ascent. The absolute meets us, that is, the most imperfect form of law suggests a form absolved from all imperfection. We cannot contemplate the lowest rule of equity without pursuing it to an idea rising to perfection, and that perfection must be found in God.

it in analogous cases — all the invisible injuries of slander and defamation; and, lastly, when revelation discovers to us an immortal life and a boundless universe, we carry it up to the throne of God, and spread it over his vast creation. We make it of boundless extent, and turn it into an obligation among the immortals.

II. Let us consider *its importance* to a local polity, limited in extent and duration, and then to a whole universe, whose moral organization must last forever.

We begin by observing that the importance of justice is seen in its very nature, just as the infinity of space is suggested by the smallest portion of it that can be presented to the mind. Justice may be compared to the great law of attraction. It was well known, in its most common operations, before Kepler and Newton extended it over the universe. It was known that an unsupported body would fall to the ground. Every time a man dropped his pen-knife, or a lady her thimble, it was known that an unseen power sent these things to the floor, or the earth; and it was impossible to contemplate these simple incidents without seeing the clue to a more general application of the law; and it was impossible to find its universality without seeing its importance. So justice, as it swells in magnitude, rises in its character. It is important to the individual; it is the cause of his vexation or peace, as he departs from its narrow path, or keeps its onward way. It may be compared to a smooth passage through a rough pasture of rocks and briers, cavities and thorns, where if the traveller does not deviate, he moves safely; but if he turn from the way, his feet are torn with the thorns, or sunk in the cavities, or bleed on the rocks; and the meaning of his misfortune is, that he must turn to the safe direction. The importance of justice shows itself to the experience of every individual, and perhaps most bitterly to him that has deviated most. "There is no peace, saith my God, to the wicked" (Isa. lvii. 21). "Whatever sin is committed," says Juvenal, "it always displeases the sinner himself. This is the first penalty, that no

guilty man is acquitted when he sits in judgment on himself, though the wicked grace of the pretor may conquer in the fallacious urn.”<sup>1</sup> There is a silent law and an inner tribunal that no criminal can escape. Shakespeare has shown this in the character of Richard III. Never was there a mind more reckless, more hardened by ambition, more insensible to moral obligation, or more untroubled by the still small voice of conscience :

“Why, I can smile, and murder while I smile ;  
Can cry content to that which grieves my heart ;  
Can wet my cheeks with artificial tears,  
And form my face to all occasions.”

And yet even Richard is overtaken at last. He cannot stand before the terrible dream that afflicted him on Bosworth field in the night before the battle :

“My conscience hath a thousand several tongues ;  
And every tongue brings in a several tale ;  
And every tale condemns me for a villain :  
Perjury, perjury in the highest degree ;  
Murder, stern murder, in the direst degree ;  
All several sins, all used in each degree,  
Throng to the bar, crying all : Guilty ! guilty !  
I shall despair. There is no creature loves me ;  
And if I die, no soul will pity me.”

All this illustrates the position of Bishop Butler, that there is a silent law in the kingdom of God, whose very existence executes it. If the transgressor escapes every other law, and every established tribunal, he is liable, because he is susceptible of meeting this. If we pass to communities, all history illustrates the same truth. We may say all communities, all cities have fallen by a long and gross departure from essential justice. Sodom, Nineveh, Babylon, populous No, Sparta, Athens, and conquering Rome, all fell in the same way. We talk of luxury and its ruinous effects ; but luxury is only a secondary thing. Luxury is itself a species of injustice, and leads to injustice in all its forms. It would be endless to go through the forms of verifying this thought.

• <sup>1</sup> Juvenal, Satire xiii. line 1.

Two remarkable examples from history, when it became a more certain witness, will show that luxury is injustice, but that injustice has been the prime cause of the ruin of nations. It so happens that this principle is illustrated in the most luminous period of Roman story, when the leading men poured out their hearts, bore their testimony, in letters, in orations, in conflicts, in virtues, in crimes, and in all kind of actions, — Cicero, Caesar, Cato, Antony, Atticus, Matius. etc. We always read this period correcting a first impression. Our first impression is that Caesar was a tyrant, and all his slayers were heroes and patriots. But the simple story is, on careful investigation, that all Rome was then so rotten to the core there were no patriots; no, not one — not one who would not have been a scamp, if he had been on the conquering side. “Post quos Cn. Pompeius, occultior, non melior.”<sup>1</sup> Cicero himself confesses that he was sure to be the worst, who was among the victors. Dean Swift singles out six characters to form a sextumvirate of worthies, to which all the ages of the world could not add a seventh. And who were these rare birds? Brutus, his ancestor Junius, Socrates, Epaminondas, Cato, and Sir Thomas More. Leaving out those who do not belong to this age, Marcus Brutus and the Utican Cato remain; both of them old women in their politics, and hypocrites and scamps in all their private conduct. Cicero let the cat out of the bag in his letters — the only true history of that period. Brutus was a kind of Sir Giles Overreach, a gross exactor, willing to take a ruinous interest, and to collect it by the most ruinous methods. Cicero was obliged to remonstrate with him. And the spotless Cato, when the spotless Clodius sent him to rob the Cyprians, on purpose to make him as bad as himself, accepted the office, on the same ground that a conscientious rumseller sells liquor to drunkards, — because if he does not, somebody else will.

“In vain may heroes fight, and patriots rave,  
If secret gold sap on from knave to knave.

<sup>1</sup> Tacitus, Hist. p. 87.



Once, we confess, beneath the patriot's cloak,  
From the cracked bag, the dropping guineas spoke,  
And, jingling down the back-stairs, told the crew,  
'Old Cato is as great a rogue as you.'

But, not to dwell on individuals, we may say the old forms of Roman liberty, around which the mistaken patriots gathered, as if the body still retained the spirit, fell because corruption and rottenness pervaded them all. The senators thought they loved Rome, because they loved their fish-ponds. They had oppressed the provinces in every constitutional and unconstitutional way. If half the picture drawn by Cicero in his orations against Verres be true, the power of the senate and the liberty of the people in the forum did not fall a moment too soon. It fell, because it must fall, because the inevitable hour comes to human degeneracy, "when that which is mortal dies, when that which is mutable begins to change, and that which we know to be transient passes away."<sup>1</sup>

The other example is found in the reign of Constantine, when the Roman empire was fast ripening for destruction, which came in the torrent of barbarians, about a century afterwards. Injustice had disorganized all the components of political strength. Everything was out of order, in private or public life. The state was in such a condition that even good intention in a civil or military officer could scarcely be executed. Inequality was inwoven into the whole system, and wrapt the best citizen in a web of necessity. If you obeyed the laws, you must destroy equity. The weight of the taxes and the mode of collecting them gave a sad picture of the state of the empire. "As the general tax upon industry was collected every fourth year, it was styled the 'lustral contribution'; and the historian Zosimus laments that the approach of the fatal period was announced by the tears and terrors of the citizens, who were often compelled by the impending scourge to embrace the most abhorred and unnatural methods of procuring the sum at which their

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Blair, Sermon ii.

property had been assessed.”<sup>1</sup> Constantine, no doubt, did all he could to mitigate these evils. But they went on increasing, from inevitable causes, until the sons of Theodosius virtually lost all power of resisting the barbarians. We may say that the Roman empire lost its vigor by an all-pervading and immovable injustice in almost all its possible forms. A late professor is reported to have said that the empire fell for the want of men. But why did they want men? The want of men is only a secondary cause. All sorts of honest industry were oppressed and discouraged — farmers, merchants, all the independent and vigorous population. None were secure but courtiers, tax-gatherers, military officers, and charioteers at the circus, together with the idle population of Constantinople and Rome. In a word, the whole empire consisted of legal robbers and their victims. None were left to raise the corn. They wanted men because they wanted that healthful population which protecting justice is sure to produce.

If we pass to sacred history, we find the same lesson repeated. Justice is the very cement of society. The highest attribute of the Lord is the most imperative necessity for man. It was the will of God that our moral history should begin in a fact that teaches the importance of justice by the dreadful consequence of the loss of the disposition for it in our fallen race. “By one man sin entered the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men; descending from the first man, all sinned.” In 1756 years after, all the human race were swept away by an universal deluge. And why? “The earth also was corrupt before God, and the earth was filled with violence. And God looked upon the earth, and behold it was corrupt; for all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth” (Gen. vi. 11, 12). See a world from which justice has departed, and see its importance in the vacuity it leaves behind! We need not multiply examples. The whole history illustrates this simple truth. It shows us that justice, though delayed in the

<sup>1</sup> See Gibbon, Vol. ii. 284.

divine government, is sure to come at last. As the pagans said, “she treads with woollen feet, but smites with an iron hand.” The excision of the Canaanites has always been objected to by all sentimentalists as an anti-proof of the veracity of scripture and the character of God. But there it is, in broad lines, remaining an everlasting token, in spite of the objection of enemies, and the worse apology of its mistaken friends. There it is; and it certainly accomplishes one object, namely, to show that “our God is a consuming fire,” when he shows by deeds how he values his justice. There is one circumstance in the delay of justice which shows more emphatically its importance than the hasty execution. It is more terrible, because it is so cool and deliberate. “Be sure your sin will find you out” (Num. xxxii. 23). It is a fixed principle in the calmest and wisest of all possible minds. There is something thrilling in the declaration: “The iniquity of the Amorites is not yet full” (Gen. xv. 16). “I can wait my time; I can suspend my sentence; I can defer the execution; I can give a space for repentance, and also for irremissible sin and inevitable destruction.” Bishop Butler says: “It is not malignity in the Almighty that is the most fearful thought [as Lord Shaftsbury had said]; but it is his eternal justice.”

There is one specific case, that shows the importance of justice even more than these tragic examples. It is when the scripture corrects some plausible examples brought from pagan authors, and repeals them by showing the higher way. Cicero says: “Sed justitiæ primum munus est, ut ne cui quis noceat nisi lacessitus injuria”<sup>1</sup> — Never punish, unless your foes have injured you. The apostle corrects this: “Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath; for it is written, Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord” (Rom. xii. 19). The critics on this passage in Cicero, and Grotius among them, have much to say on the dangerous limitation which the heathen moralist introduced — “nisi lacessitus injuria” — “unless you have

<sup>1</sup> De Officiis, Lib. i. § 17.

received a previous injury." It opens a wide door for uncertainty and personal revenge. We may say, it is almost the universal temptation to do wrong in avenging wrong. We constitute ourselves judges in our own case, and that in an hour of great excitement. For the man that fancies himself injured may say: "If I do not defend myself, who will? Courts are dilatory and partial. Besides, I shall make myself ridiculous by resorting to them. The injury is of a very delicate nature; and I know best what it is, for I have felt it. If I do not defend myself, I shall be esteemed a tame pigeon, and invite new injuries. Indeed, my forbearance will lead to new acts of injustice. A regard, therefore, for the public welfare, and for the prevention of injuries, leads me to take the instruments of justice into my own hand. It is true I am helping myself; but I am also helping all mankind, and especially those who may want my courage and ability in repressing insolence in its career of wrongdoing." So he reasons, especially if he be a military or naval officer. Now, the reason of the divine precept, probably, is that no man, especially smarting under a wrong, is fit to judge in his own case. If he does anything, he will probably do too much, and commit new wrong. This his adversary will see and feel. Now, the only safe way is to stop at once. Leave the matter to time and to God. All history proves, and all our knowledge of human nature discerns, that this execution of imagined justice only produces new injuries and new revenge. Two Arabian tribes begin their enmities in this way. Each party goes on punishing too much, until one or both are exterminated. Every Christian sees the wisdom of trusting in God. He often finds in forbearance a noble revenge.

The case of the Gibeonites, in 2 Sam. xxi., impresses us deeply with the importance of divine justice, executed sternly, though so long delayed. This story, though so perplexed by neological criticism, shows clearly its own design. It was not a political trick to suppress a dangerous party, but it was an inspired expedient that all men should have their

rights, that the lowest ought to be protected, and that divine vengeance will be executed at last. It has an important application to the present age. We have had our Gibeonites, and we trust the expiation has been made.

But if man is immortal, and God is not the God of the dead, but of the living, then the importance of justice is immensely increased when applied to the divine kingdom.

*Eternal punishment* — What is its design, and is it clearly revealed? There is no explaining it away, or blotting it out of the sacred volume. The mild Jesus utters it in its most terrific terms: "These shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal" (Matt. xxv. 46. See Mark ix. 42-48; Luke xvi. 19 to the end). Now, this is not to address our fears, or to give us a mercenary religion. It is to give us, *in facts*, an exact measure of the evil of sin and the importance of showing it. Here is the balanced account; here is a measure given us by God himself. We all see here, in this span of time, that justice is necessary to social security and peace, and penalties are necessary to the support of justice. But we, amid our finite conceptions, know not, by our own independent reason, where to fix the measure; and there is only one mind that can know. God has spoken, and given his estimate of the importance of *executed justice* to the welfare of immortal beings, and it is *eternal punishment* — "the worm that never dies, and the fire that is never quenched" (Mark ix. 14). This is the penalty of his violated law, and therefore an exact measure, in the wisest of all possible minds, of the deservings of a transgressing race. All that is terrible in banishment from heaven, in everlasting obduration and despair, "in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone" (Rev. xx. 10), with infernal companions, without one blended virtue and one ray of hope, is presented, less, perhaps, as a literal description of the kind of suffering than as a collection of symbols to measure the danger and evils of our transgressions, and the importance of an earnest and constant obedience to the eternal laws of social happiness.



It would be wrong, here, not to add one fact which shows the importance of justice when she yields her claims to the sceptre of mercy. It is an inscription for the cross. Pilate wrote: "Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews." God seems to write a higher one: "He bore your sins in his own body on the tree."

Such, then, is the nature of justice, and the importance of our obedience to it — an importance seen in nature, and confirmed by revelation. It is necessary to earthly communities, and is the foundation of the lasting joys of heaven; it is the soul of all perfect governments, in time or in eternity; it was executed below by the Cyruses and Solons, the Davids and Solomons of antiquity, and in modern times by the Winthrops and Washingtons of our race; and above by God himself. He has shown his estimation of its importance by the pain he has assigned to its temporal violation. Even delay serves to strengthen, rather than to weaken its power. An eternal prison of despair shows how he values this sacred attribute; and when he pardons the weeping penitent, the vicarious sufferings of his holy and innocent Son show that justice is not forgotten when he manifests his highest mercy. It is the robe he puts on when he mounts for ceaseless ages his spotless throne.

This important subject may afford and justify a few deductions:

First, its clearness and commanding authority. Mr. Colridge says "that a distinguishable power, self-affirmed and seen in its unity with the eternal essence, is, according to Plato, an idea." Now, it seems to us that justice is an idea — justice is such a self-seen principle, it has such a self-explaining light, that when we understand it in the abstract, and trace it through its growing germ, we immediately see its application in some of the most doubtful and difficult cases. As selfishness, from its own nature, shows its gratifications, so justice, from the first inspection, foreshows the duties to which the divine principle leads. Experience and observation only confirm the first impression. The science

of casuistry is often alike tedious and superfluous. The light is within us, and all we have to do is to remove obstructions. We always prize justice when its decisions are in our favor. If a man owes me a note, or has made me a promise, or is expected to return me a favor, I am very quick to see how the balance turns. This principle our Saviour has seized on to show how to interpret the universal law of equity: "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them; for this is the law and the prophets." Was there ever such a mighty principle involved in such a short sentence? How true! how practical! It is founded on this fact, that if you can get a man to step out of his own shoes, and stand in those of his neighbor, he has taken the most difficult step to see the nature and claims of impartial justice. The trouble is that the selfish man will not take the first step.

In a late journey up the Aletschhorn, one of the Alps, Professor John Tyndal has told us, they ascended (he and his guide) until they reached a cone which they perceived to be the highest peak of the mountain — the last part of their hazardous journey. So in pursuing the growing idea of justice, we meet the last cone indicating the highest summit. The growing idea culminates in a point reaching towards heaven. Perfect justice sleeps, if it has not a perfect execution, and a perfect execution postulates a perfect executioner; for justice is an idle theory, unless it perform its appropriate work. It thus leads us to the very throne of God. As an apostle says, speaking of patience: "Let patience have her perfect work, that ye may be perfect and entire, wanting nothing" (James i. 4), so we say of justice, let it have its perfect work. We cannot complete the conception to which our minds necessarily tend, unless we suppose a workman equal to the work. He must be an impartial judge, have omnipotent power, and be an omniscient witness. For let us suppose two cities or communities. One shall have the most perfect law, even the divine law, but to be executed by short-sighted and imperfect men; and the other

shall have, as Jefferson asked, in his first inaugural: "Have we found angels in the form of kings to govern us?"—Let us suppose that such political angels were found, and that God had imparted his own perfections to them, to be at once perfect witnesses and perfect judges. Do we not at once see the difference between these two communities? The first has an unavailable perfection. Justice is there, a diamond hid so deep in the mine as never to sparkle in the sunshine, or to be dug up and show its lustre in the eyes of men. It is a theory; they tread it under their feet, because they never see its practical radiance, or know its value. In the other community, completing its own perfection, it teaches by experience. Every day illustrates its power, and imparts to all its happiness and perfection. All our laws and governments are granite foundations to some aerial cliffs which point to heaven, and seem almost to reach it. They support the throne of God, and show that he must sit upon it to do justice, judgment, and mercy, and extend salvation to all who are prepared for the benefit. Yes, the existence of the coarsest law that folds in its bosom the soul of justice; implies the existence of the most refined law; and the most refined law can only be executed by one who is perfect both as a witness and a judge. Every finger in human legislation points to the existence of God.

For this conclusion we have an unexpected authority. "When the general rules that determine the merit and demerit of actions," says Adam Smith, "come thus to be regarded as the laws of an all-powerful Being, who watches over our conduct, and who in a life to come will reward the observance and punish the breach of them, they necessarily acquire a new sacredness from this consideration. That our regard to the will of the Deity ought to be the supreme rule of our conduct can be doubted by nobody who believes his existence. The very thought of disobedience appears to involve in it the most shocking impropriety. How vain, how absurd would it be for man either to oppose or neglect the commands that were laid upon him by infinite wisdom and infinite

power! How unnatural, how impiously ungrateful, not to reverence the precepts that were prescribed to him by the infinite goodness of his Creator, even though no punishment was to follow their violation! The sense of propriety, too, is here supported by the strongest motives of self-interest. The idea that however we may escape the observation of men, or be placed above the reach of human punishment, yet we are always acting under the eye and are exposed to the punishment of God, the great Avenger of injustice, is a motive capable of restraining the most headstrong passions, with those, at least, which by constant reflection have rendered it familiar to them.”<sup>1</sup>

But, secondly, justice is not only self-seen, but it sheds its light on some interlaced and appendant virtues. The word “obligation” has been strangely confounded by some explanations. Some of us remember, in our college days, Paley’s elucidations: “A man,” says he, “is said to be obliged, when he is urged by a violent motive resulting from the command of another.” How violent the command must be, we must guess; for the author has drawn no definite line. It is remarkable that Paley by this definition seems to consider himself as dissolving a great mist; for he says: “When I first turned my thoughts to moral speculations, an air of mystery seemed to hang over the whole subject, which arose, I believe, from hence — that I supposed, with many authors whom I had read, that to be obliged to do a thing was very different from being induced only to do it; and that the obligation to practise virtue, to do what is right, just, etc., was quite another thing, and of another kind than the obligation a soldier is under to obey his officer, or a servant his master, or any of the civil or ordinary obligations of life. Whereas, from what has been said, it appears that moral obligation is like all other obligations, and that all obligation is nothing more than an inducement of sufficient strength, and resulting some way from the command of

<sup>1</sup> Theory of Moral Sentiments, by Adam Smith, Vol. i. part iii. sec. 5.

another.”<sup>1</sup> Never shall we forget the astonishment with which we read these words, and the perplexity we felt to know what the mystery was they dissipated, and how they supplied its place. Without pretending to understand this author’s darkness or light, we would simply say that obligation seems to us to be a collateral of justice, and always seen in its light. The civilians tells us that it is a correlative to a right. If a man has a right to a field, I am obliged to abstain from using it without his permission. If a ruler has a right to command, a subject is obliged to obey, and so through all the catalogue of rights. Now, these rights are but the different forms of the same justice. Obligation is the feeling which the claims of justice, either human or divine, awaken in a just mind.

We see in the mind of God the connection of justice with benevolence. Benevolence; in the abstract, is an emotion; but it must be guided by wisdom, and justice is one of wisdom’s rules. It is an instrument in the hands of wisdom. As we learn by experience that justice executed (at least in some degree) is necessary to the very existence of the social system, we find that benevolence cannot act without it. Justice is the main instrument of benevolence in the hands of a wise and benevolent Deity. Benevolence, strictly speaking, is an emotion, a passion, a desire; and when connected with wisdom, it sees the importance of justice; and when they are united, each contributes its share to the welfare of the universe. Justice may be compared to a rudder, good for nothing to the ship, until the wise steersman, with a good intention, takes the tiller into his hands, and steers the ship through the rolling waves. As the best steersman could not guide the ship without a rudder, so an omniscient ruler, glowing with benevolence, could not execute his intentions but in the path prescribed by eternal justice. Here we have all the analogies of human life to guide us. Justice is the root of all virtue, and justice is the invisible aroma which emanates from its roses, beautifies its leaves, and

<sup>1</sup> Moral Philosophy. Book ii. chap. 3.



even softens its thorns. It is distinguishable, certainly, from benevolence; but while it differs, it has a connection. They need not be confounded; but they cannot be parted. Benevolence may be compared to the rain that falls on the central ridge of mountains, and justice to the river-beds that conduct the water to the lower country. Benevolence is inefficacious without its appropriate channels. The very fires of hell are its remote operations when they punish the wicked to protect the good.

The bearing of justice on the great correlative idea of divine mercy demands our peculiar attention. What is mercy? It is not tenderness; it is not compassion to the suffering; it is not pity for distress; it is not an unreasoning impulse; but it is something that implies previous guilt, and releases the offender from the grasp of the violated law, on terms by which the judge and the law are satisfied. It supposes the tear of repentance, and also a return to neglected duty and a forgiving God. Mercy is wholly a relative idea; it is seen wholly in the light of justice. When justice sits on the throne, mercy may be seen at the footstool. It is possible to form an idea of justice without mercy; but it is wholly impossible to form an idea of mercy without justice. Mercy is the child of a stern, but relenting parent, and justice is the father of a gentle child who has few of his features, but much of his spirit. But the very perfection of justice prevents the obedience of weak and imperfect man. It breathes nothing but despair to all our guilty race. But that despair gives a zest to subsequent hope. "For what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God, sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin [i.e. as an expiation] condemned sin in the flesh, that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit" (Rom. viii. 3, 4). These ideas depend on each other for their conception and interpretation, and they both blend in the perfection of God and the glory of his government. When you see the strictness, and yet excellency, of his law, you know

what mercy means. The sweetest hope of the gospel rises on our despair.

In all human governments the proper mixing of these two elements is necessary to the welfare of their citizens and the harmony of the administration. But human skill is not equal to the exact proportioning of these two powers. Man is inadequate to the work. Hence we find that in the history of commonwealths there is a constant vibration in the forms. When they suffer from kings they go to republics, and when republics dissolve into anarchy they resort to kings. The last evil always prompts the change. The evils we experience drive us to seek a paradise existing in futurity and painted by hope. This is illustrated in the Roman history. They drove away Tarquin in one age; they submitted to Caesar in another. Even in our own age, we have seen these actions and reactions producing each other. In 1789, France fled from a monarchy to a republic; and in 1804, after wading through a sea of blood, she chose an emperor. In our own country a reaction has already commenced. Take the city of New York as an example. What are they sick of, and what are they sighing for? A government wise enough to choose justice, and strong enough to protect them. The thorns in the path we have trod over always lead us to see in the distance a better way. The permanent temperament remains to be found.

The assertion that history of human governments are an everlasting vibration between too much and too little, tyranny and anarchy, is illustrated in Esop's satirical fable of the frogs wanting a king. First they had king Log, and then king Serpent, and the simple sufferers, in all their experience, never found the middle point.

Even in education Euphrosyne cannot lead her children in her rosy path, without the assistance of a sterner power. As the poet saw in her dreadful vision :

“ Looking up, I saw  
A vast, gigantic spectre, striding on  
Through murmuring thunders and a waste of clouds

With dreadful action. Black as night, his brow  
 Relentless frowns involved ; his savage limbs  
 With sharp impatience violent he writhed  
 As through convulsive anguish ; and his hand,  
 Armed with a scorpion-lash, full oft he raised  
 In madness to his bosom ; while his eyes  
 Rained bitter tears ; and, bellowing loud, he shook  
 The void with horror. Silent, by his side,  
 The virgin came. No discomposure stirred  
 Her features. From the gloom which hung around  
 No stains of darkness mingled with the beams  
 Of her divine effulgence.”<sup>1</sup>

These are the poetic shadows of substantial truth. They are the pictured outlines which history verifies. We have an example in the history of our ancestral nation. The two Jameses, grandfather and grandson. How unskillful, in opposite ways, in producing this temperament ! The first James always indiscreetly kind, his compassion a boyish fondness, lavish in gifts that produced no gratitude, and promotions that created no responsibility. The other a sullen tyrant, whose unteachable cruelty drove him from the British throne, and kept him in perpetual exile.

This subject has a bearing on our free-agency. Justice is for responsible beings. It is a power made for them, and for which they were made. A weight in a scale may overcome an opposing weight ; but a motive is addressed to persuasion and choice. There can be no justice where there are no voluntary beings.

The allowing of the existence of justice is destructive of the positive philosophy. They exclude each other ; and what can we think of a philosophy which ignores or annihilates the moral world, with all its conceptions, obligations, motives, conflicts, triumphs, and enjoyments ? Even the invisible principle connects phenomena and is as much a reality as the substances that are subject to that power, and show it. “ A stone is heavy ” (Prov. xxvii. 3) ; but the existence of the stone is not more positive than the power of gravitation which makes it heavy. So the powers that govern our minds,

<sup>1</sup> Akenside's *Pleasures of the Imagination*. Book ii. lines 506-520.

in the manner in which they are governed, are as certain as anything in the material sciences. Materialism would be annihilated were there not minds to inspect it and build a system on its phenomena.

There is a strange pretence, not now offered for the first time, that all speculations on material things, all opinions are totally disconnected with the moral or religious character; that an atheist may be as good a man as Paul or Isaiah; that these speculations have nothing to do with the state of the heart; that the pursuit of knowledge should be free, and it is not free if any odium is attached to any conclusion. Even Lord Brougham said: "The great truth has finally gone forth to all the ends of the earth, that man shall no more render account to man for his belief, over which he himself has no control. Henceforward nothing shall prevail upon us to praise or blame any one for that which he can no more change than he can the hue of his skin or the height of his stature." But one of the most terrible ideas in the moral world is a God of perfect justice. It is beyond the energy of language to express it. No form of material terror can for a moment equal this. Not the earthquake that desolated Lisbon; not the loudest thunder that ever tore the sky. The reason of this terror is twofold: first, our weakness; next our guilt. To be obnoxious to all-seeing justice is a fearful thought; and what men fear, they are apt to hate. This principle operates on men before they know it. This Lucretius confesses and all the Epicureans. Here is a bias against those religious opinions, which a man thinks he has rejected, or at least reduced to zero — a bias which he who feels it most, most stoutly denies. It blinds him.

It is impossible, we think, to assume the truth of the gospel without regarding it as a system of duty, presenting a series of obligations, of which disbelief is a general violation. So the New Testament represents it; so the blessed Redeemer himself — "This is the work of God, that ye believe on his Son" (John vi. 29).

The last deduction we shall make, is to show the latent

cause of that wonderful unity which runs through all the varying parts of the sacred volume. No man ever saw this unity without believing the Bible, and no man that disbelieves the Bible ever saw this unity. There is a golden thread that runs through the volume, and unites all its parts in one harmonious whole. It may be compared to the path of light, which the moon, rising in the east, spreads over the trembling waters, and guides the boatman to the western shore. He sails in light, and is confident not only of the lustre but the safety of its direction. He dips his very oars in glory, and he never misses the headlands in the lucid direction. Now the cause of this unity is an exceedingly natural one. It arises from the theme; the central subject of revelation. We have already shown that justice is one great, central, self-seen idea, shedding its light on itself and on all the off-shooting ideas. The Bible treats of law, obedience, transgression, pardon, hope, immortality, purification, punishment, which are all but varying forms of the same essential justice. It is true this golden thread is latent to a careless reader. To a neological interpreter, however learned, the Bible is always a jumble of discordant fragments. But the golden thread may always be discovered by humble inspection. It may be compared to the rocky flumes in the table-lands of New Mexico, so narrow, so deep, so dark, yet at the bottom of them flows a placid stream, warm in its shaded course, and leading the passenger that sails on it to a better region of plenty and peace. The Bible treats of the justice of God in all its conformities and conformations, and he is "the same to-day, yesterday, and forever." It must have a unity, for its soul is always the same.

As justice, then, is a principle which may enter your soul and be the perpetual motive of all your actions, and as it may shed its light on all its affiliated ideas, as it is the subject of revelation; see this, and you will want no other light.



## ARTICLE III.

## THE CHURCH-MEMBERSHIP OF BAPTIZED CHILDREN.

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It is a common remark that our duties are modified and determined by our relations. Taking this to be true, how important it is that the church of Christ should carefully consider that relation which is instituted between herself and those children whom she brings to the baptismal font. Nor would this seem to be either common or easy ; else we might suppose the opinions of many of our clergy and laity would be less vague and diversified. Inquiring of one and another as to their thoughts on this subject — what they believe to be the proper ecclesiastical standing of baptized children ; whether they belong to the church, are in it and of it, or out of it, or where they are — the writer has been somewhat surprised at the variety of views that prevail, even among those who are supposed to be of the same general faith in respect to the duty and import of infant baptism.

All agree that such children must be related to the church somehow, and that this relation must be of such a nature that something good ought to be expected to come of it. Yet some seem to look upon it as wholly an external one, and so deny that they are either in the church or members of it at all, in any sense. Some will admit that they belong to the church, yet seem to doubt or deny that the church belongs at all to them ; that is, the church has a claim upon the children, and an interest in them, but the children have as yet no interest or place in the church. Some hold that they are in the church, yet not of it ; as though to be in it, in any sense deserving the name, is not to be of it. Not a few seem to regard them as neither in it nor out of it, but as occupying some sort of middle ground ; as though this were either

scriptural or tenable. Our own conviction is that these views fall, all sadly, though not all equally, short of the truth; that on this point our Congregational churches, many of them, at least many members in most of them, have departed from the teaching of the divine word, from the faith and practice of the primitive church, from the faith and practice of the Puritan Fathers, and from the faith, at least, of other branches of the catholic church of the present age, the Baptists alone excepted.

Nor can we rid ourselves of the conviction that much of the neglect into which infant baptism is alleged to have fallen within the memory of the living, and much of the neglect of that nurture, too, which the church owes her baptized children, are among the sad consequences of the doubts, errors, and haziness of sentiment that prevail among us on this subject. Nor, again, do we think it among the least hopeful signs of the times, pertaining to this point, that so many are coming to be dissatisfied with the present state of the question. If we mistake not, the opinion is beginning to prevail that we, as Congregationalists, must take up this subject anew; that both the clergy and the laity must think it through, from end to end, and come to some conclusion less crude, more positive, definite, and consistent; that we must go either backward or forward, if we would ever hope to set our feet on solid ground.

Some, indeed, are all ready to go forward, and take the ground — which a few, in fact, have never yielded — that baptized children are truly members of the church. And such is the belief of the writer. Not that he is one of those who have always held this view. Indeed few are likely to be further from it than he was when first led, not long since, to take up the subject, and give it more than ordinary attention. But every step in the investigation served only to lead him to the conviction here avowed, that the children of whom we speak are really and truly in the church and members of it.

We may call them children of the church, if we will, as indeed we often do; and for certain occasions and purposes

the term is a good one. But it has its defects, and its dangers too. The fact is, the words we use, the names we apply, often have in time, a strange, powerful, though silent influence in moulding and determining our ideas of the things they are used to represent. John Foster somewhere tells us of a ship that was turned out of its proper course and carried into the port of an enemy by a magnet concealed near the compass. So the mind may be quietly deflected and drift off into error by the hidden influence of a misapplied name. And how is it, in fact, with the language, the name in question? What really ought to be the natural effect of an indiscriminate or exclusive use of it, but a gentle and easy letting down of the mind, a gradual but sure turning off of the thought, from the true idea of that relation to the church into which the child is brought when he is set apart and sealed as the Lord's in the ordinance of baptism? Were the term "children of the church," always understood and employed, when used in the connection of which we speak, to signify even as much as it does when applied to the children of a household, that such persons are, of course, members thereof, we should have less objection to it. And yet there would be another difficulty in confining ourselves to this mode of designating them. For, others than those who have been baptized, being born in the church, that is, of parents belonging to the church, as the children of parents in the Baptist church, not to mention any in our own who have been neglected, and never brought to the font, may be called the children of the church. But probably very few of those who believe in infant baptism would be ready to admit that the two classes, the baptized and the unbaptized, sustain equal relations to the church, though both are born alike of parents in the church, and so, for that reason, may be called her children.

We may call them infant members, minor members, or members in minority, if we will; only say not that a membership of this kind is imaginary, absurd, or worthless, but rather *bona fide*, most real, and of blessed import. The

citizen in minority has rights, privileges, prospects, of which the alien might well be proud. The infant king is heir to royal prerogatives; as yet in appearance but "a servant," he is in truth "lord of all." Or take another illustration: On some trees, as on the lemon, for instance, we may often find fruit both green and ripe; fruit in all stages of growth, from the lily-white blossom of the opening bud, to the full grown, the yellow, and the mellow, that waits only to be plucked. The green, though unripe, is not unreal. Doctor Bushnell puts the thought before us in this form: "While horses and sheep are not all to be classed as colts and lambs, all colts and lambs may be classed as horses and sheep. And just so children are all men and women; and, if there is any law of futurity in them to justify it, may be fitly classed as believing men and women. And all the sharp arguments that go to cover their membership, as such, in the church with absurdity, or turn it into derision, are just such arguments as the inventors could raise with equal point, to ridicule the horsehood and sheephood of the young animals just referred to. The propriety of this membership does not lie in what those infants can or cannot believe, or do or do not believe, at some given time, as, for example, on the day of their baptism; but lies in the covenant of promise which makes their parents, parents in the Lord; their nurture, a nurture of the Lord; and so constitutes a force of futurity by which they are to grow up, imperceptibly, into 'faithfuls among faithfuls,' in Christ Jesus."<sup>1</sup>

We may speak of the church-membership of baptized children as incipient, inchoate, prospective, or potential, if we will,—having reference to that perfected connection or completeness of standing and fulness of communion which come from a public profession of their own personal faith in Christ, and a consequent voluntary assumption of all the obligations of the covenant under which they were placed by their parents; yet guard, on the one hand, against the idea that such primary membership is really no membership

<sup>1</sup> Christian Nurture, pp. 166, 167.

at all ; and, on the other, against the idea that the child can be properly advanced from this real, though primary, incipient membership to that which is full and complete by any process which does not involve and evince all that radical change of heart which is expected of those who come into the church direct from the ranks of the world.

Say, if you will, that the class of persons to whom we refer are hereditary members of the church ; that they are in it, in a sense, by reason of their having been born therein ; that they can claim membership to a certain extent, if they will, as a kind of birthright ; just as we regard a child as a member of the family into which he is born, or count him a citizen of the state where he first sees the sun and spends his infant years ; or just as the infant children of priests, under the Mosaic economy, were members of the priesthood ; yet stop not here. The membership which we claim for those of whom we speak, is more than hereditary, nominal, or honorary. The baptized child is brought into the church, and made and sealed a member of it, in a higher sense, for other purposes, and in other mode, than can find a parallel or perfect illustration in any natural birth, civil code, or ceremonial law ; brought in, made, and sealed a member, through divine direction, by virtue of having the initiatory ordinance, the rite of baptism, administered to him on the ground of the parents' faith and covenant, and to the end that he may be guarded from evil, be nurtured in holiness, be trained for service, and be prepared for heaven. Just as a young man may be entered into college, be enrolled a member of one of her classes, be made at once partaker of all the privileges and honors of which he is capable and for which he is prepared, yet kept under watch and care, in training and on probation, for still higher privileges and honors ; or just as an infant citizen may be a *bona fide* member of a civil community, so far as his capacity and qualifications can allow and make him one ; especially and at once entitled to all the protection which either the civil or military power of the state can furnish, though, as yet, himself not able to



bear arms, or cast a vote, or hold an office, nor even old enough to know that such rights and duties may ever be within his reach ; so—not indeed by natural birth, nor by a civil code, but by a divine appointment and ordinance, and for all worthy ends, for protection, for nurture, for service, and for salvation—the children of God’s believing people may be so matriculated, so enrolled and incorporated into his church, as to be “ no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God,” even before they are able and qualified in all respects to have part in those higher duties and privileges of which adult believers are prepared to partake.

But of the nature and design of this membership, or the extent and end to which and for which it is appointed, we hope to speak, if possible, somewhat further, after we notice some of the reasons which go to justify the belief already propounded : That baptized children are, in fact, truly members of the church of Christ.

Among the grounds we have for holding this opinion, we find some in what may be called nature and reason ; some in divine revelation, and some in the views of eminent divines and in the standards of the catholic church from apostolic times onward to the present age.

In the first place, from what we know of the general character of God’s gracious economy, and from the peculiar interest he has ever evinced in the offspring of his people, it is but natural and most reasonable to suppose he would have that offspring come at once within the pale of the most hallowed influences. In the keen and graphic language of Dr. Bushnell : “ It would be most remarkable if Christianity, organizing a fold of grace and love in the world and for it, had yet no place in the fold for children. It spreads its arms to say ‘ For God so loved the world,’ and even declares that publicans and harlots shall flock in before the captious priests and princes of the day, and yet it has no place, we are told, for children ; children are out of the category of grace ! Jesus himself was a child, and went through all the

phases and conditions of childhood, not to show anything but that fact, as the Christian Fathers fondly supposed; he said, too, 'Suffer little children,' but this was only his human feeling; he had no official relationship to such, and no particular grace for them. They are all outside the salvation-fold, hardening there in the storm, till their choosing, refusing, desiring, sinning, power is sufficiently unfolded to have a place assigned them within! Is this Christianity? Is it a preparation so clumsy, so little human, so imperfectly graduated to man as he is, that it has no place for a full sixth part of the human race; a part also to which the other five sixths are bound, in the dearest ties of love and care, and all but compulsory expectation? It would seem that any Christian heart, meeting Christianity at this point, and surveying it with only a little natural feeling, would even be oppressed by the sense of some strange defect in it, as a grace for the world. In this view it gives to little children the heritage only of Cain, requiring them to be driven out from the presence of the Lord, and grow up there among the outside crew of aliens and enemies."<sup>1</sup> But on a question of this kind, nature and reason are not our only or chief guide. So turn we, then, from these "to the law and to the testimony," and remark:

A second reason for regarding and treating the children of whom we speak as, with their believing parents, within the fold of Christ, is to be found in the fact that the scriptures set it forth as among the ways of God to deal with men as families, and to take care, especially, that all the covenant relations into which he is pleased to enter with the one be carried over so as to cover the other. This thought once had a larger place in the minds of God's people than it seems to have at the present time. "So familiar is the idea, to all Jewish minds, of a religious oneness in parents and their offspring, that a church institution of any kind, arranged to include parents and not their offspring, would even have been a shocking offence to the nation. Children were as

<sup>1</sup> Christian Nurture, pp. 169, 170.

much expected to be with their parents in their religion, as they were to be in their sustentation." So says the able writer just quoted.<sup>1</sup> But the prevailing sentiment of the present age is hardly such as to give this argument all the force to which it is entitled. Independency, individualism, segregation, are among the strong religious tendencies of the times in which we live. Nevertheless, taking the divine word for our guide, we shall find almost no element in the economy of God's dealing with men more prominent than his purpose and method to "set the solitary in families," and then hold, visit, and treat the race as associated in family relations and groups. So it was in the beginning. The covenant with Adam included his posterity. And ever since that early day, in the progress of the divine administration, from the law thereof, whether as written out and read in the second commandment of the decalogue, or as seen enforced in the providence of God, we find that the iniquities of the fathers are visited upon the children unto the third and fourth generations of them that hate him, while his mercy is shown unto many generations of those that love him and keep his commandments. When Esau sold his birthright he surrendered the blessings it embodied for himself and his posterity. When Korah and others in the wilderness brought swift destruction upon themselves, because of their rebellion against Moses, it seems to have been so ordered that their families should perish with them. On the other hand, we have in the scriptures marked instances in which the favor of God to parents is carried over to the children. The children, we are told, are "beloved for the fathers' sakes." So when the waters of the deluge were to come upon the earth, God made a covenant with his servant Noah, and took care that all its blessed provisions should be extended to his children. When the earth was to be divided and distributed again among its remaining inhabitants, the divisions and allotments were made unto them "after their families," "their tongues," and "their generations," in their

<sup>1</sup> *Christian Nurture*, p. 178.

countries and in their nations. When the angels were sent to deliver Lot from the coming conflagration, they inquired carefully after his children, "sons-in-law, sons, and daughters," and took with them all of this class who could be prevailed upon to go. When God would enter into covenant with his servant David, he makes mention of his "house for a great while to come" (2 Sam. vii. 19).

Such then is God's method of dealing with men, especially in all his more solemn and formal covenant engagements with them. Nor is there any instance in which this principle is laid down more distinctly, or declared to be of a more extended and enduring character, than in the case of his promise to Abraham: "I will establish my covenant between me and thee, and thy seed after thee, in their generations, for an everlasting covenant; to be a God unto thee, and to thy seed after thee" (Gen. xvii. 7). Now this covenant, as we are told, is an everlasting covenant; it lies at the foundation of the Christian church not less than it did at the foundation of the Jewish; for the church of God is one throughout all ages. By this covenant the blessings promised to Abraham and his seed are secured to all Gentile believers not less than to Abraham and his immediate posterity. So, at least, are we taught in the writings of Paul, as in his Epistle to the Galatians (iii. 29), and in other places. "For," says the apostle, "if ye be Christ's, then are ye Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise." This covenant, then, which not only indicates a most intimate moral and religious relation between believing parents and their children, but extends its benefits to all the spiritual posterity of Abraham, we accept and claim as the grand basis of the visible church at the present time, and as the *magna charta* of our spiritual privileges to the remotest age. If, then, this covenant itself is made to include the children of believing parents, why should not the church also include the same? If God can afford to embrace them in the terms of the one, why should men refuse them a place in the arms of the other? Why should man attempt to be more righteous, rigid, or exclusive than God himself?



Another reason for the opinion we entertain regarding the children of whom we speak, is the very simple, yet significant fact that in being baptized they have applied to them that only rite by which any are ever brought into the visible church of Christ ; so that, if they are not made members of the church by virtue of their having been baptized, they are never made so at all. The argument here is briefly this : The church of God is essentially one and the same in all ages ; the church of Christ is virtually no other, in principle and design, than that of God under the older dispensation. Under that older dispensation the only way of admission into the visible church was by the rite of circumcision—from the day a person was circumcised, whether infant or adult, he was a member of that body. Under the present dispensation, the place and use of circumcision are supplied by baptism ; and as circumcision was the initiatory ordinance—that, and that only—by which entrance into the visible church was effected under the former dispensation, so now, baptism, taking the place of circumcision, is the initiatory ordinance—that, and that only—by which an entrance into the visible church is effected under the Christian dispensation.

But let us look at some of these points a little more carefully. We have said the visible church of God is essentially the same throughout all ages. That of to-day, the church of Christ, is the Zion of God of which we read in the Old Testament. Changes, indeed, may have occurred, and may occur again. Dispensations may change, have changed. Organizations may be modified,—they have been. From time to time the outer life, form, and garb of the church have been modified, to meet the changing circumstances in which she has been placed. But the body, the spirit, all the fundamental principles, have continued on, from age to age the same. As God himself hath said : “ My dove, my undefiled is but one.” She has now the same covenant that she had in the days of Moses, and even before his days ; namely, that which was made with the father of the faithful, wherein God promises to be the God of Abraham and of his seed



after him, in their generations, forever. The manner of signing and sealing the document has changed ; but the document itself remains as it was, and continues to form a most radical and enduring element in the constitution of the church ; having been laid, indeed, so early and so deep, and so confirmed of God in Christ withal, that no subsequent law or anything else, as Paul has said, could “ disannul ” or change it. Indeed, this continued oneness of the church was taught by the Saviour himself, when he declared that the kingdom out of which should be cast disloyal Jewish members, was the same into which many should come from the east and the west, and there sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob. And so the apostle teaches in his Epistle to the Romans, where he represents the Gentile believers as grafted into the same olive tree from which the Jews, for their unbelief, were broken off ; and into which, moreover, even these excised Jews themselves, returning in penitence and faith, should yet again be grafted.

And hence it was that Peter, on the day of Pentecost, spoke to believers, under the new dispensation, as “ children of the prophets and of the covenant,” and heirs of “ the promise,” they and their “ children.” The covenant held over, strong as ever ; the promise was still valid, good as new. The stream of the church kept running on in one continuous flow, unbroken, uninterrupted at either the coming or the going of Christ. The dispensation changed ; but in essence, principle, and design the church remains the same as before. To be sure she was purified. Some of the Jews believed not, and withdrew or were excised ; others stood the refiner’s fire and the fuller’s soap, and so came, indeed, to constitute the church of the new dispensation. Of this class were those five hundred brethren and sisters, more or less, who never received Christian baptism, and were never formally admitted to membership in the Christian church. They had no need to be admitted — they were members of the church already. Belonging to the church under the old dispensation, and standing by faith,

while others for their unbelief were cut off, they belonged to the church under the new. Having received the seal of the covenant under the old dispensation, they had no need to be sealed again, though the form of the seal had changed, under the new. Never out of the church, at least never since the days of their earliest infancy, they had no need to be taken in. But when the Gentiles and the unbelieving, excised Jews began to repent, and be converted, being now out of the church, they must be received into it, and have the rite of baptism administered to them. And so it was that we find the apostles baptizing all who were admitted at the Pentecost and afterwards.

And here we come to the next step, the other part of the line of thought now before us: the fact that on the coming in of a new dispensation the initiatory rite was changed from circumcision to baptism, so that baptism now takes the place and answers the end that was formerly answered by circumcision. Both have precisely the same import, both are a sign "of the circumcision of the heart," both a seal "of the righteousness of faith." Under the former dispensation, circumcision was a token of God's gracious covenant with his people; under the present, baptism is a token of the same covenant. Circumcision was once a mark or badge of solemn dedication; baptism is now a mark or badge of the same. In his Epistle to the Colossians (ii. 11, 12), Paul distinctly recognizes the truth of which we speak, that baptism is substituted in place of circumcision, when he speaks of those who have been baptized as "circumcised with the circumcision made without hands, in putting off the body of the sins of the flesh by the circumcision of Christ." Holding, as we must, that the circumcision and baptism here spoken of are both spiritual, the sum of the passage, on the point before us, is simply this, that in being baptized we are virtually circumcised. If, then, baptism is of the same use and import in the church under the new dispensation as circumcision was under the old, the one being instituted in the church directly upon the removal of the other, how can we avoid the conclusion that

one is a substitute for the other. And if the child of a believing parent, being circumcised, was thus and thereby admitted into the visible church of God and made a member under the old dispensation, as we believe none will deny, then who can deny that the child of a believing parent, being baptized, under the new dispensation, is thus and thereby admitted into the same and made thereof a member ?

It should be remarked, perhaps, in passing, that the mode and conditions of entrance into the Jewish church, of which we have been speaking, have respect, of course to the offspring, of God's chosen people, and not to those who came in from the Gentile races. For, in case of an ethnic or proselyte, under the Jewish economy, it would seem that baptism was superadded to the rite of circumcision, and extended to females as well. Thus, according to Maimonides: "In all ages, when an ethnic is willing to enter into the covenant, and gather himself under the wings of the Majesty of God, and take upon him the yoke of the law, he must be circumcised and baptized and bring a sacrifice, or if it be a woman, be baptized and bring a sacrifice."<sup>1</sup> Again: Lightfoot, referring to the Babylonian Talmud for his authority, says: "The first use of baptism was not exhibited at that time," of John the Baptist; "for baptism very many centuries of years backward had been known and received in most frequent use among the Jews, and for the very same end as it now obtains among Christians, namely, that by it proselytes might be admitted into the church; and hence it was called baptism for proselytism."<sup>2</sup> Facts like these help to show how natural and easy was the change from circumcision to baptism, even to the exclusive use of the latter rite, under the milder and more extended economy of the gospel, where there was to be neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free, male nor female, but all one in Christ Jesus.

<sup>1</sup> Wall's History of Infant Baptism (Cotton's ed., Oxford, 1844), Vol. i. p. 5; cited in Congregational Review, Vol. vii. p. 506.

<sup>2</sup> Lightfoot's Works (London, 1684), Vol. ii. p. 117; cited in Congregational Review, Vol. vii. pp. 505, 506.

Other reasons for the view we hold in respect to the church-membership of the children to whom we refer, may be found, as we think, in the teachings of Christ and his apostles.

Take, in the first place, that beautiful and precious command and promise, "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of God" (Mark x. 14). By "the kingdom of God," as here used, or "the kingdom of heaven," as another evangelist has it, we understand the Saviour to mean his church here on earth. Certainly it cannot be taken to signify less than this. Admit that it means more, to wit, the church in heaven, and still it follows that if such children as the Saviour was speaking of may be members of that above, much more of that here below. In the language of Dr. Dwight in reference alike to this passage and the point now before us: "The kingdom of God denotes either the church on earth or the church in heaven. Whether one, or the other, or both are here intended, is of little importance to the question in debate. It is, however, in the highest degree probable that the church on earth is intended; as, very plainly, children can come to Christ in the present world, so as to constitute a part of his kingdom, in no other manner than by becoming members of the visible church. It is plain, also, that they cannot be forbidden by his ministers to come to him in any other manner, besides being excluded from the church. Christ blessed these children after he had made this declaration. Those whom Christ has blessed and whom he has directed ministers to permit to come to him, ministers ought not to forbid to come to him in the only manner in which they can either forbid or permit this to be done. The interpretation which makes our Saviour say, 'Suffer little children to come unto me, because the kingdom of God is composed of Christians;' that is, of such as have a childlike spirit, sometimes alleged, is undeserving of a refutation."<sup>1</sup>

Analyze the passage, take the very phrase "of such" —

<sup>1</sup> Dwight's Works, Vol. v. p. 316.

τοιούτων — who can doubt that it includes the children themselves as truly as those whom any may suppose to be compared to them? Look at the use of this word “such” in other instances, as in the passage: “With many such parables spake he the word unto them,” which evidently means that he spoke as really and truly with those parables now uttered as with many that were like them. So again, the language “to be able to do such miracles” evidently means as well those now witnessed as others like them. How, then, can we fail to conclude from the very form and use of the phrase “of such,” that the Saviour recognized the children before him as among the number of those who make up the membership of his church here on earth? Nor is it the mere form and use of this phrase alone, but the spirit, the logic of the whole passage; for if those who resemble such children are entitled to membership, and all because of that resemblance, then why should the children themselves, who are made the standard, be excluded?

Neither is the assurance of the Saviour to be limited to those only in his presence when he spoke the words under consideration, but extended and applied to all children of like age and circumstances. So teach the words: “of such is the kingdom.” Now, the children in the immediate presence of Christ when he uttered the words before us, were doubtless the offspring of believing parents, for they were brought to Christ in faith for a blessing; and being the children of such parents, it is but a fair presumption to suppose that they had been consecrated to God, marked and sealed as children of the covenant and of the church, “after the custom of the law” at that time. It would seem, also, that some of the children were quite young, for Luke speaks of them as “infants.” We conclude, then, from these words of Christ, that all such children, all who are brought to him in faith and in the way of his appointment, however young they may be, are to be recognized and treated as in and of his church, members of his kingdom here on earth.

Notice, now, the import of the final commission and the



baptismal formula which Christ left his servants for their guidance: "Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in [into] the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost" (Matt. xxviii. 19). The commission enjoins two things—to baptize, and to teach or disciple all people; not only every nation, but every individual—"every creature," as Mark has it. Children are of course included. So, at least, the apostles, being Jews, must have understood it. To see the initiatory rite administered to children, even the youngest, and to find them consequently enrolled as members of the church, were usages with which those to whom this divine commission was first delivered were perfectly familiar. Nor can we suppose them ignorant of the fact that when Gentile proselytes were admitted to the church, the family was wont to come in as a whole, children with the parents; the initiatory rite being administered to all alike. And, if we mistake not, all such converts were not only circumcised, but also baptized, both parents and children, for a ceremonial cleansing. So that the baptizing of infants, as well as adults, was no new thing to the apostles. As Lightfoot says: "For so was the custom of the Jewish nation in their use of baptism. When a proselyte came in, his children were baptized with him; and all upon this ground, that all that were related to the parent might come into covenant."<sup>1</sup> And again: "Baptism was well enough known to the Jews, and both John and Jesus Christ took it up as they found it. . . . Christ took up baptism as he found it in the Jewish church; and they baptized infants, as well as grown persons. . . . Think not that baptism was never used till John Baptist came and baptized. It was used in the church of the Jews many generations before he was born. . . . Baptism of men, women, and children was no new thing among them when John Baptist came baptizing, but a thing as well known as with us now. . . . Christ took baptism into his hands, and into evangelical use, as he found it; this only added, that he might promote it to a worthier end and to a larger use.

<sup>1</sup> Works, Vol. ii. p. 1128; Congregational Review, p. 506, 507.

The whole nation knew well enough that little children used to be baptized. . . . . Nor do I believe the people that flocked to John's baptism were so forgetful of the manner and custom of the nation that they brought not their little children also with them to be baptized." "We suppose, therefore, that men, women, and children came to John's baptism, according to the manner of the nation in the reception of proselytes."<sup>1</sup>

If, then, we put ourselves in place of the apostles at the time of which we speak, we see not how they could have failed to regard children as included in the terms of their commission; nor, again, do we see how, with their ideas of ecclesiastical usage, they could have failed to regard such children, the baptized, as members of the church. And in this view of their understanding of the commission we are confirmed by what we find to have been their subsequent practice. Immediately, upon the day of Pentecost, when they have three thousand to admit to the church, they do it by this rite of baptism — by nothing else — in no other way (Acts ii. 41). And the accounts we have of their practice and teaching in the case of the jailor and his household, of Cornelius and all his house, and of the household of Stephanus, all serve, as we think, to elucidate and confirm the views here presented in respect to the baptism and membership of children as involved in the great apostolic commission.

Look, now, at the very language of the baptismal formula which the Saviour instituted at this time, and to what conclusion can we come other than this — that baptism is the initiatory ordinance of the gospel, and that baptized children are thus and thereby made members of the visible church of Christ? According to this formula, we are to "baptize into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." We say "*into* the name," this being a more literal and correct interpretation than *in*, as the English version has it; and we take "the name" of God, as here used, to be but a Hebraistic pleonasm for God himself. So that

<sup>1</sup> Works, Vol. ii. pp. 1133, 1129, 1040, 119, 122; Cong. Review, pp. 508, 509.

to be baptized into this name can mean no less than to be visibly introduced into the presence, the favor, and the fold of God. The proper bearing of the phrase now before us, on this point, can hardly be put in a truer, better light than in the words of Dr. Dwight, who, speaking of baptized infants, says: "That they are members of the Christian church, if lawfully baptized, I fully believe. All persons are baptized not *in*, but *into* the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, that is, they are in this ordinance publicly and solemnly introduced into the family, and entitled in a peculiar manner to the name of God. Accordingly they are called 'godly,' 'Christians,' 'spiritual,' 'sons and daughters of God,' and 'children of God,' throughout the scriptures. That this is the true construction of the passage just quoted is, I think, obvious, from the Greek phraseology: *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα*, the proper English of which is: 'into the name.' Accordingly, it is customarily rendered in this manner, by the translators of our Bible, in those passages where the subject is mentioned. Thus, Rom. vi. 3, Paul asks: 'Know ye not that so many of us as were baptized *into* Jesus Christ were baptized *into* his death?' 1 Cor. xii. 13: 'For by one Spirit we were all baptized *into* one body.' Gal. iii. 27: 'As many of you as have been baptized *into* Christ have put on Christ.' In all these instances the phraseology is the same with that first quoted, and, from analogy, teaches us that it ought there also to have been rendered in the same manner; *into* being the original and proper meaning of the preposition, and *in* being a meaning so uncommon as heretofore to have been resolved into a Hebraism. Several of these passages, also, directly declare that those who are baptized are baptized into Christ, that is, into the body or church of Christ. At the same time, there is no other account given of this subject. Nor is there anything in the ordinance of baptism which in any manner indicates that adults when baptized are members of the church, and that baptized infants are not members." <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Works, Vol. v. pp. 294, 295.

Still further proof of the general thought we are now considering may be drawn, as we believe, from the writings of Paul. Take, for instance, that passage in which the apostle teaches that the believing wife sanctifies the unbelieving husband, and the believing husband the unbelieving wife. "Else," says he, "were your children unclean, but now are they holy" (1 Cor. vii. 14). And how can we doubt that the language implies as much as this, at least, that the child of the believing parent was recognized by him as a member of the visible church? Surely, the sacred writer could not have meant that such children are holy in the sense of being free from sin, regenerated and sanctified in heart and life. The holiness and defilement he had in mind must have had reference to those federal and covenanted and ecclesiastical relations with which the mind of the apostle was so familiar, and by which men were divided into two classes, according as these relations covered or excluded them—the child of a believing parent being so far holy or clean as to be counted a "fellow-citizen with the saints and of the household of God."

And in this view are we confirmed by other passages in the writings of the same apostle. For instance, in his Epistle to the Colossians, and so in that to the Ephesians, he uses and applies language which makes it clear that he regarded the children of believing parents at Colosse and Ephesus as included with their parents among the members of the church in those cities. These letters were addressed to what he calls "the saints and faithful brethren in Christ Jesus"; and yet in each case, when he comes to specify the several classes of persons who compose this body in each place, we find a distinct recognition of children, as not less a part thereof than the adult husbands and wives, fathers and mothers, servants and masters.

Over and above these proofs from religious reason and divine revelation, that baptized children should be regarded and treated as members of the Christian church, there is another kind of evidence, which we can hardly afford either



to slight or ignore. This we find in the opinions of many eminent divines, and in the standards of several different branches of the Christian church, from the apostolic age onward to the present. Of course, our citations from opinions of this kind must be in the briefest terms.

Take, in the first place, the language of Justin Martyr, who was born near the close of the first century, probably before the death of the apostle John. Speaking of those who were members of the church, he says: "A part of these were sixty or seventy years old, who were made disciples to Christ from their infancy."<sup>1</sup> And, so far as we can learn and judge, nearly all those writers of that early age, as Irenaeus, Tertullian, Origen, the Shepherd of Hermas, Gregory Nazianzen, and others who are often cited in support of infant baptism, generally speak of the subject in such a manner as to imply that they regarded children thus given to God as made thereby members of his visible church.

The ground which the primitive church took respecting the education and discipline of all baptized children shows clearly enough that she regarded them as members of her body. Thus Bingham, referring to St. Austin,<sup>2</sup> informs us how she required those parents or others who presented children in baptism to stand "responsible not only for the instruction, but for the admonition and rebuke, if necessary, of the children baptized."<sup>3</sup> The same writer further observes, in respect to the discipline of this class of members in those early times, that "the censures of the church seldom or never touched them while minors, or children under age; there being more proper punishment thought fit for them, such as fatherly rebukes and corporeal correction; and to inflict the highest censures upon such was rather thought a lessening of authority, and bringing contempt upon the discipline of the church."<sup>4</sup> And it is said to have been one of the rules of Isidore of Seville, in the sixth century, "that they who were in their minority should not be

<sup>1</sup> First Apology, chap. xv.

<sup>2</sup> Aug. Serm. de Tempore.

<sup>3</sup> Eccl. Ant. Book xi. chap. 8, sec. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. Book xvi. chap. 3, sec. 11.



punished by excommunication, but, according to the quality of their negligence or offence, be corrected with congruous stripes.”<sup>1</sup>

Coming down nearer to our own time, we take, next, the teaching of John Calvin, whose opinion will have, perhaps, as much weight with our churches as that of any man since the apostles. Defining baptism, he says: “It is the initiatory sign by which we are admitted to the fellowship of the church, that, being engrafted into Christ, we may be accounted children of God. Moreover, the end for which God has given it is, first, that it may be conducive to our faith in him, and secondly, that it may serve the purpose of a confession among men.”<sup>2</sup> Again, speaking of infant baptism, he says: “If we attend to the peculiar nature of baptism, it is, in sooth, an entrance, and, as it were, an initiation into the church, by which we are ranked among the people of God, or a sign of spiritual regeneration, by which we are born to be children of God.”<sup>3</sup>

Take now the views of the Westminster divines, in the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, as amended by that body at the Savoy Conference, 1661, among whom we find the names of such men as Baxter, Bates, Lightfoot, and others of “eminent learning and godliness.” In their directions for the public baptism of infants, they lay it down as a proper rule and remark for the minister to say: “We receive this child into the congregation of Christ’s flock, among his chosen followers. . . . Seeing now that these children are grafted into the body of Christ’s church. . . . It hath pleased thee to receive these infants into the visible church as children in the family and heirs of thy kingdom.” Those who are acquainted with the standards of the Episcopal church, need not be informed that the church-membership of the baptized child is there

<sup>1</sup> Duty of the Church to her Baptized Children, being Report of Committee, — Richards, Miller, and Romeyn, — to the General Assembly, Presb. Church, in 1812; as edited by Dr. De Witt, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Inst. Book 4, chap. 15, sec. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Inst. Book 4, chap. xvi. sec. 29.

put in a still stronger form, such a child being spoken of in their Book of Common Prayer as "incorporated" into the church. If we look into the larger Westminster Catechism, we there find the same doctrine in another form, as in the definition of a church, which they declare to be "a society made up of all such as, in all ages and places of the world, do profess the true religion (1 Cor. i. 2), and of their children" (Acts ii. 39).<sup>1</sup>

That the principle under consideration, the real church-membership of all baptized children, is held by the Lutheran and the Presbyterian churches in England and Scotland, and on the Continent, none, we presume, will deny. That the same doctrine was regarded as a fundamental principle in the polity of our own branch of the Christian church, the Congregationalists, in former years, and is still adhered to, nominally at least, in most other denominations on this side of the Atlantic, the Baptists of course excepted, is, we believe, equally true.

In an account of the organization of the First church in Salem, 1629, as given in Morton's New England Memorial (p. 101), we are told: "The two ministers there being seriously studious of reformation, they considered the state of their children, together with their parents, concerning which letters did pass between Mr. Higginson (of Salem) and Mr. Brewster, the reverend elder of the church of Plymouth, and they did agree in their judgments, namely, concerning the church-membership of the children with the parents, and that baptism was a seal of this membership; only when they were adult, they being not scandalous, they were to be examined by the church officers, and upon their approbation of their fitness, and upon the children's public and personally owning of the covenant, they were to be received unto the Lord's supper."

In 1649, the Rev. Thomas Shepherd, for some years pastor of the church in Cambridge, Mass., wrote a treatise on the subject before us, "The Church-membership of Children,"

<sup>1</sup> Answer to Question 62.

in which he says: "If the substance of that covenant [the Abrahamic] was, I will be a God to thee and to thy seed, then this very covenant remains still under the gospel, it being one and the same with that; if, by virtue of that covenant, the children were made members of the church, and hence had a church privilege and a seal administered, then the same covenant remaining the same, and in the same force and benefit, our children also are taken into the like membership."<sup>1</sup> And, again, he says: "There is the same inward cause moving God to take in the children of believing church-members into the church and covenant now, to be of the number of his people, as there was for taking the Jews and their children; for the only cause why the Lord took in the Jews and their children thus, was his love and free grace and mercy (Deut. iv. 37): 'Because he loved thy fathers, therefore he chose their seed.' So that I do from hence fully believe that either God's love is in these days of his gospel less unto his people and servants than in the days of the Old Testament; or if it be as great, then the same love respects the seed of his people now, as then it did. And therefore, if then because he loved them he chose their seed to be of his church, so in these days, because he loveth us, he chooseth our seed to be of his church also."<sup>2</sup>

The same doctrine is set forth in the Cambridge Platform, which teaches that "the matter of a visible church are saints by calling," and then goes on to specify who are such saints, and divides them into two classes: 1. Adult professors; and 2. "The children of such, who are also holy."<sup>3</sup> Speaking of this latter class, and of the way in which they are to be admitted to full communion, it says: "The like trial is to be required from such members of the church as were born in the same, or received their membership and were baptized in their infancy or minority, by virtue of the covenant of their parents, when being grown up unto years of discretion, they shall desire to be made partakers of the Lord's supper;

<sup>1</sup> Works of Thomas Shepherd, Vol. iii. p. 522.      <sup>2</sup> Ibid. Vol. iii. pp. 525, 526.

<sup>3</sup> Cambridge Platform, chap. iii. sec. 1, 2.

unto which, because holy things must not be given unto the unworthy, therefore it is requisite that these, as well as others, should come to their trial and examination, and manifest their faith and repentance by an open profession thereof, before they are received to the Lord's supper, and otherwise not be admitted thereunto. Yet these church-members that were so born, or received in their childhood, before they are capable of being made partakers of full communion, have many privileges which others, not church-members, have not; they are in covenant with God, have the seal thereof upon them, viz. baptism; and so if not regenerated, yet are in a more hopeful way of attaining regenerating grace, and all the spiritual blessings both of the covenant and seal; they are also under church watch, and consequently subject to the reprehensions, admonitions, and censures thereof, for their healing and amendment, as need shall require."<sup>1</sup>

In the results of a synod held in Boston, in 1662, to consider the proper extent of baptism, etc., we find several questions summed up and answered in a series of propositions; in the second of which they give us their judgment on the point before us, in these words: "The members of the visible church, according to scripture, are confederate, visible believers in particular churches, and their infant seed, i.e. children in minority, whose next parents are one or both of them in covenant."<sup>2</sup>

In the Savoy confession of 1658, as modified and adopted by the synod held in Boston in 1680,<sup>3</sup> we have the following: "The whole body of men throughout the world, professing the faith of the gospel, and obedience unto God by Christ, not destroying their own profession by any errors everting the foundation, or unholiness of conversation, they and their children with them are, and may be, called the visible catholic church of Christ."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cambridge Platform, chap. xii. sec. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Vol. vi. series 2, p. 588.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. Vol. vi. p. 623.

<sup>4</sup> Savoy Confession, chap. xxvi. 2. As some editions of the Savoy Confession do not contain the clause "and their children with them," in the above quota-

If we come down now still nearer to our own times, and ask the opinions of some of the leading divines of our branch of the Christian church, a century since, we shall find them holding views similar to those already cited. Among these divines we may mention, first, the famous name of President Edwards. Holding, as he did, what we suppose none of our churches at this day would think of attempting to gainsay, that unregenerate persons, or those who make no profession of faith in Christ, should be excluded from the Lord's supper, and writing a treatise, his *Essay on the Qualifications requisite for full Communion*, in support of these views, he nevertheless often admits, even in this essay, that baptized children are, in a certain sense, entitled to membership. Thus, in the second paragraph of his essay, he says: "All that acknowledge infant baptism, allow infants, who are the proper subjects of baptism, and are baptized, to be in some sort members of the Christian church; yet none suppose them to be members in such standing as to be proper immediate subjects of ecclesiastical ordinances and privileges. But that some further qualifications are requisite in order to this, to be obtained, either in a course of nature, or by education, or by divine grace. And some who are baptized in infancy, even after they come to be adults, may yet remain for a season short of such a standing as has been spoken of; being destitute of sufficient knowledge, and perhaps some other qualifications, through the neglect of parents, or their own negligence, or otherwise; or because they carelessly

tion, a word of explanation may not be amiss. The Westminster Confession defines the visible church as consisting of "all those throughout the world that profess the true religion, together with their children." This last clause was omitted in the original Savoy Confession, which was one of the points of difference between this and the Westminster. But at the Boston Synod of 1680 the Savoy Confession was adopted with some "little variation," "in compliance with the other," i.e. the Westminster; and a part of this variation was the insertion of the clause "together with their children" (or "they and their children with them"), in the Savoy definition of the church. In the editions of the Savoy Confession, therefore, printed out of New England and prior to 1680, the clause in question will not be found. The Saybrook Platform (1708) adopted the Savoy as altered at Boston in 1680.



neglect to qualify themselves for ecclesiastical privileges by making a public profession of the Christian faith, or owning the Christian covenant, or forbear to offer themselves as candidates for these privileges; and yet not be cast out of the church, or cease to be in any respect its members.”<sup>1</sup>

So, too, the eminent Dr. Hopkins, who studied theology with Edwards, and lived for a time in his family. Speaking of the church of Christ on earth, he says: “It consists of those who are united together as professed friends to Christ and believers in him, . . . . including both parents and children.”<sup>2</sup> Speaking of the baptism of children, he says: “By ‘the kingdom of God,’ or ‘the kingdom of heaven,’ which is the same, is meant the visible kingdom of Christ in this world, or his church, in which sense this phrase is most commonly used by Christ. What he declares, therefore, is that such children as these, that is, the children of his friends who believe in him, belong to his kingdom, and are to be members of his visible church, and to be with their parents numbered among the redeemed.”<sup>3</sup> Again, he says: “No one is to be considered and treated as a member of the church and kingdom of Christ, unless he be baptized with water, as this is the only door by which persons can be introduced into the visible kingdom of Christ according to his appointment; and all who are baptized according to his direction are visible members of his church.”<sup>4</sup>

From the writings of Dr. Dwight enough has been already quoted, to show what were his views on the question before us. We give but a word here. Referring to that class of children of whom we speak, he says: “That they are members of the Christian church, if lawfully baptized, I fully believe.”<sup>5</sup>

To the same effect are all the standards of the Presbyterian church. Their Confession of Faith says: “The visible church . . . . consists of all those throughout the world that

<sup>1</sup> President Edwards, Works, Vol. i. p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Hopkins, Works, Vol. ii. pt. 2, chap. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. Vol. ii. p. 111.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. Vol. ii. p. 97.

<sup>5</sup> Dwight, Works, Vol. v. p. 294.

profess the true religion, together with their children.”<sup>1</sup> Their Book of Discipline says: “All baptized persons are members of the church, are under its care, and subject to its government and discipline; and when they have arrived at the years of discretion they are bound to perform all the duties of church-members.”<sup>2</sup> To which the revised Book of Discipline subjoined: “It is the office of the church, therefore, to use the proper means, in dependence on divine grace, for bringing them to repentance and faith, that they may rightly perform their duty.” Their Directory for Worship makes also a difference as to the manner in which the baptized and the unbaptized, arriving at years of discretion, and giving evidence of regeneration, shall be admitted to the table of our Lord — simply saying that the former “ought to be informed it is their duty and privilege to come to the Lord’s supper”<sup>3</sup>; while it requires of the latter that they “make a public profession of their faith in the presence of the congregation.”<sup>4</sup> So that, so far as their standards go, it is plain that Presbyterians look upon those who have been baptized in infancy as made, thus and thereby, members of the church of Christ.

But we must hasten to redeem our promise, and speak, though briefly, of the nature and extent of that relation of which we have been treating, or some of the modifications which pertain to that church-membership into which the child is brought when he is presented and sealed as the Lord’s in a covenant of love at the baptismal font.

The first remark we would here make — a thought, indeed, which has already been brought to notice in some of the extracts made from the writings of others — is, that those of whom we speak, though really members of the church of Christ, are not, of course, entitled to an admission to the table of the Lord till they give evidence of a suitable preparation for that privilege. In the case of infants, there would be wanting, for a time at least, the physical develop-

<sup>1</sup> Confessions, chap. xxv. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Book of Discipline, chap. i. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Directory, chap. ix. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. chap. ix. 4.

ment requisite for partaking of the elements offered in the eucharist. So, indeed, we should suppose. And yet, if we mistake not, there have been found an age so superstitious, and men so lost to the proprieties of the Christian religion, and to the common sense of the gospel of Christ, as to bring even infants to the Lord's supper.<sup>1</sup> But such a practice is hardly likely to obtain in the Protestant church of the present day. Nor is a proper unfolding of the physical powers all that is requisite for the privilege to which we refer. A proper fitness involves, also, an intellectual maturity and apprehension such as no one can suppose infants and young children to have attained. Without a certain amount of mental development, there could be no such "discerning of the Lord's body" and "remembrance" of him as the scriptures require. Nor is this all. Those who would come acceptably to the table of communion must have that divine illumination and spiritual discernment which shall not only enable a man to "examine himself, and so eat of that bread and drink of that cup," but prepare and move him also to appreciate and appropriate to himself something of the fulness of peace there is for him in the ordinance to which he comes. The child is baptized and brought into the church on the ground of the parents' faith, and in pursuance of the covenant God is pleased to make with them in his behalf; but to eat of that bread and drink that blood is a personal act, and demands the prerequisite of a personal faith. In no other way than by this personal faith and that renewal of the heart which faith involves can we hope to come into such an intimacy of fellowship and sympathy with Christ as shall exempt us from the condemnation of eating and drinking unworthily.

Nor do we know of any writer of acknowledged ability in whom all these views — the different classes of church-members, infant and adult, those in complete standing and full communion, and those who are not, together with the conditions here specified as essential to our coming acceptably

<sup>1</sup> Bing. Ecc. Ant. Book xii. chap. 1, sec. 2.

to the Lord's supper—are more clearly recognized and forcibly presented than in Edwards's Essay on the "Qualifications for Full Communion," as two or three brief extracts will show. Thus: "If it be so that explicit open covenanting with God be a great duty required of all, as has been represented, then it ought to be expected of persons before they are admitted to the privileges of the adult in the church of Christ. Surely it is proper, if this explicit covenanting take place at all, that it should take place before persons come to those ordinances wherein they, by their own act, publicly confirm and seal this covenant."<sup>1</sup> Again: "None ought to be admitted to the privileges of adult persons in the church of Christ, but such as make a profession of real piety. For the covenant to be owned or professed is God's covenant, which he has revealed as the method of our spiritual union with him, and our acceptance as the objects of his eternal favor, which is no other than the covenant of grace; at least, it is so, without dispute, in these days of the gospel. To own this covenant is to profess the consent of our hearts to it; and that is the sum and substance of true piety."<sup>2</sup>

The different manner in which those of whom we speak should be introduced to the rank and privileges of full communion, as distinguished from the admission of those who come from without the pale of the church, is worthy of consideration; though the discussion of it to any considerable extent does not lie in the line of our present purpose. The views of the Presbyterian church, as given in the Directory of Worship, have been already cited, for substance, in another connection. Somewhat different from them, and better, as we think, are the views of Dr. Bushnell, in his "Christian Nurture," where he says; "Baptized children ought to be enrolled by name in the catalogue of each church, as composing a distinct class of candidate or catechumen members, and to see that they are held in expectancy, thus, by the church, as presumptively one with them in the faith they

<sup>1</sup> Edwards, Works, Vol. i. p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. Vol. i. pp. 109, 110.



profess. Then, when they come forward to acknowledge their baptism, and assume the covenant in their own choice, they ought not to be received as converts from the world, — as if they were heathens coming into the fold; but there should be a distinction preserved such as makes due account of their previous qualified membership — a *form of assumption* tendered in place of a *confession* — something answering to the Lutheran confirmation, passed without a bishop's hands.”<sup>1</sup>

As bearing closely upon this point, we quote a paragraph from the “Report of Committee” — Romeyn and others, already referred to. Speaking of the maternal character of the primitive church, how she “considered herself as the common mother of all baptized children, and exercised a corresponding care over them, that they might be trained up as a generation to serve the Lord,” they mention some of the practices of that church, and among them that of confirmation; thus “It appears that a rite called confirmation was administered by the imposition of the hands of the minister or bishop or elder, together with prayer, on baptized children, at a certain age. Both Calvin,<sup>2</sup> and Owen<sup>3</sup> acknowledge that this practice existed at a very early period in the church. The latter thus states its design: ‘When they [that is, the children of believers, baptized in their infancy], were established in the knowledge of these necessary truths [of which he makes mention before], and had resolved on personal obedience unto the gospel, they were offered unto the fellowship of the faithful; and here, on giving the same account of their faith and repentance which others had done before they were baptized, they were admitted into the communion of the church, the elders thereof laying their hands on them, in token of their acceptance, and praying for their confirmation in the faith. This rite, which originally was confined to those who were baptized in their infancy, was afterward administered to adults, immediately upon

<sup>1</sup> Christian Nurture, p. 192.

<sup>2</sup> Institutions, Book iv. chap. 19, sec. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Commentary on the Hebrews, chap. vi. v. 19, Vol. iii. p. 33.



their baptism.<sup>1</sup> In process of time, when the church became grossly corrupted in her practice as well as doctrine, it was administered to infants immediately after baptism, that they might receive the Lord's supper.<sup>2</sup> This historical fact, while it exhibits a most deplorable superstition, strikingly illustrates the design of confirmation, as already stated from Dr. Owen. By this rite, "it came to pass," saith the judicious Hooker, 'that children, in expectation thereof, were seasoned with the principles of true religion, before malice and corrupt examples depraved their minds; a good foundation was laid betimes for the direction of the course of their whole lives; the seed of the church of God was preserved sincere and sound; the prelates and fathers of God's family, to whom the care of their souls belonged, saw by trial and examination of them, a part of their own heavy burden discharged; reaped comfort by beholding the first beginnings of true godliness in tender years; glorified him whose praise they found in the mouth of infants; and neglected not so fit an opportunity of giving every one fatherly encouragement and exhortation; whereunto imposition of hands and prayer being added, our warrant for the great good effect thereof is the same which patriarchs, prophets, priests, apostles, fathers, and men of God have had for such their particular invocations and benedictions, as no man, I suppose, professing truth and religion, will easily think to have been without fruit.'<sup>3</sup> This rite of confirmation, thus administered to baptized children, when arrived to competent years, and previously instructed and prepared for it, with the express view of their admission to the Lord's supper, shows clearly that the primitive church in her purest days exercised the authority of a mother over her baptized children."<sup>4</sup>

Another thing from which infant and non-professing church-

<sup>1</sup> King's Primitive Church, Part ii. chap. 5. Bing., Ecc. Ant., Book xii. chap. 1, sec. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Bing., Ecc. Ant., Book xii. chap. 1, sec. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Hooker, Works, Ecc. Polity (London folio ed. 1723), Book v. sec. 66, p. 236.

<sup>4</sup> Duty of the Church, etc. pp. 21, 22.

members must be debarred is the privilege of having the same voice which members of adult years in full communion may have, in managing the spiritual affairs of the church. Affairs of this kind are too precious and sacred to be entrusted to juvenile years, or to the direction of those who are not ready for an avowal of personal devotion to all the higher ends for which the church is established. Until such members come to years of maturity, and voluntarily assume the obligations involved in the covenant made by their parents with God in their behalf, they are not prepared to come forward as guides and guardians of those great religious interests which constitute the glory and the strength of the kingdom of Christ. Just as in any well-regulated civil society, any one of its members wishing to have access to the polls, or to be advanced to responsible positions, must attain to years of discretion and give assurance of his loyalty to the interests of the commonwealth to which he belongs as a citizen, so in the commonwealth of Israel, those who would exercise authority in her affairs, should be duly qualified for the right and privilege by an open avowal of their allegiance to him who is "Head over all things to the church." As Edwards says: "The eldest sons of noblemen in great Britain are born heirs to the honors and estate of their fathers; yet this no way hinders but they may be obliged when they come to ripeness of age, in order to a being invested in the actual possession, to take the oath of allegiance; though in order to their lawfully doing it, it may be necessary they should believe in their hearts that king George is the lawful prince, and that they should not be enemies to him, and friends to the Pretender in their hearts."<sup>1</sup> So those who would come into actual possession of the highest honors and privileges to be enjoyed in the kingdom of Christ, must openly avow their loyalty and attachment to him as the right-ful and only Sovereign.

Another thing of which those of whom we speak must be denied, until they take upon themselves the obligations of

<sup>1</sup> Edwards, Works, Vol. i. pp. 232, 233.

the covenant which their parents made with God for them, by a regular profession of personal faith in Christ, is the privilege of bringing their own offspring to the baptismal font. The blessings of the covenant are conditioned upon faith. So it was in the case of Abraham. So it is now, in the Christian church. "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved, and thine house," is the command and the promise (Acts xvi. 31). It is "the generation of the upright" that "shall be blessed" (Ps. cxii. 2). "For God will save Zion; . . . . the seed also of his servants shall inherit it" (Ps. lxi. 35, 36), is the language of the psalmist. And the same economy still holds. "For the promise is to you and to your children," saith the apostle. Here, then, in the parent's own personal piety, is the condition of a promise to his offspring. Here, in his own obedience, that "righteousness of faith," of which baptism, like circumcision, is the seal, is his authority and divine warrant for asking that this ordinance of baptism may be administered to his child. Until the parent comes into the exercise of this righteousness of faith, and makes it manifest by openly professing the religion of the gospel, he fails to honor even his own baptismal vows. How, then, can he hope to enter acceptably into covenant with God in the behalf of another?

The importance of that restriction of which we are now speaking can hardly be too forcibly pressed, as the evil of the opposite view, that "the right and power of handing down baptism to our children are derived from the baptism of the parent," or that "a mere owning of the covenant, without a credible profession of a person's being in the covenant, entitles him to the baptism of his children," and such like erroneous notions, have not only brought a fearful train of evils into some of the New England churches, in time past, but have been, no doubt, among the most potent of causes why not a few have departed from the faith of the Fathers, not to say the teachings of the gospel, in respect to the real church-membership of baptized children. "For," as an able writer on the subject before us, Rev. W. A.

Stearns, has said, "if an unbelieving, but baptized parent, refusing to assume his own baptismal vows, giving no evidence of any personal qualifications for the ordinance, might superstitiously, or to promote personal estimation, claim and receive baptism for his children, and those again for their children, and so on from generation to generation, not only would a most powerful incitement to personal religion be taken away, and a holy sacrament be thus profaned, but the church would lose its spirituality, and might become, in the end, but little different in its distinguishing characteristics from a community of baptized heathen."<sup>1</sup>

It was against this error and evil that Edwards lifted a voice of warning that still continues to ring in the ears of New England churches, if not in the churches of other lands as well. And yet, as we have already seen, Edwards himself teaches that the children of believing parents, being baptized, are, "in some sort, members of the Christian church." Nor would he have them hastily expelled, even though in adult age they are slow to make a public profession of faith in Christ. "Because," says he, "it is a matter held in suspense, whether they do cordially consent to the covenant or not, or whether their making no such profession does not arise from some other cause."<sup>2</sup>

Respecting the point now before us,—limiting the privilege of bringing their own offspring to the baptismal font to those members of the church who voluntarily assume covenant vows by professing their personal faith in Christ,—if we mistake not, the views we have urged are in harmony not only with the teachings of the gospel, but, as ought to be expected, in harmony also with the opinions of some of the principal Reformers, and with the standards of most of the Reformed churches. In support of this thought, in a condensed form, we refer to the able Report of the Committee, Romeyn and others, already named. Attempting "to show the nature of that relation which the children by birth or adoption of such adults as make the above profession [of

<sup>1</sup> Infant Church-membership, p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> Edwards, Works, Vol. i. p. 285.

faith in Christ] sustain to the church as members thereof," and having quoted the assurance given to Abraham: "I will be a God unto thee, and unto thy seed after thee," and the words of Peter: "The promise is to you and your children," etc., the Report proceeds: "On the ground of the promise, therefore, the children of those who profess faith in Christ and obedience to his commandments are considered as members of the church. As the promise is made only to the members of the church, and as we cannot acknowledge any one to be a member [in full communion] who does not profess faith in Jesus Christ and obedience to his commandments, it follows that none but the children by birth or adoption of parents one or both of whom do thus profess faith and obedience can be considered as the subjects of promise, and thus within the church. We have added children by adoption to those by birth, because there is nothing in the word of God and in the standards of our church to forbid such adoption.

"To these, and no other children, the sacrament of baptism may be lawfully administered. Thus, in the answer to the 166th question of the Larger Catechism, it is said: 'Infants descending from parents either both or but one of them professing faith in Christ and obedience to him are in that respect within the covenant, and are to be baptized.'

"In agreement with this, the latter Confession of Helvetia restricts the privilege to 'young infants born of faithful parents'; the former, to 'such as are born of the people of God'; the French Confession, to infants born of 'holy parents'; the Belgic, to the infants of believers, 'the children of the faithful'; the Confession of Saxony, 'to those only which are engrafted into the church'; the Confession adopted at Boston, and afterwards at Saybrook, to 'the infants of one or both believing parents, and to those only.'

"To these authorities may be added the forms for baptizing infants used by the French, Genevan, and Dutch churches, which are founded upon the fact that the infants are presented by persons professing faith in and obedience



to Christ. The language used in the form of the Reformed Dutch church for baptizing infants is remarkably precise on this point. 'Baptism, it is said, is a seal and undoubted testimony that we have an eternal covenant of grace with God.' 'Further, in the exhortation to the parents, we have these words: 'Beloved in the Lord Christ, you have heard that baptism is an ordinance of God, to seal unto us and to our seed his covenant. Therefore it must be used to that end,' i.e. as a seal to us and to our seed, of his covenant with us and our seed. Can a person, then, use baptism as such a seal, if that person does not profess faith in Christ and obedience to him?

"In addition to these public testimonies, the opinions of Calvin, the elder Turretine, Beza, Witsius, and others, might be adduced. We only quote Frith, one of the English martyrs, whose words are a proper conclusion on this subject: 'Baptism is given before the congregation unto him which before he receiveth it hath either professed the religion of Christ, or else hath the word of promise, by the which promise he is known to be of the sensible congregation of Christ.' In these words the two grounds on which membership rests are distinctly noticed — first, in adults, the ground is their profession; secondly, in infants, the word of promise."<sup>1</sup>

Another point of much interest, and of some difficulty and diversity of opinion, in relation to that class of church-members of which we speak, has respect to discipline. Doubtless the difficulties attending this question are among the causes which have led some to deny that baptized children are members of the church in any respect, until they make the same public profession of faith in Christ that is required of those who are entire strangers to the covenants of promise, and come, it may be, even from a heathen circle and training. Nor is this a matter of so great wonder, when we consider what mistaken notions have found here and there a place, sometimes on the real nature and design of discipline, sometimes on the nature and extent of that membership to which

<sup>1</sup> De Witt's Duty of the Church, pp. 15-17.

we refer, and sometimes on both together. No doubt the spirit of an age, or the general state of culture and refinement in a given community, has something to do with the question before us. Hence, as we have seen, in some of the earlier ages of the church, "corporeal correction" and "congruous stripes" were sometimes reckoned among the "proper punishments" for this class of church-members, so long as they were "minors or children under age."

Nor are we sure that the present age, even the Christian portion of it, has quite outgrown the idea that church-discipline must necessarily mean something severe — the infliction of punishment, a suspension or excommunication, or an avenger of evil in some other awful form. From all such discipline, we would say, let minor and non-professing members be forever exempt. They have not yet come to such an advanced standing, by voluntarily assuming the obligations of the covenant made with God by their parents for them, as to make this method of procedure possible, even if it were proper.

As Dr. Adams has said: "It is clear that one cannot be dispossessed of that which he never possessed, except as in the case of a minor, who may have his claim to a future possession wrested from him. Of what is a child of the covenant, allowing him to be, while a child, a member of the church — of what is he in possession? Not of full communion, not of access to the Lord's table, not of the right to a voice in the call and settlement of a pastor, nor in any other church act. From what, then, is he turned out by being cut off? He has never arrived at anything from which he can be separated, except the covenant of God with him through his parents, and its attendant privileges of watch and care. If, then, we excommunicate an unconverted child, we can only declare the covenant of God with him henceforth to be null and void — an assumption from which, probably, Christian parents and ministers would shrink. The same long-suffering God who bears and forbears with ourselves, we shall be disposed to feel, is the God

of this recreant child, and no good man would dare to pronounce the child to be separated from the mercies of 'the God of patience and hope.' One who, being in a church, breaks a covenant to which he assented, may be a just subject of discipline, even to excommunication; but, all the promises of God to the child being wholly free, conditioned at first upon his parents' relation to God, all the disability which the child seems capable of receiving is, that the promises made to him he must fail by his own fault to receive. Who will declare even his prospect of their fulfilment to be terminated at any given time?"<sup>1</sup>

But if by discipline be meant discipling—careful and prayerful instruction, advice, remonstrance, a kind parental teaching and training in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, then such discipline is not only the great duty of the church, but the highest privilege of all her youthful members. And it was, as we conceive, with this specially in view—the rearing of "a godly seed"—that the Most High was ever pleased to enter into covenant with believing parents in behalf of their children, and to ordain that these children should be brought into the fold of his people, the school of Christ, and counted as members thereof from the day the seal of his covenant is set upon them.

On this point, the difficult question of discipline as here presented, we know of no writer whose thoughts seem to us so sound and judicious as those of Rev. W. A. Stearns, to whose work on "Infant Church-membership," we have already referred. Speaking of the supervision to which the children of the church are subject, and asking "to what extent are baptized children properly subject to the watch and discipline of the church, he says: "This is a delicate and important question. It may, however, be intelligently answered. Being church-members, they are to be treated in all respects like other church-members, so far, and only so far, as the peculiar circumstances of their age and con-

<sup>1</sup> Bertha and her Baptism, pp. 234-236.

dition will allow. This should be remembered as the great and guiding principle in all that is to follow.

“The church, then, is to watch over its children as faithfully as over its adult members. The baptized children are the peculiar objects of its hopes, its instructions, and its prayers. When such children fall into open sin, the church should mourn over, pray for, and seek to reclaim them.

“In doing this they must exercise great gentleness and discretion. Anything like *espionage*, or officious intermeddling, or attempts at undue restraint in things unessential, should be scrupulously avoided. The young have rights and liberties, as well as the old. When it is said that they are in some sense the subjects of discipline in the church, it is intended rather that they are entitled to the affectionate supervision of adult members in full communion.”<sup>1</sup>

“One thing seems certain—there is no necessity for hasty exclusions. We may wait for indications of repentance, while by prayer and all judicious means we seek to secure it, one year, or ten, or even under some circumstances till the individual is excommunicated by death. In the meantime, such persons should be regarded, not as heathen and publicans, but as wanderers from the Good Shepherd’s fold. They are the prodigal sons of the church, for whom unwearied intercessions should be made, and to whom messages of mercy should be often sent, and of whose return strong hopes should be cherished, until we see them standing in the church, and saying: ‘I have sinned.’ Moreover, if children were rightly educated as members of the church, it is believed that cases requiring severe discipline would be as infrequent as they now are among adults.”<sup>2</sup>

“If the child has occasion to leave the parental roof, and fix his residence in some other city or town, it may not be necessary to give him a letter of dismissal and recommendation, as in the case of adults; but it is important that he should carry with him testimonials of character and church-membership, and be regularly introduced to the

<sup>1</sup> Infant Church-membership, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 60, 61.

pastor and brethren of the church with whom he is intending to worship. It then becomes their duty, according to the principles of fellowship adopted by Congregational churches, to love, watch over and cherish him as a lamb of their own fold. . . . . If at any time a baptized person proposes himself for public profession in some other church than that to which he properly belongs, testimonials of character and a certificate of church-standing should be required as always indispensable to an orderly reception. Thus, in all cases, the children of the church are to be kept under its sanctifying influences and supervision.”<sup>1</sup>

Considered in this light, there is a peculiar propriety and significance in regarding baptized children as members of the church. The relation is most intimate and endearing, sacred and responsible. Taught to regard themselves as of the body of Christ, how can the influence of this thought be otherwise than hallowed and redeeming? Looking upon them as members of herself, how can the church be otherwise than most deeply interested in their welfare? How can she fail to be quickened to fidelity, diligence, and prayer, that they may be shielded from danger, nurtured in the truth, trained for service, and fitted for heaven?

But to speak of the special advantage of this doctrine, in its influence upon the minister, the church, parents, and children, or of the special end of this relation, as for protection, nurture, service, and salvation, would be to transcend alike the leading purpose of this Article and the limits assigned it.

<sup>1</sup> *Infant Church-membership*, pp. 63, 64.



## ARTICLE IV.

THE IDEA OF CHRIST'S KINGDOM ON EARTH, IN ITSELF  
AND IN ITS HISTORY, PROOF THAT IT IS FROM GOD.<sup>1</sup>

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THE theme of the present lecture is this: "The idea of Christ's kingdom, in itself and in its historical origin, development, and prevalence, is proof that it is from God and that it will be realized on earth."

In unfolding this proof the following points are to be considered:

## I. The Idea of Christ's Kingdom is an Existing Power in Human Thought and Action.

The thinking of Christendom is now earnestly directed upon the person and work of Jesus, the Messianic King. The number of treatises recently published on the significance of his life and work, the extent to which they are circulated, and the interest with which they are discussed, are remarkable. More than one of them have been translated into different languages of Christendom and have had a sale that is extraordinary in the history of bookselling.

This power over the thinking of our day of one who lived in an age and country so remote, is a pregnant fact. If, as careless observers say, this is a superficial age given to novel-reading, it is significant that such an age is interested in a personage of antiquity who addresses himself only to that which is most profoundly spiritual in man. If, as is more correctly said, the age is unsurpassed in earnestness, this power of Jesus is equally significant in view of the direction of that earnestness—the political and social questions urgent

<sup>1</sup> This is the first of a Course of Lectures on "The Kingdom of Christ on Earth," delivered in Andover Theological Seminary. The Lectures will be published in successive numbers of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*.

in every Christian nation, involving in some instances the constitution and even the existence of the nation; the industrial interests absorbing human enterprise; the philosophy and science apparently leading away from religion.

In the generation preceding this, other questions pertaining to the life and work of Jesus were the subjects of excited controversy. This is another fact of similar significance. So in every age of intellectual or moral earnestness since Christ came, his person and kingdom have been powerful in human thought and action.

No other personage of antiquity has power over the age sufficient to awaken general interest in any discussion or controversy respecting him. Homer is one of the greatest of the ancients. His authorship of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and even his existence, are denied. Yet the public is utterly indifferent to the question, and it would be impossible to awaken any general interest in its discussion.

This interest in Jesus is not speculative, but practical, pertaining to him as the world's Redeemer and King. The idea of his kingdom on earth, and the expectation of its progress and triumph in fulfilment of the prophecy and promise of the gospel, have become familiar elements of human thought and determinant forces in human action. The sublime idea of the conversion of the world to Christ has become so common as to cease to awaken wonder. Its realization is the object throughout Christendom of systematic, persistent, and energetic action, and elicits every year heroic consecration and self-sacrifice. The prayer, "Thy kingdom come," is perpetually offered.

Besides this direct interest in the conversion of the world, modern civilization is characterized by ideas derived from the gospel of the kingdom; the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God; philanthropy; the promise of human progress; the rights of man; the removal of oppression; the reign of justice and love displacing the reign of force.

These facts must be accounted for. This idea and expectation of Christ's reign over men in righteousness, an idea

and expectation never associated with any other personage, have so penetrated human history that they demand explanation. The only rational explanation is, that the idea and the promise are from God, and will be realized on earth.

## II. The Idea of the Kingdom is in itself a Proof of its Divine Origin.

The consummation which it proposes to realize on earth is the universal reign of justice and love.

This consummation is not the reign of abstract truth and right, but the reign of Christ, the Messianic King, who is the truth and the life impersonated.

It is to be realized not by the spontaneous fermentation of human thought, nor by a natural law of progress, nor by the propagation of philosophical or ethical truth, or scientific discovery and inventions, but by the divine grace in Christ coming down upon humanity from above, and establishing itself in humanity as a power of redemption. The doctrine of the kingdom presupposes the knowledge of God, of sin, of condemnation, and of all that pertains to natural religion. Its distinctive and essential characteristic is redemption as an historical action of God in humanity. It emphasizes the person and the propitiatory work, as well as the reign and administration of the King. God in Christ, the divine in the human, enters human history as Redeemer, and makes propitiation for the sins of the world. The love, which God is, and which became incarnate in Christ, comes in the Holy Spirit and establishes itself in humanity as an energy of saving grace, and abides through all human history, working redemption for man. Through him the redeeming love of God in Christ is perpetually penetrating humanity and becoming the life of the world. Thus Christ reigns and administers his government on earth. Christ, the King anointed on the holy hill of Zion, seated at the right hand of Majesty on high, all power given to him in heaven and on earth, reigns over his kingdom on earth, administering his government through the Holy Spirit, through whom the

life that is in Christ is perpetually penetrating and vitalizing humanity, evolving from the kingdom of darkness his kingdom of righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost.

In this the doctrine of the kingdom is distinguished from philosophy, ethics, politics, and sociology. These emphasize speculative truth, law, and institutions. Christianity, on the contrary, is not dogmatic, but historical; not speculation, but action; not command and condemnation, but invitation and promise; not organization, but spiritual life. Accordingly, the abstract word Christianity is not in the Bible; but Jesus, the Christ, the Redeemer who ever liveth, the incarnate energy of God's love always active in redemption, is on every page of the New Testament, and his Messianic reign is the theme of the whole Bible.

The citizens of the kingdom are all who, renewed by the Holy Spirit, are converted from the life of selfishness to the life of faith and love, "delivered from the power of darkness, and translated into the kingdom of God's dear Son." These become a brotherhood, united in fellowship by their common faith in Christ, and are workers together with God to extend his kingdom through the world. The kingdom, growing from generation to generation on earth, extends also to heaven, where Christ reigns in person, and where the redeemed at death become a brotherhood of glorified and immortal saints, still honoring the same King, of whom the whole family in heaven and on earth is named, and serving him in the interest of his kingdom.

The law of the kingdom is the law of love. The life of every citizen is a life of service. Every one acknowledges his obligation or debt to all men everywhere, as much as in him lies, to bring them into the kingdom. The service and the love are sacrificial, like Christ's. His sacrificial love is the type and measure of all Christian love.

The prophecy and promise of growth and ultimate triumph are inherent in the idea of the kingdom. The idea and expectation of the conversion of the world, of human progress to the universal reign of justice and love, are essential to

Christianity and inseparable from it. They are a gift to mankind from Christ.

The promise, in its extent, reaches to all mankind. Society over all the world is to be transfigured into the kingdom of God. As to its depth, it reaches the greatest sinner. In its indirect, but necessary results, it promises the purification of society, the Christianizing of civilization and of all institutions, the carrying out into the details of social life of the principles of Christian love.

For the realization of the promise the kingdom depends not on force, but on the moral power of Christ's life and love, on the preaching of the truth as it is in Christ, and on the power of love in the hearts and lives of Christians, made effectual by God's redeeming grace, always active in the Holy Spirit.

Such is the biblical doctrine of the kingdom of Christ. It presents a complete philosophy of human history. It leaves still incomprehensible the mysteries which transcend the limits of a finite mind; it even thrusts them on our notice in startling antinomies, as if to emphasize the infinitude of God, and awe us into reverence. But within the sphere of human intelligence it meets and answers the great questions which have occupied the human mind concerning the relations of man to God, the significance of his history, the law, end, and blessedness of his being. If it were fully realized, the perfection and blessedness both of the individual and of society would be attained. As such, it is a conception complete, satisfactory, and sublime. Were it only a creation of a poet's genius, it would, as a conception, surpass every creation of genius. What epic, what drama, can be compared with the drama — if it is a drama — of man's fall and his redemption? Were it only a theory which some philosopher had elaborated in his study, it would surpass all the products of the profoundest human thought — as a philosophy of human history so perfect that no mind can add to it or detract from it or alter it, without impairing its completeness.



The existence of this conception is to be accounted for. Its completeness as a conception, its grandeur as it presents itself to the imagination, its profoundness, comprehensiveness, and satisfactoriness, as it is taken up by thought, and applied to the complicated problem of man's life and destiny, indicate that it is from God.

We proceed to seek the historical origin of this wonderful idea. We trace it to the teaching of Jesus, by whom, if it was not originated, it was introduced as a power into the thinking and civilization of the world. This brings us to the third step in the argument.

III. Christ's Preaching of the Kingdom, and of Himself as the Messianic King, demands for its consistent Explanation the Admission that the Kingdom is from God, and that Jesus is its divinely anointed King.

Jesus preached the kingdom of God as coming on earth, and himself as its Messiah or divinely anointed King, and all the germinant truths involved therein, which have been the seeds of Christian civilization. This doctrine was essential and determinant in his idea of his own mission, and was the central topic of his preaching. This remains true, if we accept only what the severest historical criticism is obliged to acknowledge.

John the Baptist had preached that the kingdom of heaven was at hand, and had warned the people to repent in preparation for its coming. To the people repeatedly, and once, at least, to an official deputation from the Sanhedrim, he had declared that the prophesied Messianic King had come. Jesus began his own ministry by preaching: "The kingdom of heaven is at hand." Throughout his public ministry his preaching consisted in presenting himself to the people as the divinely anointed and predicted King, in explaining the nature of the kingdom, his own redemptive work in setting it up, and the conditions of entering it, and in insisting on its spiritual character and growth, in refutation of the persistent error that it was to be a political

kingdom, established and advanced by force. At his baptism he was proclaimed "the Son of God," which was a well-known prophetic title of the Messiah. The temptation in the wilderness turned on the question what sort of a kingdom he should set up, and by what sort of agency; and he rejects every satanic proposal to establish an outward kingdom by force, even by his own miraculous power. When, at the first passover after his baptism, he presented himself at Jerusalem and purified the temple, it was a formal and official presentation of himself as the Messianic King to the nation as such, in the person of their rulers, in the seat of the government, and the temple of the religion. The Sermon on the Mount is an elaborate exposition of the spiritual nature of the kingdom, declaring in what it makes man's supreme blessedness to consist; what is the character of its citizens, and their relation to the world as bringing to it light and salvation; what the relation of the kingdom to the law of God, and the positive and spiritual significance of its requirements; what the simplicity and godly sincerity of its members, the nature of worship, the law of beneficence, the necessity of entire consecration, the beauty and safety of faith in God, and the completeness of the new life, beginning in faith, and vitalizing and rectifying the conduct to the remotest and minutest action. In his parables and his conversations with his disciples he is continually explaining what the kingdom is, and correcting current mistakes respecting it. At last, it is for this persistent preaching of himself as the divinely anointed King that he is arrested, condemned, and crucified. At his trial he declares before Pilate that he is the King, but explains: "My kingdom is not of this world." Over his cross was written the reason of his condemnation: "Jesus of Nazareth, the king of the Jews."

This doctrine of the kingdom is the key to our Saviour's ministry, without which it is impossible rightly to understand it. This doctrine gives the point, significance, and consistency of his particular discourses and conversations. It gives, also, the point, significance, and consistency of his

ministry as a whole, as consisting not so much in what he teaches as in what he personally is and does as the Redeemer of men, anointed to set up and administer God's kingdom of grace. If Jesus had been simply a teacher and an example, and so is to be studied as on the same plane with philosophers, lawgivers, and reformers, it would be impossible to explain why his public ministry was so short; why his teaching, considered as a system either of sociology, ethics, philosophy, or theology, was so fragmentary and incomplete; why his teaching centred on himself, presenting himself as the way, the truth, and the life, and urging regard to himself personally, "for my sake," as the motive to draw men from sin to the heroism of love; and, finally, why he suffered an ignominious death, and why that death, both in his own teaching and in that of the apostles, was exalted to supreme significance. But all this becomes significant and consistent when we know that he is not merely our teacher and example, but our Redeemer, expressing in the incarnation and under human limitations God's justice and mercy; being, in his humiliation, suffering, and death, the propitiation for the sins of the world; rising from the grave the Conqueror of sin and death; ever living to infuse his own life into humanity, and quickening in the world the kingdom of righteousness over which he reigns. Then his own preaching, while on earth, must culminate not in philosophy, nor ethics, nor sociology, nor even in theology, but in the gospel of Christ: "Come unto *me*, all ye that labor and are heavy-laden, and I will give you rest." Then the leading motive to the life of love must be regard to and trust in him personally; the love must spring from faith in Christ. Then his name must be above every name. And the gospel is necessarily exclusive, and declares: "Neither is there salvation in any other; for there is none other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved."

Observe, also, that Jesus taught this doctrine not as an interesting speculation, but as a gospel, a prophecy and a promise certain to be realized. His own confidence in its

realization, serene amid the opposition which stormed about him, is sublime. Suppose that you had been one of his hearers. You see a young man, with the coarse garb, the hard hands, the limited education, the habits and demeanor of a laboring man. Listening, from time to time, to his teachings, his conception of his kingdom gradually forms itself in its grandeur before your mind. You become intensely interested; you admire the grand conception; but you think it a vision too beautiful to be realized, and that it would be fanatical and visionary to attempt or expect it. Especially you wonder that one so uninfluential should offer himself as the king to realize this beautiful conception, and to make his name potent to rule all hearts. But Jesus preaches the prophecy and promise of the kingdom with unwavering assurance that the kingdom is about to come, and will extend till it fills the world. It becomes evident, however, that the people of his day cannot receive his doctrine. Whenever he goes to Jerusalem he is contemptuously rejected by those in authority, who early begin to plot against his life. He is obliged for safety to retire to Galilee, and prosecute his ministry in country places. Even there few receive him, and those from the humbler walks of life. Even his own family think he is quite gone crazy, and come to take him and confine him. At last it becomes evident that he must either abandon his pretensions or suffer an ignominious death. Yet his confidence in his kingdom remains unshaken.

On one occasion, near the close of his life, Jesus asked his disciples: "Who do men say that I am?" They replied that some acknowledged him to be a prophet, some acknowledged him as Elijah, the expected harbinger of the Christ; but, even at that late period in his ministry, they could make no favorable report of any increasing readiness to receive him as the Christ. He then asked: "Who say ye that I am?" Peter said: "Thou art the Christ." Jesus pronounced a blessing on him for recognizing him as the Christ, and immediately uttered that sublime prophecy of



the irresistible prevalence of his kingdom: "Upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." On another occasion, foreseeing that the malignity of the rulers would soon bring him to the cross, he declares that the cross itself shall be the means of his triumph: "I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me." Afterwards, in Bethany, just before his arrest, a woman anointed him with a costly perfume. Jesus, while saying that she had anointed him for his burial, yet declares the certain triumph of his kingdom: "Whosoever this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole world, there shall also this that this woman hath done be told for a memorial of her." This faith in his great idea, declared more confidently when all outward circumstances seemed to demonstrate its futility, and worldly wisdom could only pronounce it proof that he was visionary or insane, is sublime.

It appears, therefore, that the doctrine of his kingdom and the claim for himself to be the Messianic King were central, essential, and persistent in Christ's own conception and preaching of himself and his mission. If this doctrine and claim were not true, then he was either an impostor or a visionary. But in the light of historical criticism, it is conceded that he was not an impostor. Then the only theory which remains possible is that of Renan, that he was a visionary, and his claims for himself the result of illusion. We have, now, a complete alternative. Either Jesus was the Messiah, as he claimed to be, or else he was a visionary, and in all his public life the victim of his own illusions. But the hypothesis that he was a visionary is impossible, for two reasons. First, it is an hypothesis on which a consistent, rational, and satisfactory explanation of the teaching, work, and life of Jesus as an historical personage is impossible. Secondly, because the world owes to him the doctrine of the kingdom of God on earth, with all the truths germinant in it, which from his day till now have been vital forces of human progress; and it is impossible that this grandest,



mightiest, and most beneficent idea which ever was a power in human thought and life, originated in the illusions of a visionary. If this is visionary illusion, then visionary illusion is the grandest, mightiest, and most beneficent reality in human history.

Our position, therefore, is established. The teaching, work, and life of Jesus admit no rational and consistent explanation, except on the supposition that he is the divinely anointed Redeemer of the world, and that his kingdom is from God, and is destined to prevail.

#### IV. Consider Christ's Doctrine of the Kingdom in Contrast with the History of Human Thought in Heathen Nations before his Coming.

This is necessary to the full force of the preceding arguments. The truths of Christianity have so become the common property of the human mind, the elements of all thinking, the law of all action, the maxims of human rights, the principles of progress, the germinant forces of civilization, that we fail to appreciate the indebtedness of the world to Jesus as their author. We must go back into the darkness, and witness the rising of that Sun. I sometimes think if we did not know Jesus so well, we should know him better.

This, however, is only what is true of all luminaries; the greater the luminary, the more it is lost in the light which it creates. When a candle is lighted, we notice the candle, rather than its light. We admire the brilliancy of the stars; they have light enough to reveal themselves, not to dispel the darkness. When the moon, "sweet regent of the sky," comes up and throws "her silver mantle" over the dark; when the still concave of the firmament seems full of solid effulgence; when every object, silvered on one side, seems to start out of the darkness, and, as you move, shifting the light and shade, to take on fantastic forms, the moon itself is seen, if at all, only as one bright object in the brilliant scene. But when the sun rises, and brings the day, we use the light, but do not look at the sun. So Jesus, the Sun

of Righteousness, is lost in the light which he creates. Modern rationalism uses the very light which Christ has given as an argument against Christianity. It asks: "What need of a supernatural revelation in the midst of all this light?" As if one should ask: "What need of the sun in the daytime, when it is so light?" Heathen philosophers attract admiration to themselves. Like the stars, they have light enough to reveal themselves, not enough to dispel the night.

The point here to be made is that before Christ heathen literature and civilization were destitute of the idea and promise of a kingdom of God on earth, and of the germinant and life-giving thoughts involved in it.

The heathen had not the idea of God as being essentially love; nor of that love as a divine energy in human history, redeeming men from sin; nor of a kingdom of those redeemed from selfishness to faith and love, growing in power and extent, and destined to fill the world; nor of the obligation of men to consecrate themselves in self-devoting love to the service of mankind in seeking first the establishment of this kingdom; nor of the sacredness and worth of the individual man — a soul worth more than the world — a man so priceless that Christ "tasted death for every man"; nor of the consequent doctrines of the equality of men before God, the sacredness of human rights, and the foundation of society and government on justice and right, instead of force.

They had not the idea of a universal religion. Polytheism is essentially divisive. National gods are embittered with the national enmities. The gods of the hills fight against the gods of the valleys. The religion gives no common ground of unity, no common and supreme god, no common divine law, no common standard of appeal, no fellowship of common faith or hope. The cleavage between the nations cuts through the deepest foundations of thought, feeling, and interest, and leaves them more hopelessly dissevered than ships driven asunder on the ocean; for it cleaves the ocean itself, and leaves them no common element in which to separate.

They had not the idea of the brotherhood of man, nor of universal philanthropy, definitely proposing the blessedness of mankind as an end. Even Plato teaches that foreigners are natural enemies, and may be conquered and spoiled, if the state has power to do it. Everywhere is the law of might, not the law of love.

Finally, the heathen had not the prophecy nor the promise of a better future for man in the establishment of a universal reign of justice and love. The idea of human progress was not a power in their civilization. Their golden age was in the past.

When we search the history and literature of the heathen world, listening for some word of hope for man, we seem to stand on the shore of the ocean in a stormy night. We hear the sound of a vast activity, but only an activity that is baleful — the roar and tumult of the storm, the moaning and hissing of the waves as they break in vain on the relentless rocks, the groaning of an everlasting unrest beneath the impenetrable night.

How, then, is it to be explained that Jesus, this young man who has never learned, comes from his carpenter's shop, and announces at once this grand doctrine of the kingdom of God on earth — a conception which answers the questions that had tasked the profoundest minds of the race without result, which comprises a consistent philosophy of human history and destiny — a conception missed by the greatest geniuses of heathen civilization, yet grasped by Jesus at the outset in its simplicity and grandeur, and proclaimed, without emendation or change, without doubt or vacillation, through his entire ministry? The only rational explanation is that he was what he claimed to be — the Messianic King.

V. The Force of the Argument is further enhanced by the Relation of Christ's Teachings to the Previous Literature of the Jews.

Here it is objected, by those who put Jesus on the same

plane with the philosophers, that his idea of the kingdom was not original — that he derived it from the Hebrew literature. But this only leads to a new line of argument.

In the first place, this literature itself cannot well be accounted for without admitting its supernatural origin.

The Book of Genesis, one of the oldest of writings, declares, in its first sentence, the doctrine of one God, the Creator of all things, and therein solves the great problem of God's relation to his works, on which human thought for centuries afterwards, where that writing was not known, expended its most powerful efforts in vain. This of itself is evidence that it is from God to every one who is familiar with these fruitless efforts, and who has noted how in the Oriental nations these efforts issued in pantheism, confounding God with his works; and in the Western nations in the deification of human heroes, retaining God's personality at the expense of his unity and his deity.

Then, on the same page, another great truth which the wisdom of the heathen has missed — the unity and brotherhood of man.

Immediately, as we turn the page, we strike the great facts of sin and redemption — man a sinner and condemned, God's promise of redemption. Here this ancient writing strikes the key-note of that wonderful series of documents, the Jewish scriptures — the great idea which, through all these varied writings, in every style of composition, by authors of the most different conditions, writing without concert and at long intervals, through more than a thousand years, is never lost; is by each new writer taken up and further developed — this promise of redemption, no glimpse of which is found in the literature of Greece and Rome — the key-note, not of the Old Testament only, but also of that divine harmony in many parts which sweeps through all human history, and swells triumphant in the music of heaven. At first, we have only the promise of redemption to come from God in some way through the human race itself — the seed of the woman. To Abraham the promise

is renewed, with the more explicit definition that blessedness is to come to all mankind through his seed. Afterwards it is successively defined still further in the line of Isaac, of Jacob, of David. In the time of Moses we first have explicit intimation that the deliverer shall be an individual person. In the time of Samuel, and more clearly in the time of David, we find the idea of a kingdom and a king. In the Psalms and prophecies the kingdom and its king are delineated with ever-increasing clearness. We wonder, as we read, at the characteristics ascribed to them: "He shall judge the poor with righteousness; protection for the widow, the fatherless, and the weak; he shall break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free; he shall bind up the broken-hearted; in his days shall the righteous flourish, and abundance of peace so long as the moon endureth." Such a conception of a kingdom of universal justice, peace, and love, presented not as a poetic fancy, but as a prophecy and a promise, reiterated century after century in those old days of national exclusiveness, hate, oppression, and violence; pervading the literature of a people pre-eminently bigoted and intolerant, whose literature is in exact contrariety to the national character, and therefore cannot have been the natural outgrowth and expression of the national life; pervading that literature while totally wanting in the literature of every contemporary people — such a conception cannot be explained, except as that literature itself explains it, that that people had been chosen by God to receive and perpetuate his promise of the Christ.

In the next place, we have the fact that Jesus came at the appointed time, claiming to be the predicted king. The expectation of the prophesied Messiah had saturated the thinking of the Jewish people. The critics who insist that there are no clear predictions of Christ in the Old Testament must reconcile their criticism with this fact. This expectation the Jews carried with them through all the Eastern nations in their dispersion. When the luminary is broken, all the scattered fragments shine. How came it to pass that



just at the time when the Christ was generally expected Jesus should appear and fulfil the prophecy? It can be explained only on the supposition that he was the long-predicted king.

It is often urged that history is the necessary development of the primordial forces in human nature; that each age is the necessary outgrowth from its predecessors, and literature and great men are the necessary product of the spirit of their age. But Jesus could not have been the product of his age. Before his coming the Jewish expectation of the Messiah had hardened into the expectation of a temporal king, conquering and ruling by force. The age in which he appeared was of all ages the most barren of spiritual life. Polytheism had given place to philosophical scepticism. Judaism had decayed into the formalism of the Pharisee and the unbelief of the Sadducee. Jesus was in all respects the opposite of his age, and could not have been its natural product. That the life of such a people culminated in such a personage is proof that he was from God. If the Hebrew literature of the Old Testament demands a divine intervention to account for it, the argument is strengthened and made unanswerable by the fact that the literature of that same people culminated in that later and more wonderful series of documents, the New Testament.

Thus, whether we study pagan literature and civilization, or Jewish, the courses of human history antecedent to Christ's coming converge on him. In him is revealed the truth which the thinking of the heathen world had been groping to discover: in him are met the wants which the sin-conscious heart of the heathen world had been yearning to satisfy; in him are fulfilled the promise and the prophecy revealed by God through the Jewish prophets. In this sense he is the Desire of all nations. Not Ethiopia alone, but all the nations of antiquity, stretched forth their hands unto him.

VI. It remains to consider Christ's Doctrine of the Kingdom in its Relation to the History of the World after his Coming.

If you had been one of his hearers when he was on earth,

you might have said: "This man's conception of his kingdom surpasses all human conceptions in sublimity. In depth, compass, and completeness of thought, in grandeur of imagination and loftiness of genius, in purity of heart and power of love, he is in advance of all the great minds of antiquity — so in advance that comparison ceases, and contrast alone is possible. But if he expects this conception to be realized, he must be a visionary. Has he forgotten how infinitesimal in the rush of the world's affairs is the influence of one man; and does he expect to transform the world? Has he forgotten how powerless the greatest are after they die, how shadowy the great names and systems of the past; and does he expect to lift his crumbling arm out from the grave, and sway with it the living world? Especially, has he forgotten how feeble is the greatest man to command the love of men; and does this provincial, this poor man, this man without office or honorable position or influence with the great, this unlettered man, this outcast among his own people — does this man expect to rule the world by men's love to him? Does he expect to set up his power, where power is hardest to win, in the hearts of men, so that faith in and love to him will in all generations turn the energies of human hearts into a mighty enthusiasm to deliver mankind from sin? And does he expect that this power of his personal influence, this motive which he continually urges, 'for my sake,' will at last touch all hearts, and transform society everywhere into his kingdom?"

Still more would you think him a visionary, could you then know that his public ministry is to continue less than four years; that he is to suffer the most ignominious of deaths as a leader of sedition; that he is anticipating that death as the consummation of his work, into which the motive power of his name is to be concentrated; that, making but few converts himself, he is depending for the establishment of his kingdom after his death on the preaching of those few converts, with the story of his short life and ignominious death as the subject of their preaching, and thus

sending them out, a few sheep among many wolves, he is expecting the sheep to conquer the wolves.

And your belief that he is a visionary would be still more strengthened could you then look forward through the ages and foresee the coming changes. The Roman empire, then co-extensive with Occidental civilization, will be destroyed. The imperial throne of the Caesars, at whose base then rippled the peaceful and sunlit waves of a world-wide obedience, will sink when the fountains of that great deep shall be broken up. Barbarians, whose very existence was then unknown, will overwhelm the abodes of civilization. From the consequent confusion, desolation, and darkness the kingdoms of modern Europe will slowly and painfully emerge; new discoveries and inventions will change the courses of human thought and action; a new civilization will arise, so different from the ancient as to make that difficult of comprehension to the moderns; a new continent will be discovered; new philosophy and science, new arts and agencies, new institutions and laws will possess the earth. And this man expects his personal influence to live through all these changes; and not to live only, but to vitalize, energize, and guide them; to establish itself in the seats of the ancient and decaying civilization; to meet the barbarians and to make them Christians; in the ages of darkness attending and following the overthrow of the Roman empire to cause all men to bow in outward homage to the name of Jesus, and to quicken faithful ones truly to love him, and to seek for his sake to save men from sin; to kindle revival and reformation from age to age; to follow the star of empire in its westward way; to preside over the birth and growth of nations; to live in the latest progress of art, science, philosophy, and civil polity; in advance of all spiritual thought, the law of all human action, the ideal of human perfection, the source of the hope of pardon, of purification from sin, and of peace with God; at once the source, the motive, the strength, and the goal of all moral and spiritual progress.

And if Jesus was only a man, and on the same plane with

philosophers, then he was a visionary, the greatest of all history. But, from the day when he began to preach "The kingdom of heaven is at hand," until now, his name has been a power in human thought and life; the kingdom has been in the world gathering individuals into itself, and vitalizing civilization with its divine ideas, a central force in the history of all enlightened and progressive nations. Therefore he was not a visionary.

But if Jesus was not a visionary, then he is man's Redeemer and Lord. Then, with more than the wonder of those who cried: "What manner of man is this, that even the winds and the sea obey him?" we exclaim: "What manner of man is this, who rules amid the tumult of the ages, and the courses of human thought obey him, and the farthest progress of man is confessedly towards the realization of his idea?" He is man's Redeemer and Lord; his idea of his kingdom, by its existence on the earth, and by its perpetuation and power through the ages, is proof that it is from God and is destined to prevail.

The argument is now complete. The idea of a kingdom of God on earth and the prophecy of its realization are present in modern thought and among the forces that determine modern progress and civilization. The idea is so complete as a solution of the problem of man's history and destiny, so sufficient, if realized, to constitute the perfection and blessedness of society, and as a conception of the ways of God with man so comprehensive and sublime, that in itself it demonstrates that it is from God. We then trace this grand conception back to the teaching of Jesus; we consider his preaching of it in its relation to the age in which he lived, in its relation to the antecedent history of human thought, both among the heathen and the Jews, and in its power in all subsequent human history. The conclusion is irresistible that the idea and prophecy of the kingdom of God existing as a power in the world's progress and civilization can be rationally accounted for only on the ground that it is from God and is destined to prevail.

In the nineteenth Psalm the law of God is compared to the sun and the stars. As these by shining declare their divine origin and the glory of God, so does God's law by its own perfection declare its divine origin and God's glory. Similar is the argument which has now been unfolded. God's kingdom, like the sun, must reveal itself and its divine glory by its own shining, by enlightening and vivifying the world. No one doubts that the modern astronomy will prevail through the world. Its principles and laws do but express the actual realities of the starry and solar systems. The more thoroughly the heavens are explored, the more complete must be the evidence that astronomy is true. So the doctrine of Christ's kingdom expresses the divine idea of redemption, which God in his administration of human affairs is constantly carrying out to its realization.

Human history, then, must contain and express the idea, and the study of human history must give proof of God's redeeming love, working in it to establish his kingdom of grace. His kingdom is progressive, like the growth of a mustard-seed. Therefore the argument is as yet incomplete. But every new generation, and especially every epoch in human progress, adds to its force. Already it is possible from the study of human history to construct an argument that history itself demands for its rational explanation the presence and power of God in it as a Redeemer establishing his kingdom. When in the future the kingdom shall possess the earth, then history itself will have proved the truth of Christ's claims, and God's redeeming grace and his kingdom will be as demonstrable from the facts of human history as the laws of astronomy are from the facts of the starry heavens.

We, then, on this new continent and in this distant age, acknowledge Jesus as the Christ, our Redeemer and Lord. With the thousand times ten thousand and thousands of thousands who in the ages past have loved him, and now praise him in heaven, with all the living of every kindred and people and tongue who now trust and serve him, we



bow before him, and join the great confession: "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God."

Him we behold a sorrowful man in the dimness of a far-off age and land, burdened and smitten by the power of sin, suffering for us, the just for the unjust, to bring us to God. Him, we behold above the convulsions of the ages, the halo about his majestic head shining as the sun down all the tract of time, his voice speaking promise and peace amid the confusion of human affairs. Him, we behold seated on the right hand of majesty on high, all power given unto him in heaven and on earth, and on his head are many crowns. Him, we joyfully confess "King of kings and Lord of lords"; we offer the prayer which he has taught us: "Thy kingdom come"; we accept the command and the promise which he has given us: "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you"; and, in the expectation that his kingdom shall fill the earth, we consecrate our lives to his service. And, entering into the joy of all the redeemed, with all who have tasted and seen that the Lord is gracious, we offer him our homage: "Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power and wisdom and strength and honor and glory and blessing; for thou hast redeemed us to God out of every kindred and tongue and people and nation. Unto him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto God and his Father, unto him be glory and dominion forever and ever. Amen."

## ARTICLE V.

## OUR LORD'S SACERDOTAL PRAYER—A NEW CRITICAL TEXT, DIGEST, AND TRANSLATION.

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MOST appropriately the first productions of the new-born printing-press were copies of the scriptures: the earliest, indeed, the Latin Bible of 1452, afterward the Hebrew of 1488, and early in the sixteenth century the Greek and Latin Polyglot of Cardinal Ximenes, known as the Complutensian from the place of its publication, and the Greek Testament of Erasmus, published at Basle. The fifth edition of the latter, published in 1535, with some modifications from Beza's editions, formed the basis of the present so-called Received Text. Very unfortunately, Erasmus prepared his first edition very hastily, in order to publish it in advance of the Complutensian, and not only did not seek out the best manuscripts he could have obtained, but was not faithful in the use of those he did have. Where there were gaps in his codices he supplied the missing portions by translating the Latin Vulgate, producing readings found in no known Greek manuscript. Thus weak is the critical authority of the Received Text.

Very little was accomplished toward constructing a truly critical text until the time of Griesbach, who announced those canons of criticism which have been substantially adopted by all revisers since. During the present century exceedingly rich treasures of ancient Greek manuscripts have been exhumed from the dust of ages, and our knowledge of those already in our possession so greatly increased, that our former acquaintance with some of the most valuable seems meagre indeed. In the faithful use of these ancient witnesses for the recovery of the original text, Tischendorf and Tregelles have acquired a world-wide renown.

The text presented herewith is an attempt in the same

direction with theirs, and was constructed before Tischendorf had issued the sixth part of his eighth edition, that containing this passage. The only change made since the reception of that part is the omission of σου in verse 17. But four readings are adopted in the text which have not fourth century authority; and but six not supported by a majority of the five great manuscripts  $\aleph$ ABCD — and in three of these cases a majority of the five do not concur. (See δόση in verse 2.) The punctuation of many editions of the Greek Testament is very redundant; that of the text has been carefully revised, as has also been the accentuation. Conformably to the usage of the uncials,  $\nu$  ἐφέλκυστικόν has been uniformly added in the text.

In uncial manuscript citations the digest, subjoined to the text, presents all contained in the latest editions of Alford, Tregelles, and Tischendorf; and a few citations found in neither of them. At the time our most venerable codices were transcribed, a very corrupt pronunciation of Greek had come into common use, and from similarity of sound there was constant confusion in writing, between αι and ε; ει and ι; η, ι and ει; η, οι and υ; ο and ω, and in later times even ε and η. These fruitful causes of various readings, or itacisms, are illustrated in the digest, as well as several examples of the fatal homoioteleuton, or omission from similarity of ending, which has occasioned such grievous hiatus, even in our most valuable manuscripts. In the uncials,  $\nu$  at the end of a line was often denoted by a stroke over a vowel. As the addition of  $\nu$  might change the case, gender, or person, of a word, it is important to know by whom it was written. (See ἔγνωκᾱ in verse 7.) Concerning the subjects glanced at in these preliminary remarks, full information may be found in Tregelles's Account of the Printed Text of the Greek Testament, Scrivener's Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament, the latest English editions of Horne's Introduction, edited and enlarged by Tregelles, and in the Prolegomena to the critical Greek Testaments cited below.

The translation aims to represent the shades of thought

in this sublime prayer, more nearly than is possible in a popular version; and to note the force of the original as nearly as may be.

The unical manuscripts containing John xvii. are :

Ⲙ Codex Sinaiticus, Century IV., Ⲙ<sup>c</sup> a corrector of Cent. VII.; A Codex Alexandrinus, Century V.; B Codex Vaticanus, Century IV., B<sup>2</sup> a corrector of Cent. IV., and B<sup>3</sup> one of Cent. VI or VII.; C Codex Ephraemi, Century V., C<sup>2</sup> a corrector of Cent. VI., and C<sup>3</sup> one of Cent. IX.; D Codex Bezae, Century VI., has many correctors; E Codex Basileensis, Century VIII.; F Codex Boreeli, Century IX. or X.; G Codex Harleianus, Century IX. or X.; H Codex Hamburgensis, Century IX. or X.; K Codex Cyprius, Century IX.; L Codex Regius Parisiensis, Century VIII.; M Codex Campianus, Century IX. or X.; S Codex Vaticanus, No. 354, A.D. 949; U Codex Venetus Marcianus, Century IX. or X.; X Codex Monacensis, Century IX. or X.; Y a fragment in the Barberini Library at Rome, Century VIII. or IX.; Γ Codex Tischendorfianus IV., A.D. 844; Δ Codex San-Gallensis, Century IX.; Λ Codex Oxoniensis, Century VIII. or IX.; Π Codex Petropolitanus, Century IX.

Four important Cursives are: 1 Codex Basileensis, Century X.; 33 Codex Colbertinus (called the "Queen of the Cursives"), Century XI.; 69 Codex Leicestrensis, Century XIV.; γ-scr, a valuable evangelisterium of Century XII, collated by F. H. Scrivener.

The critical Greek Testaments cited are: Tisch. Tischendorf's Eighth edition, 1869; Ti. Tischendorf's Seventh edition, 1859 (cited only where it *differs* from Tisch.); Tr. Tregelles's, 1860; Alf. Alford's Sixth edition, 1868; Ln. Lachmann's 1842; Wd. Wordsworth's Sixth edition, 1868; ⲥ the commonly called Received Text; ⲥ<sup>a</sup> errors (or corrections?) in American and Mill's editions.

In the digest the word "with" is used in a technical and double sense, referring to codices it signifies "by authority of," and to Greek Testaments, "in company with." mg., a marginal reading equal to that in the text; rel., reliqui, which is used exhaustively for all MSS. not cited for some other reading; txt., text. A \* after a MS. signifies an original reading which has been corrected by a later hand. Where two hands in a MS. agree against a third, it is expressed as in verse 11, where the second and third hands of B and the first and third of Π omit καὶ before ἡμεῖς; and the first of B and second of Π insert it.

- 1 Ταῦτα ἐλάλησεν [ὁ] Ἰησοῦς, καὶ ἐπάρας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς  
αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, εἶπεν· Πάτερ, ἐλήλυθεν ἡ ὥρα· δόξα-  
2 σόν σου τὸν υἱὸν ἵνα ὁ υἱὸς δοξάσῃ σέ· καθὼς ἔδωκας  
αὐτῷ ἐξουσίαν πάσης σαρκός, ἵνα πᾶν ὃ δέδωκας αὐτῷ δώσῃ  
3 αὐτοῖς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. αὕτη δέ ἐστιν ἡ αἰώνιος ζωή, ἵνα  
γινώσκωσιν σέ τὸν μόνον ἀληθινὸν θεὸν καὶ ὃν ἀπέστειλας  
4 Ἰησοῦν χριστόν. ἐγὼ σε ἐδόξασα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, τὸ ἔργον

Verse 1. *ελαλησεν* with ABCDEFGHKLMSUXYΓΔΔΠ 1 33 69  
ς and all the critical texts . . . . *λελαληκεν* **N** γ-scr ——— ο *Ιησους*  
with ACDL rel. Tr. Ti. Alf. Ln. Wd. **ς** . . . . omit ο **NB** Tisch.  
From the apparent caprice with which the MSS. insert or reject  
the article before *Ιησους*, throughout John, it is exceedingly doubtful  
whether it should be inserted here; accordingly it is enclosed within  
brackets. ——— *επαρας* and *ειπεν* with **NBC\*DL**Mmg. X 1 33 69  
Tisch. Tr. Alf. Ln. . . . . *επηρε* and *και ειπεν* AC<sup>3</sup>Y rel. Ti. Wd. **ς** . . . .  
*ειπεν* omitting *και* G ——— *ινα* without *και* with **NABC\*D** 1 and  
all the critical texts . . . . *ινα και* C<sup>2</sup>LXY 33 69 rel. **ς** ——— ο *υιος*  
without *σου* with **NBC\*—<sup>2</sup>** Tisch. Tr. . . . . ο *υιος σου* AC<sup>3</sup>DLY rel.  
Ln. Wd. **ς** Alf. [σου] . . . . omits ο K. ——— For *δοξαση* HMAΔ 33  
read *δοξασει*.

2. Omits *αυτω* after *εδωκας* 69 ——— *παν ο δεδωκας* with **NABCD**  
LY rel. and all the critical texts . . . . *εδωκας* EGHKSΔΔΠ. ———  
*δωση* with **N<sup>c</sup>ACX** 33 rel. Tisch. Tr.-txt. Ln. Wd. **ς** . . . . *δωσει* B  
EHUYΓΔΔΠ 1 69 Tr.-mg. Ti. Alf. (to avoid the subj. fut.?) . . . .  
*δως* L . . . . *εχη* (without *αυτοις*) D . . . . *δωσω* **N\*** ——— For *αυτοις* **N\***  
1\* read *αυτω*.

3. Omits *δε* L. ——— *γινωσκωσιν* with **NBCXII** rel. (Γ-*σκοσιν*)  
Tr.-mg. Alf. Ln. Wd. **ς** . . . . *γινωσκουσιν* ADGLYΔΔ 33 Tisch. Tr.-  
txt. ——— *μονον* after *αληθινον* 69 ——— After *χριστον* D adds *εις*  
*τουτον τον κοσμον*.

- 1 These things spake Jesus, and having lifted up his eyes to  
heaven, said: Father, the hour has come; glorify thy Son that  
2 the Son may glorify thee; as thou gavest him power over all  
flesh, that all which thou hast given him, he might give to them  
3 life eternal. And this is that eternal life, that they might know  
thee the only true God, and him thou sentest, Jesus Christ.



τελειώσας ὁ δέδωκάς μοι ἵνα ποιήσω· καὶ νῦν δόξασόν 5  
 με σὺ πάτερ παρὰ σεαυτῷ τῇ δόξῃ ἣ εἶχον πρὸ τοῦ τὸν  
 κόσμον εἶναι παρὰ σοί. ἐφάνέρωσά σου τὸ ὄνομα τοῖς 6  
 ἀνθρώποις οὓς ἔδωκάς μοι ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου· σοὶ ἦσαν καὶ  
 ἐμοὶ αὐτοὺς ἔδωκας, καὶ τὸν λόγον σου τετήρηκαν. νῦν 7

4. Before το εργον D prefixes καὶ ——— τελειώσας with **ἈΒCΛΠ** 1 33 Tisch. Tr. Alf. Ln. . . . . ετελειωσα **DXΥΓΔ** rel. Tr.-mg. Ti. Wd. 5 ——— δέδωκας with **ἈΒLXYΔ** 33 rel. and all the critical texts. . . . εδωκας **CDKΠ** ——— For μοι **Ν\*** reads με ——— After ποιησω U adds αυτο.

5. For πατερ D\* reads πατηρ ——— For η **Ν\*** reads ην. . . . 69 omits η ——— The final clause reads in D\* παρα σοι προ του γενεσθαι τον κοσμον and D<sup>2</sup> παρα σοι προ του τον κοσμον γενεσθαι.

6. For σου το ονομα D reads το ονομα σου ——— ους εδωκας with **ἈABDKΠ** Tisch. Tr.-txt. Ln. . . . . ους δεδωκας **CLXY** rel. Tr.-mg. Ti. Alf. Wd. 5 ——— καὶ εμοι with **ἈACDLX** rel. Tisch. Alf. Ln. Wd. 5 . . . . καμοι **BY** 1 33 Tr. Ti. ——— For αυτους L reads αυτοις ——— αυτους εδωκας with **ἈABDK(L)Π** 1 Tisch. Tr. Ln. . . . . αυτους δεδωκας **CXYΔ** 33 69 rel. Ti. Alf. Wd. 5 ——— τετηρηκαν with **BDL** Tisch. Tr. Alf. Ln. . . . . τετηρηκασιν **ACXY** rel. Wd. 5 . . . . ετηρησαν **Ν** 33.

7. εγνωκαν with **(A)BCDLY** rel. Tisch. Tr.-txt. Alf. Ln. Wd. 5 . . . . εγνωσαν **UX** 33 69 . . . . εγνωκασιν **S** . . . . εγνων **Ν** . . . . omit νυν **εγ**. **Λ\*** . . . . νυν εγνωκα οτι Tr.-mg. with **A(?)** [**A** reads εγνωκά. About this line over the final α Woide remarks: "Super α tenuis admodum lineola cernitur." Tregelles says: "Forsitan a posteriori manu addita est." Tischendorf replies: "Sed fortior esset, si posteriore manu suppleta esset."] ——— δέδωκας with **ἈCDLXYΔ** rel. Tisch. Tr.-txt. Alf. Wd. 5 . . . . εδωκας **A** (**B-κες**) 1 Ln. . . . . Tr.-mg. εδωκας and εδωκες ——— For σου **X** 69 γ-scr. read σοι ——— εισιν with **ἈBCLXY** 33 Tisch. Tr. Alf. . . . . εστιν **ADGHKMΔ** rel. Ln. Wd. 5

I glorified thee on the earth, having finished the work which 4  
 thou hast given me to do. And now glorify thou me, Father, 5  
 with thine own self, with the glory which I was wont to have  
 with thee before the world was. I manifested thy name to the 6  
 men whom thou gavest me out of the world; thine they were  
 and thou gavest me them, and they have kept thy word. Now 7  
 have they known that all things, even as many as thou hast given

- 8 ἔγνωσαν ὅτι πάντα ὅσα δέδωκάς μοι παρὰ σοῦ εἰσίν· ὅτι  
τὰ ῥήματα ἃ ἔδωκάς μοι δέδωκα αὐτοῖς, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔλαβον  
καὶ ἔγνωσαν ἀληθῶς ὅτι παρὰ σοῦ ἐξῆλθον καὶ ἐπίστευσαν  
9 ὅτι σύ με ἀπέστειλας. ἐγὼ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐρωτῶ· οὐ περὶ  
τοῦ κόσμου ἐρωτῶ ἀλλὰ περὶ ὧν δέδωκάς μοι, ὅτι σοί εἰσιν,  
10 καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ πάντα σὰ ἐστίν καὶ τὰ σὰ ἐμὰ, καὶ δεδοξασμαι  
11 ἐν αὐτοῖς. καὶ οὐκ ἔτι εἰμὶ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, καὶ οὗτοι ἐν τῷ  
κόσμῳ εἰσίν, καὶ ἐγὼ πρὸς σὲ ἔρχομαι. πάτερ ἅγιε, τήρησον

8. After *ρηματα* D adds *σου*——For α Π\* reads *οσα*——*εδω-*  
*κας* with A(B)CDΠ\* Tisch. Tr.-txt. Alf. Ln....*εδωκες* B Tr.-mg.  
...*δεδοκας* N LXYP<sup>2</sup> rel. Wd. 5——*και εγνωσαν αληθως* with  
N<sup>c</sup>BCLXYΔ rel. Tisch. Tr. Alf. Wd. 5...omit *και εγνωσαν* N\*AD  
hence Ln. has [*και εγνωσαν*]——For *επιστευσαν* N\* has *επιστευ-*  
*σας*...Y repeats *και επιστευσαν*——For *συ* L reads *σοι* (itacism).

9. For *δεδωκας* D reads *εδωκας*——For *σοι* H reads *συ*  
(itacism).

10. For *και τα εμα παντα σα εστιν και τα σα εμα* N reads *και εμοι*  
*αντους εδωκας* from verse 6——For *και τα* L reads *κατα*——  
After *σα εμα* D adds *εστιν*——For *δεδοξασμαι* N reads *δεδοξασμε*  
(itacism) and D *εδοξασας με*.

11. *ειμι* after *κοσμω* A(K)...for *ειμι* K reads *εισιν*....to *τω*  
*κοσμω* D prefixes *τουτω*——*ουτοι* with ACDLX rel. Tr. Ti. Alf.  
Ln. Wd. 5...*αντοι* N B Tisch. Certainly subjectively preferable to  
*ουτοι*——*καγω* with NBC\*DLX 1 33 Tisch. Tr. Alf. Ln....*και*  
*εγω* AC<sup>3</sup>YTΔΠ rel. Wd. 5——After *ερχομαι* D adds *ουκ ετι ειμι εν*  
*τω κοσμω και εν τω κοσμω ειμι*——For *πατερ* B reads *πατηρ*——  
After *ονοματι σου* D adds *και οτε ημην μετ αυτων* (D<sup>2</sup> adds *εν τω κοσμω*)  
*εγω ετηρουν αντους εν τω ονοματι σου* which it also repeats in verse 12.

- 8 me, are of thee; for the words which thou gavest me have I  
given them, and they received *them*, and knew surely that I  
came out from thee, and they believed that thou sentest me.  
9 I am pleading for them; I am not pleading for the world, but  
10 for those whom thou hast given me, for they are thine; and all  
mine are thine and thine mine, and I have been glorified in  
11 them. And I am no longer in the world and these are in the  
world, and I am coming to thee. Holy Father, keep them  
through that name of thine which thou hast given me, that they

αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου ᾧ δέδωκάς μοι, ἵνα ὦσιν ἐν καθῶς  
 ἡμεῖς. ὅτε ἤμην μετ' αὐτῶν ἐγὼ ἐτήρουν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ 12  
 ὀνόματί σου ᾧ δέδωκάς μοι, καὶ ἐφύλαξα, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐξ αὐτῶν  
 ἀπώλετο, εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας, ἵνα ἡ γραφὴ πληρωθῇ.  
 νῦν δὲ πρὸς σέ ἔρχομαι, καὶ ταῦτα λαλῶ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ 13  
 ἵνα ἔχωσιν τὴν χαρὰν τὴν ἐμὴν πεπληρωμένην ἐν ἑαυτοῖς.  
 ἐγὼ δέδωκα αὐτοῖς τὸν λόγον σου, καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἐμίσησεν 14

——— ω with **ⲁBCEGHKLMSTYΓΔΔΠ** 1 33 and all the critical texts . . . . ο **D\*UX** . . . . ους **D²** 69 **ς** ——— δεδωκας with **ABCD** rel. and all the critical texts . . . . εδωκας **ⲁLM** ——— καθως ημεις with **ⲁB²-³CDLXΠ\*³** 1 33 rel. Tisch. Alf. Ln. Wd. **ςᵃ** . . . . καθως και ημεις **B\*MSUYΠ²** 69 Tr. Ti. **ς** ——— After ημεις X adds εν . . . . 33 εν εσμεν.

12. ημην with **ⲁADL** rel. and all the critical texts . . . . ημεν **B** . . . . ημιν (itacism) **Η\*ΓΛ** . . . . οτεμη **C** ——— After μετ αυτων add εν τω κοσμω (from verse 11) **AC³XYΓΔΔΠ** rel. Wd. **ς** . . . . text omits with **ⲁBC\*DL** 1 Tisch. Tr. Alf. Ln. ——— To ονοματι **ⲁ\*** adds κ. ——— ω with **BC\*L** 33 Tisch. Tr. Alf. . . . ους **AC³DXYΔ** 1 69 rel. Ln. Wd. **ς** . . . . ο **ⲁᶜ** ——— Omits ω δεδωκας μοι **ⲁ\*** ——— For δεδωκας **C** reads εδωκας ——— και before εφυλαξα with **ⲁBC\*L** 33 Tisch. Tr. Alf. Ln. [και] . . . . omit και **AC³DY** rel. Wd. **ς** ——— For εφυλαξα (**ⲁᶜ**) **ⲁ\*** reads εφυλασσον ——— For απωλετο **ΚΓ** read απολετο ——— For απωλειας **XYΔ** read απωλιας.

13. Before τω κοσμω **D** prefixes τουτω ——— For πεπληρωμενην **ⲁ\*** reads πεπληρωκεινην ——— εαυτοις with **ⲁABXΠ** (but the ε is added above the αυτοις in **ⲁ** by the *prima manus*) Tisch. Tr. Alf. . . . αυτοις **C³DLYΓΔΔ** 69\* rel. Ti. Ln. Wd. **ς** . . . . επ αυτοις 69 corrector ¹ . . . . εν ταις καρδιαις εαυτων **C\*.**

14. In **D** the first clause reads εγω δε εδωκα τον λογον σου εν αυτοις ——— For εμισησεν **D** reads μεισει ——— After εισιν εκ **D** adds

may be one even as we. When I was with them, I was wont to 12  
 keep them through that name of thine which thou hast given me,  
 and I watched over *them*, and no one of them is lost, except the  
 son of perdition, that the scripture might be fulfilled. But now 13  
 I am coming to thee, and I am saying these things in the world  
 that they may have my joy fulfilled in their own selves. I have 14  
 given them thy word, and the world hated them, because they

αὐτούς, ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου καθὼς ἐγὼ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐκ  
 15 τοῦ κόσμου. οὐκ ἐρωτῶ ἵνα ἄρῃς αὐτούς ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου,  
 16 ἀλλ' ἵνα τηρήσῃς αὐτούς ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ. ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου  
 17 οὐκ εἰσὶν καθὼς ἐγὼ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου. ἀγία-  
 σον αὐτούς ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ· ὁ λόγος ὁ σὸς [ῆ] ἀλήθειά ἐστιν.  
 18 καθὼς ἐμὲ ἀπέστειλας εἰς τὸν κόσμον καὶ γὰρ ἀπέστειλα  
 19 αὐτούς εἰς τὸν κόσμον· καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐγὼ ἀγιάζω ἐμ-

τουτου—— καθως εγω with  $\aleph^c$  ABCL rel. and all the critical texts  
 ....omit εγω  $\aleph^*$ ....omit καθως εγω ουκ ειμι εκ του κοσμου DII\* 69  
 ....M y-scr. place ουκ ειμι after κοσμου.

15. This verse and the 16th are omitted in 33, by homoioteleuton: the copyist's eye passing from *εκ του κοσμου* at the end of verse 14 to *εκ του κοσμου* at the end of verse 16.—— From *ουκ* to *κοσμου* inclusive is omitted in Y; and some other MSS. make blunders in this verse, B\* omitting *εκ του κοσμου αλλ ινα τηρησης αυτους* which B<sup>3</sup> supplies on the margin. B\* makes other mistakes here. However see Tischendorf's *Novum Testamentum Vaticanum* for a full description. Alford also has a good explanation.—— For *αρης* K reads *αρεις* and UA *αρις* (itacisms).

16. After *εκ* D adds *τουτου*—— For *εγω* D 69 read *καγω*—— *ουκ ειμι* before *εκ του κοσμου* with  $\aleph$  ABCDLX [ $\Delta$  33 also in Alf.] Tisch. Tr. Alf. Ln. Wd....after *κοσμου* EMYΓΔΔΠ rel. 5.

17.  $\Delta$  prefixes *πατερ αγιε*—— Omits *τη* B—— *αληθεια* without *σου* with  $\aleph^*$  (but  $\aleph^*$  omits from *αληθεια* to *αληθεια* by homoioteleuton and  $\aleph^c$  supplies it) ABC\*DLII<sup>2</sup> 1 Tisch. Tr. Alf. Ln. .... add *σου*  $\aleph^c$  C<sup>3</sup>XYΓΔΔΠ\* rel. Ti. Wd. 5—— *η αληθεια* with B ....omit *η*  $\aleph$  ACDLX rel. Tisch. Tr. Alf. Ln. Wd. 5.

18. Before *τον κοσμον* D prefixes *τουτον* both times—— For *απεστειλα*  $\Lambda^*$  reads *αποστειλα*—— From *καγω* to *κοσμον* inclusive B\* repeats: B<sup>3</sup> corrects the repetition.

15 are not of the world even as I am not of the world. I do not plead that thou shouldest take them out of the world, but that  
 16 thou shouldest keep them from the evil one. They are not  
 17 of the world even as I am not of the world. Sanctify them  
 18 through the truth: thy word is [the] truth. As thou sentest me into the world, even so sent I them into the world; and  
 19 for their sakes I am sanctifying mine own self, that they also

αὐτόν, ἵνα ὧσιν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡγιασμένοι ἐν ἀληθείᾳ. οὐ περὶ 20  
 τούτων δὲ ἐρωτῶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῶν πιστευόντων  
 διὰ τοῦ λόγου αὐτῶν εἰς ἐμέ, ἵνα πάντες ἐν ὧσιν, καθὼς 21  
 σὺ πάτερ ἐν ἐμοὶ καὶ ἐγὼ ἐν σοί, ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἡμῖν [ἐν]  
 ὧσιν, ἵνα ὁ κόσμος πιστεύῃ ὅτι σὺ με ἀπέστειλας. καὶ ἐγὼ 22  
 τὴν δόξαν ἣν δέδωκάς μοι δέδωκα αὐτοῖς, ἵνα ὧσιν ἐν καθὼς  
 ἡμεῖς ἐν. ἐγὼ ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ σὺ ἐν ἐμοί, ἵνα ὧσιν τετελε- 23

19. *εγω* before *αγιαζω* with BCDLXY 1 33 69 rel. Tr. Ti. Alf. Wd. 5 Ln. [*εγω*] . . . omit *εγω* NA Tisch. ——— *ωσιν και αυτοι* with NABC\*DKLXYΠ 1 33 69 Tisch. Tr. Alf. Ln. Wd. . . . *και αυτοι ωσιν* C<sup>3</sup>ΓΔΔ rel. 5.

20. Before *των πιστευοντων* XII 1 prefix παντων ——— πιστευοντων NABCD\*EGHKILMSUXYΓΔΔΠ 1 33 69 Tisch. Tr. Alf. Ln. Wd. Bloomfield, Candy, Griesbach, Scholz . . . πιστευουσιν D<sup>2</sup> 5 . . . some cursives have *πεπιστευκοτων* ——— Omit *δια του λογου αυτων* Δ.

21. After *παντες* omit *εν* C\* ——— For *συ* Δ reads *σοι* (itacism) ——— *πατερ* with NACELXYΓΔΔΠ 1 33 69 rel. Ln. Wd. 5 . . . *πατηρ* BD Tisch. Tr. Alf. ——— *εν ημιν εν ωσιν* with NAC<sup>3</sup>LXYΓΔΔΠ rel. Wd. 5 . . . Text brackets *εν* with Ln. since it is omitted by BC\*D Tisch. Tr. Alf. It is probably a very ancient gloss, and should be omitted. ——— Before *ο κόσμος* 1 prefixes *και* ——— *πιστευη* with N\*BC\* Tisch. Tr.-txt . . . *πιστευση* N<sup>c</sup>AC<sup>3</sup>DLXY rel. Tr.-mg. Ti. Alf. Ln. Wd. 5.

22. *καγω* with NBC\*DLUX 1 33 Tisch. Tr. Alf. Ln. . . . *και εγω* AC<sup>3</sup>YΔΔΠ 69 rel. Wd. 5 ——— *δεδωκας* with NBCLXYΔ 1 33 69 rel. Tisch. Tr.-txt. Alf. Wd. 5 . . . *εδωκας* ADUΠ Tr.-mg. Ln. ——— *δεδωκα* with BCDLXYΔ rel. and all the critical texts . . . *εδωκα* NAKMΠ ——— Before first *εν* D prefixes *το* ——— *καθως ημεις εν* with ABCDLX rel. and all the critical texts . . . omit *εν* N ——— After *εν* add *εσμεν* N<sup>c</sup>AC<sup>3</sup>XYΔ rel. Ln. Wd. 5 . . . text omits with N\*BC\*DL 1 33 Tisch. Tr. Alf.

23. D has first clause *συ εν εμοι καγω εν αυτοις* ——— For *εις εν* D may be sanctified in truth. I do not plead for these alone, 20 but also for those who believe on me through their word, that 21 they may all be one, as thou, Father, art in me and I in thee, that they also may be [one] in us, that the world may believe that thou sentest me. And the glory which thou hast given me 22 have I given them, that they may be one even as we are one.



ωμένοι εἰς ἐν, ἵνα γινώσκῃ ὁ κόσμος ὅτι σύ με ἀπέστειλας  
 24 καὶ ἡγάπησας αὐτοὺς καθὼς ἐμὲ ἡγάπησας. πάτερ, ὃ  
 δέδωκάς μοι θέλω ἵνα ὅπου εἰμὶ ἐγὼ κἀκεῖνοι ὧσιν μετ' ἐμοῦ,  
 ἵνα θεωρῶσιν τὴν δόξαν τὴν ἐμήν, ἣν δέδωκάς μοι ὅτι ἡγά-  
 25 πησάς με πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου. πάτερ δίκαιε, καὶ  
 ὁ κόσμος σε οὐκ ἔγνω, ἐγὼ δέ σε ἔγνω, καὶ οὗτοι ἔγνωσαν  
 26 ὅτι σύ με ἀπέστειλας, καὶ ἐγνώρισα αὐτοῖς τὸ ὄνομά  
 σου καὶ γνωρίσω, ἵνα ἡ ἀγάπη ἣν ἡγάπησάς με ἐν αὐτοῖς  
 ᾗ καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς.

reads εἰς το ἐν ——— Second ἵνα without καὶ with BCDLX 33 69  
 Tisch. Tr. Alf. Ln. . . . καὶ ἵνα (X)AYΓΔΔΠ (1) rel. Wd. 5 . . .  
 omit ἵνα X 1 ——— For γινώσκῃ HKΓA read γινώσκει (itacism)  
 ——— For first ἡγαπησας D reads ἡγαπησα ——— For ἐμε D  
 reads σὺ με

24. πάτερ with XCDLXYΓ rel. Wd. 5 . . . . πατήρ AB Tisch. Tr.  
 Alf. Ln. ——— ο before δέδωκας with XBD Tisch. Tr.-txt. Alf. . . .  
 οὺς ACLXYΔA rel. Tr.-mg. Ln. Wd. 5 ——— First δέδωκας with X  
 BCDLXYΓΔΔΠ\*<sup>-3</sup> rel. Tisch. Tr. Alf. Wd. 5 . . . . ἐδωκας AΠ<sup>2</sup> Ln.  
 (by error). ——— κἀκεῖνοι with XBCDLXYΔΠ<sup>2</sup> rel. Tisch. Tr. Alf.  
 Ln. Wd. 5<sup>a</sup> . . . . καὶ ἐκεῖνοι AKYΠ\*5 ——— For θεωρῶσιν G reads  
 θεωρησῶσιν ——— D omits τὴν ἐμήν ——— ἣν δέδωκας with XACDH  
 LMUXΔΠ<sup>2</sup> 1 33 69 Tisch. Tr.-txt. Alf. Ln. Wd. . . . ἣν ἐδωκας  
 BEGKSYΠ\* rel. Tr.-mg. 5

25. πάτερ with XCDLXYΔ rel. Wd. 5 . . . . πατήρ AB Tisch. Tr.  
 Alf. Ln. ——— D omits first καὶ ——— Το κόσμος D adds τουτος *sic*  
 ——— A omits σε before ἔγνω ——— For ἔγνω D reads ἐγνώκα  
 ——— 69 omits καὶ οὗτοι ἐγνώσαν.

26. For ἦν D reads ἦ ——— For με X reads αὐτοὺς.

23 I in them and thou in me, that they may be perfected into one,  
 that the world may know that thou sentest me and lovedst  
 24 them even as thou lovedst me. Father, that which thou hast  
 given me I will that where I am there they also may be with  
 me, that they may behold my glory, which thou hast given me  
 because thou lovedst me before the foundation of the world.  
 25 Righteous Father, and yet the world knew thee not, but I knew  
 26 thee, and these knew that thou sentest me; I also manifested  
 to them thy name, and will manifest *it*, that the love wherewith  
 thou lovedst me may be in them and I in them.

## NOTE ON JOHN I. 18.

In 1860 Tischendorf issued a little work of one hundred and twenty-four pages, entitled *Notitia Editionis Codicis Bibliorum Sinaitici*, that scholars could have some notion of what might be expected, in the magnificent edition in fac-simile type, published in 1862, under the auspices of the Emperor of Russia. From an error in these *Notitia*, the Codex Sinaiticus has been cited as corrected to read *μονογενης υιος* in John i. 18. In the American Presbyterian Review for October 1870, Rev. Dr. Philip Schaff cites “*ℵ\*\** (The Sinait. MS. as corrected)” for *υιος*. The codex reads *θεος* only, and the word *has suffered no correction whatever*, as is shown by a tracing of the whole line as found in the seventeenth table of photo-lithographed fac-similes, in the first volume of the great edition — that containing the Prolegomena and corrections. The line reads :

NOΓENHCΘCΕΙC<sup>←oωNℵ</sup>Τ

Tischendorf is in doubt who added the *o ων* above *εις*, but thinks it probably was a corrector of Century VI., whom he designates *ℵ<sup>b</sup>* in his digest. *ℵ<sup>c</sup>* prefixed *o* to *μονογενης*, but no corrector, even down to Century XII, touched *θεος*, nor did either of the two correctors of Cod. B. Tischendorf's eighth edition retains *υιος*, but cites no correction of *ℵ* in its favor, as it assuredly would did such correction exist. The three editions of the Sinaiticus agree in this matter.

The evidence for the two readings is as follows: *μονογενης θεος* is adopted by Tischendorf's *Synoptica Evangelica*, Tregelles, Alford's margin, Lachmann's margin, Westcott, Hort, and others, with *ℵBC\*L 33*; the Peschito Syriac, and Harclean Syriac margin, the Roman edition of the Aethiopic, and the Memphitic versions; and, in the words of F. H. Scrivener, “a host of Fathers,” from the second century downwards. *o μονογενης υιος* is adopted by Tischendorf, Alford's text, Lachmann's text, Wordsworth, Scrivener, Bloomfield, and others, with *AC<sup>3</sup>* (not D, which has an hiatus here), *EFGHIKMSUVXΓΔΔΠ 1 69*; the Harclean text, Curetonian, and Jerusalem Syriac, the Armenian, Platt's Aethiopic, and the Latin versions; and many Fathers. The patristic testimony was fully stated by Mr. Ezra Abbot (the learned Assistant Librarian of Harvard University), in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for October 1861, pages 840–872. But the writer cannot concur with him that the *weight* of evidence supports *o μονογενης υιος*, even though the preponderance of numbers does.

## ARTICLE VI.

METHODS OF PERPETUATING AN INTEREST IN  
HEARING THE GOSPEL.

BY PROF. EDWARDS A. PARK.

ONE of the most suggestive criticisms on the preaching of Paul was made by Luke, when he said that Paul and Barnabas "so spake that a great multitude both of the Jews and also of the Greeks believed." He preached with power. Another criticism made by the same historian on the preaching of Paul is: "When the Jews were gone out of the synagogue, the Gentiles besought that these words might be preached to them the next Sabbath." He spoke not only with power, but also in such a way that his congregation desired to hear him again, and soon. How shall a man preach so as to retain the interest of his hearers in his discourses?

The design of the present Essay is to enumerate some of the methods in which we may perpetuate the interest of men in the preaching of divine truth. Several of these methods have been enumerated in a previous Essay on Power in the Pulpit.<sup>1</sup> The same qualities which make a sermon effective may also make the hearers desire to be addressed again, and yet again, in the same way. There are other qualities, however, which are more distinctively appropriate to the minister's perpetuating an interest in his sermons, than to his making them instinct with power.

The *first* of these methods is that of unfolding the peculiar doctrines of revelation. One of the most active desires of man is the desire of learning what is new. "Did the Almighty," says Lessing, "holding in his right hand *Truth*, and in his left, *Search after truth*, deign to tender me the

<sup>1</sup> Bibliotheca Sacra, Vol. iv. pp. 96-117.

one I might prefer,—in all humility, but without hesitation, I should request *Search after truth.*” Goethe is represented as saying: “I must confess that I should not know what to do with eternal bliss, if it did not offer me new problems and new difficulties to be mastered.” Now, the doctrines of religion not only gratify this ever-growing desire to learn what is new, but they are fitted to retain their freshness of interest; they never become old in the sense of stale. The mind was made for these doctrines. It can never be at entire ease until it is in harmony with them. They exercise the reasoning faculty; they are, indeed, the profoundest themes on which we can task it. They lift up the imagination; for this is the power that delights in doctrines immense and infinite. They grapple with the hopes and fears, the joys and sorrows of man. They arouse his will, and start it on a course which it will pursue with grief or gladness forever and ever. All other sciences are but tributary to the science of the Bible. In illustrating it botany and geology, chemistry and natural history, have their main use. Matter was made for mind. Throughout the material world the same principles are developed which are seen in the spiritual. Physical analogies are ever shadowing forth religious truth, so that men may see and revere it in its symbols. Even astronomy, sublime as it may be in itself, is still like the star in the East, which, when noticed by wise men, directs them to him who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life. It cannot be that doctrines like these shall fail to attract the regard of hearers; for they form the temple around which all other interests are but the scaffolding; and when this is completed for our view the temporary fixtures may be torn down. It is true that the will of man is by nature entirely sinful; but this does not benumb his sensibility to the truth which concerns him, and which rouses him partly because he is entirely sinful. He will cling to the very doctrine which gives him pain. He will press it to his bosom, though it be a fire-brand. If he could expel it from his view, he would feel no remorse; but so

long as the soul endures, it must drink in the truth as the lungs now inhale the air. This truth is the atmosphere of the world of woe. "The keen vibration of bright truth is hell." But, if wrong-minded men do for a time refuse to hear the word of God, right-minded men will continue to love it. They will love it as the aliment of their minds. They will cherish a zeal for every doctrine as it is in itself, and as it is in its relations.

We are often told that theological discourses are necessarily unattractive. Experience has proved, however, that such discourses, even when preached in a regular system, have a peculiar fitness not only to engage, but also to prolong the attention of men. Professor Trendellenberg, of Berlin, generally closes one of his lectures on logic in such a manner as to awaken the desire of his pupils to hear the next one. Dr. Bellamy often ended one of his doctrinal sermons with a sentence which stimulated the curiosity of his hearers in regard to the sermon which was to follow. The doctrines of the gospel are so intertwined with each other that a single thread will conduct an inquirer through all of them. A discourse on the humanity, on the childhood, of Christ prompts the question: "Was he not God?" It is followed by a sermon on the Divinity of Christ, which suggests the query: "How can these things be? Can a man be truly divine?" Then the curiosity of the hearers is gratified by a third sermon — one on the union of the divine and human natures in a single person; and this prompts men to inquire: "For what purpose was this incarnation?" This inquiry suggests a sermon on the atonement, which incites men to ask: "Why is the atonement necessary?" The question is answered in sermons on the sinfulness of man, his exposure to punishment, the nature of the divine justice; and each of these discourses, in its turn, leads the hearers to desire some correlate discussion. Dr. John M. Mason, President Griffin, Dr. Lyman Beecher, were indebted for their continued attractiveness in the pulpit to their continued presentation of religious truths, each one



of which was a link drawing after it various other links of the same chain. It is true that when they preached "some mocked"; but "others said: We will hear" you "again of this matter." Some of their hearers would resolve, when leaving the sanctuary, that they would never enter it again; but the next Sabbath found them in their pews, not so much because they would go there, as because they could not stay away. In one sense the early Methodist preachers, both Calvinistic and Arminian, of England and Wales, were not doctrinal preachers; but in another sense they were eminently such. Their sermons had the two things prescribed by George Herbert—"the one informing, the other inflaming." They reiterated certain great truths of the gospel with marvellous distinctness. They indeed awakened the opposition of ungodly men; but when the Jews were gone out of the synagogue, the Gentiles besought that the same doctrines might be preached to them on the next Sabbath.

A *second* method of securing a permanent interest in the preaching of the gospel is the rational presentation of such truths as are mysterious. There is in man an instinctive love of mystery. Every newspaper aims to excite the interest of its readers by tales of wonder. The popular legends of all tribes are the record of strange feats that arouse the curiosity of listeners. Almost every religion abounds with the incomprehensible. The demand for a theology somewhat mysterious is justified, and therefore strengthened, by reason. We are antecedently to presume that the science of the great God will be in many respects superior to our discernment; and were a system to be so contrived as to exclude all mystery, and reduce everything to the level of our indolent and contracted minds, we should say, at the first inspection, this system cannot be from Jehovah. It does not respect the relation between the infinite and the finite. It wants one collateral sign of truth; it also wants one element of continued power over our minds. That form of preaching which excludes mysteries will never retain the

homage of men.<sup>1</sup> The great principle of awe will not be touched by it. There is a doctrine that all our moral acts are foreknown from eternity. There is another doctrine that all these acts are entirely free. John Locke believed both of these doctrines, but confessed that he could not detect the mode of their union. Many a hearer dislikes to have these truths preached, because he does not comprehend them; but the very fact that he does not comprehend them will humble him, and quicken his desire to search further and to learn more. It is the policy of some physicians to invest all their modes of cure in mystery. Certain forms of medical treatment are indebted for all the efficiency they have to the magic associated with them. They excite the wonder of the patient, and the wonder excites the whole system, and the excitement of the system cures it. To divest, then, our remedies for the moral invalid of all the quickening associations which cluster around a mystery, is to overlook one of the widest avenues through which our influence can pass into the soul.

Still, here is danger of an extreme. We may mistake our own absurdities for incomprehensible truths, and thus, instead of retaining an interest in our discourses as rich with the word of God, we may awaken a contempt for them as idle tales. Doubtless the principle of curiosity should be gratified as far as it is healthful; and when we are eager to shut the door of inquiry, to pronounce everything mysterious which is merely difficult, to forestall investigation by the plea that it can never attain a good end, we overlook the free genius of Protestantism as distinct from Romanism, and we make that appear dull or insipid which ought to appear grand or profound. We should indulge in no such diseased fondness for mysteries as to represent *every* part of a doctrine as unintelligible because *one* part is so. If we are not per-

<sup>1</sup> Rev. N. L. Frothingham, D.D., an eminent Unitarian divine of Boston, while condemning a theory that all sermons delivered in the presence of children should be so plain that the children can understand them, exclaims: "Understand! I am almost weary of the word, when applied, as it often is, to that mighty theme in which the first step is the idea of the infinite God."

mitted to enter the city, we may still go round about her and number her bulwarks and count her towers and consider her palaces. A Protestant divine will make hearers *apprehend* all that *is* plain in the doctrine which as a whole they are unable to *comprehend*. He should make them comprehend some features which imply the existence of other features unintelligible. He will illustrate the difference between the fact which we do understand, in which we do believe, and the modes of the fact which pass our understanding, and with regard to which, as we have no specific apprehension, we have no specific belief. What if we cannot have an idea of a doctrine in some of its relations? That is no reason why we should abstain from preaching it in its other relations. It is a reason why we ought to preach it; for if men see that the veil is partly raised they are the more inquisitive to look behind it; and because they on one Sabbath do not take in all the truth, they will beseech that the same truths be repeated to them the next Sabbath.

A *third* method of retaining the public interest in the ministrations of the sanctuary is that of imparting a cheerfulness to these ministrations. Cheerfulness, not light-mindedness, gives health to the body and is health to the soul. By sorrow of heart is the spirit broken; but he that is of a cheerful, not a trifling, spirit hath a continual feast; for a cheerful heart doeth good like a medicine, but a broken spirit drieth the bones. The mind was made not for levity, but for joy, and can therefore sustain it as the body sustains the superincumbent atmosphere. But a querulous temper and objurgatory tones press like a pillar of lead upon the system, and wear upon it and weigh it down.

The substance of the Old Testament is the same with the substance of the New; but the form is varied, and so varied that while the Old Testament was read in the synagogue every Sabbath-day, the New Testament was not only read, but preached, not only in the synagogue, but on the house-top. Popular discourses were not unknown among the Jews, but they assumed a new prominence among the Christians;

and one reason for the change was, that the Old Testament adapted itself to the altar by its august tones, but the New Testament adapted itself to the pulpit by its glad tidings to the poor. In the Old Testament God is properly represented as a Lawgiver ; in the New, as a Redeemer. Commands were fitly given by Moses ; grace and truth come by Jesus Christ. "Cursed is every one who continueth not in all things written in the book of the law to do them"; thus wisely are we dissuaded from transgression by the prophets ; but we are cheered to obedience by the apostles : "And let us not be weary in well-doing ; for in due season we shall reap if we faint not." The Old Testament exacts a duty of us, and allures us to the duty as a privilege ; but the New Testament so far as it differs from the Old in this regard, allures us to the privilege, and in a less prominent form exacts it as a duty. Paul takes it for granted that "sin shall not have dominion over" us, because we "are not under the law but under grace." John assumes that we cannot sin, because we are born of God. Now it is always a comfortable mode of taking an admonition, to be assured that virtue is expected of us, and that we of *course* will walk as wise men. The apostles give the reason for the mandate which they impose ; the prophets utter the inflexible statute often without assigning for its observance any other argument than "The soul that sinneth it shall die." True, the statute viewed in itself is holy and just and good ; but we are enlivened by the reasonable words which recommend it, and by the promises of grace which diffuse a radiance around it. True, there is a *law* involved in the gospel ; there is an *obligation* imposed by it, mightier than that imposed by the tables of stone ; but where the mandate abounds, grace superabounds ; and the atonement of Christ inspires men who have heard something of it to long after yet more of it ; for even the angels desire to look into it, and it no more fatigues the mind of an invalid than it enfeebles the mind of an athlete. We have read of a lunatic asylum in Europe, that its inmates were suddenly seized with a passion for cutting and bruising their own

bodies ; and their superintendent recited to them the narrative of their Redeemer's grace, and they yielded at once to their keeper, and, as if the old miracle of healing the demoniacs had been renewed, they were clothed and seemed to be in their right mind. It is the soothing voice of Calvary, mellowed by the lapse of ages, that speaks peace to our souls maddened by sin. Frantic as the heart is, it opens to the insinuating influence of good will.

And what is true of the doctrines of the gospel is true likewise of its institutions. The Jewish day of rest was prescribed, and the profanation of the day was condemned in fearful terms ; but the Christian Sabbath is not hedged about with threatenings that we shall be stoned for violating it. The apostles assumed that one who is redeemed by the blood of Christ will be in the spirit on the Lord's day ; they took it for granted, that every man who has been honored by a union with the Son of God will leap for joy at the opportunity of keeping a high jubilee on the morning when that Man of sorrows rose from the tomb. We are often condemned by our trans-Atlantic brethren for insisting on the strict observance of the Christian Sabbath. We confess to no wrong in demanding this duty. The stillness of the day is needed for the efficacy of the word preached. Men must withdraw their minds for a few hours from secular associations before they will be prepared for the influences of the pulpit. On a day of still devotion the words of God have a power which they cannot have on a day of pastime. The merchant will not love the service of the sanctuary, if his warehouse is to remain open until the service begins, and to be opened as soon as the service ends. The votary of pleasure will become more and more impatient of this service, if he can pass from the church to the theatre, and if the chanting of the choir is the prelude to the performance of the opera. But after all we should meditate more on the elevated joys of the Sabbath ; on its agreement with the nature of the soul and with the structure of society ; on its fitnesses to promote the earthly and the spiritual good of men, and to please him who de-



serves this memorial day of his resurrection, than on the fact that the observance of the Jewish institution was enforced by severe penalties. While we must not fail to insist on the *spirit* of the law which requires the observance of the first day, we must dwell and linger on the beauties of this type of the Redeemer's glory; on the graces of this emblem of our everlasting rest; we must make the Lord's day one of delight, and men will beseech that the same things be spoken unto them on the next Sabbath.

If the Lord's supper had been a Jewish institution, the mode of administering it might have been minutely described. The bread must have been of a specified quality; the wine must have been of a particular age or flavor; the attitudes of the communicant must have been after this particular fashion. But now we are invited to the festival; we are attracted to the hour of good cheer. "This do in remembrance of me," sounds like a kind permission to celebrate the love of our lost friend. The principle of the ordinance, the soul of it, is put foremost; and gives it a joyful aspect, and the ceremonials of it, which make it burdensome, are left in a large degree to the freedom of our choice. "You remember and admire," says Mr. Coleridge, "the saying of an old divine, that a ceremony duly initiated is a chain of gold around the neck of faith; but if in the wish to make it co-essential and consubstantial, you draw it closer and closer, it may strangle the faith it was meant to deck and designate."<sup>1</sup> The pulpit of the Romish church is monopolized by the enforcement of prescriptions; so it leaves the hearers like prodigal children pining away on husks. But the Protestant theme is the love of Christ; for the more we hear of that love so much the more do we long to learn of it, and it may be that on every communion Sabbath the angels of God are more curious than we are to comprehend the sacrament which shadows forth the atoning love of Jesus.

We should be glad to illustrate more fully than the limits of this Essay allow, the importance of making the Lord's

<sup>1</sup> Coleridge's Works, Vol. i. pp. 338, 339.

supper a *festival of joy*, of irradiating Christian baptism with a gladsome spirit, and of making the general services of the sanctuary as exhilarating as their fitnesses allow. It has been often asked : What is the nature of the magnet by which Mr. Spurgeon of London draws five or six thousand auditors to his Tabernacle twice on every Sabbath, year after year ; two thousand communicants to the Lord's table once every month, and four or five hundred on almost every Sabbath. The secret of his attractiveness lies partly in the fact that he preaches the doctrines of the gospel ; he holds up the hard as well as the easy doctrines ; he leaves such relations of them in the realm of mystery as he thinks ought to be left there ; and he seems to be in love with the work which the Lord has given him to do. He offers the opening prayer as a man who delights in communion with his Redeemer ; he reads the introductory hymn from " Our own Hymn Book " with the glad tones which are appropriate to its well-nigh festive spirit ; he comments on the scriptures as he recites them in the style of a lover ; and he delivers his sermon as if the pulpit were what George Herbert says it should be — " his joy and his throne " ; he ends his service with the hopeful prayer " That our feet may be like hinds' feet, ever climbing up higher and higher toward heaven." His Tabernacle is not a tomb for a dead Saviour, but a palace in which the risen Redeemer reigns ; it is not darkened for the enactment of a sacrifice, but is cheering with the light of heaven ; he can *see* the interest manifested by the men with whom he holds converse in his sermon, and they can *see* the smile on his face ; they are not behind pillars nor at a frigid distance from him, but all around him, higher than he and lower, before him and behind him. Thousands of them blend their voices with his in song, and are gladdened with his silver voice as it utters one or another of his favorite sentiments : " Birds," he says, " extol the Creator in notes of overflowing joy, the cattle low forth his praise with tumult of happiness, and the fish leap up in his worship with excess of delight. Moloch may be worshipped with shrieks of pain ;

but he, whose name is Love, is best pleased with the holy mirth and sanctified gladness of his people; daily rejoicing is an ornament to the Christian character, and a suitable robe for God's choristers to wear; God loveth a *cheerful* giver, whether it be the gold of his purse or the gold of his mouth which he presents upon his altar; 'I will sing praise to thy name, O thou, Most High.'"

We can do little more than allude to a *fourth* method of perpetuating the interest of men in the services of the sanctuary: the preacher should aim to produce an immediate and a visible result. Men are more affected by what is near than by what is far removed, and are more stimulated by the prospect of a visible good than by the hope for an advantage which they will never recognize. We have been condemned for adhering to the Puritan usage of drawing a line between the church and the world. The opposers of Puritanism do not classify the friends of Christ as a peculiar people. All their worshippers are baptized, all come to the communion table, all are addressed as heirs of bliss, all expect to be honored as saints at their burial. But the Puritan system distinguishes the open friends of Christ from his foes. The minister stands at the boundary line of the church, and cries aloud: "Who is on the Lord's side? Let him cross the line, separate himself from the world, contend for the faith. *Now* is the accepted time; choose *this day*, *this hour*, *this minute*, whom you will serve. *Hasten* to the city of refuge, linger not in all the plain; thy Judge will come quickly, and in the twinkling of an eye it may be too late." The effect of this biblical energy of appeal is seen at once. Men are interested in having something to do. They are inspirited in having something to do. They have an instinct for work, as well as an instinct for knowledge. In blessing men God in his sovereignty regards their instincts. The success attending the exhortations which he prescribes is the means of still further success. The renewal of one mind affects other minds by the power of sympathy. The growth of the church, as of a garden, gladdens the eye, and the sight of growth

exhilarates all the powers of the spiritual husbandman. Such was the enthusiasm enkindled by Paul. Not only did the Gentiles beseech him to discourse again on the same theme ; but “ when the congregation was broken up many of the Jews and religious proselytes followed ” him ; “ and the next Sabbath-day came almost the *whole city together* to hear the word of God.”

But a *fifth* mode of securing a permanent interest in the ministrations of the sanctuary, is to diversify the course of our teaching. While we should leave the hearers beseeching for the same things on the next Sabbath, we should be careful not always to give them the same things. We may give them the same things in the genus although not in the species. They ask for silver and we offer them gold. One man retains ten degrees of influence over another by not using more than eight degrees ; and a preacher retains the interest of his hearers in one truth by unfolding to them another. The most charming melody when repeated very often, begins to annoy us. Travellers are delighted for a few days with a landscape which becomes wearisome when they are confined to it for many weeks. Often does the voyager, after admiring the vastness of the ocean, begin to sicken at the dead waste of waters, and long for a tempest to break up the monotony of the expanse. No single muscle of our framework will endure a protracted effort ; but by varying the position of the burden we may continue to hold it up for successive hours. To the mind a change of employment is rest. The Sabbath-day becomes a relief, because it is a day not of idleness, but of a new kind of work. The differing sensibilities of the soul will be addressed in their turn by the preacher who desires to keep up the attention of his hearers. He will pass on from one feeling to another with an alertness which will give to each a healthful play. An excitement of the intellect facilitates a rise of the emotion, and any one emotion brings a different one in its train. By a quickness of transition we excite the hearer's surprise, and the one feeling of surprise *may* prepare the way for any



and every other. A preacher who was eminently doctrinal and argumentative remarked in regard to his method of preparing his discourses: "I read deep, well-written tragedies, for the sake of real improvement in the art of preaching. They appeared to me the very best books to teach true eloquence. They are designed to make the deepest impression on the human mind, and many of them are excellently calculated to produce this effect. A preacher can scarcely find a better model for constructing a popular, practical, pathetic discourse than a good tragedy; which all along prepares the mind for the grand catastrophe, without discovering it, till the whole soul is wrought into a proper frame to feel the final impression." Robert Hall says, "that in the mode of conducting our public ministrations, we are perhaps too formal and mechanical; that in the distribution of the matter of our sermons we indulge too little variety; and exposing our plan in all its parts, abate the edge of curiosity by enabling the hearer to anticipate what we intend to advance. Why should that force which surprise gives to every emotion derived from just and affecting sentiments be banished from the pulpit, when it is found of such moment in every other kind of public address."<sup>1</sup>

The inspired word suggests a model for us here. It breaks up a truth into numerous fragments; and as we look at them, they arrange themselves in novel forms like the brilliant figures of a kaleidoscope. It was designed to engage our life-long interest, and therefore has provided a large variety of notes and stops for our continued entertainment. We are no more tired in its perusal than we are tired in sauntering through the paths of an English garden, where the beds are not all shaped in parallelograms, nor the shrubbery all cut into triangles, nor every parterre the precise and fatiguing counterpart of every other. The same volume tells a man that he must honor his parents, and hate his father and mother; that he must not resist evil, and must turn the other cheek to him who has smitten one, but that

<sup>1</sup> Works, Vol. i. p. 140.



the warrior must be content with his wages, and the magistrate must punish evil doers. It asserts that God is not the son of man that he should repent; but soon it awakens our curiosity by affirming that he does repent. It declares that whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin, but avers that if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves. It wakes up our flagging attention, stimulates us to compare text with text, and search for the common principle which underlies such varying statements as that one event happeneth to all; there is no knowledge, nor device, nor wisdom in the grave; man dieth and is not, but he is to live forever, and to be a king and priest unto God; that he is a worm of the dust, but crowned with glory and honor, and made a little lower than the angels; that every man must bear his own burden, but each one the burdens of another; that he must work out his own salvation, but must be saved without works; that he must worship God with external decency, but God regardeth not the person of man; that the dead body will be quickened into life, but not the same body; that after the resurrection man will stand and walk in the New Jerusalem, where are streets and trees, and yet he will be a spirit with only a spiritual framework; that man hardens his own heart, but God hardens it; that men act as they please, even when wickedly taking him who is "delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God"; that they are free but dependent, can but cannot; all things are possible to one man, everything impossible to another.

It has been objected to the inspiration of the scriptures, that they are too diversified in their style to have emanated from one mind. But it is rather an argument for their divine origin, that they were written for different countries, for different nations, through the instrumentality of different men, on different themes, and in different languages and idioms; so that every page unfolds some attraction not found on any other page. Our pulpit will become wearisome if it do not admit the fulness and the freeness and the freshness of the biblical style; if it be confined to a limited vocab-

ulary, one unbending form of statement, one narrow mould of instruction.

I have already said that the tone of the pulpit must be cheerful. This cheerfulness prepares the mind for the sombre truths of the gospel. Joy opens an inlet for the keenest sorrow; hope quickens the sensibility to fear; and we proclaim the decrees of justice with the more subduing force when we have portrayed the amenities of divine grace, as the thunder is the more alarming when it bursts forth from a clear sky. Mercy is not felt to be mercy when it is not set off against justice; and, on the other hand, justice is not seen in its real aspect unless it is illumined by the rays of mercy, as the dark cloud appears more portentous in the light of day than in the blackness of night. John Foster has written: "Dr. Watts, all mild and amiable as he was, and delighted to dwell on congenial topics, says deliberately, that of all the persons to whom his ministry has been efficacious, *only one* had received the first effectual impressions from the gentle and attractive aspects of religion; all the rest from the awful and alarming ones, the appeals to fear. And this is all but universally the manner of the divine process of conversion." Dr. Dwight makes a somewhat similar remark. But such remarks, if they be not exactly correct, would not have appeared plausible if the appeals to fear had not alternated with appeals to hope. The threatening words of our Saviour were the more terrible because he was the incarnation of mildness. The continuous power of his discourses has been analyzed by a Unitarian writer thus:<sup>1</sup> "He did not address one passion or part of our nature alone or chiefly. There was no one manner of address; and we feel sure as we read that there was no one tone. He was not always speaking of death, nor of judgment, nor of eternity; frequently and solemnly as he spoke of them. He was not always speaking of the state of the sinner, nor of repentance and the new heart, though on these subjects too he delivered his solemn message." His preaching "was not terror only, nor

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Dewey.

promise only ; it was not exclusively severity nor gentleness ; but it was each one of them in its place," and all of them always subdued to the tone of perfect sobriety. God is blessed ; the angels and saints in heaven are happy ; good shall prevail over evil at the last ; therefore our ministrations must be jubilant ; but God is serious too, and the spirits in heaven are serious, and many of the tones of nature are in the minor key ; and the pulpit cannot retain a rational cheerfulness unless it also respond to the plaintive cries or the appalling threats of justice.

There is one feature in the life of American churches that calls for peculiar variety in our ministerial service. These churches have been distinguished for special manifestations of grace at special times. The rain does not fall every day, nor the snow descend every month ; seed time and harvest, summer and winter run their alternate rounds ; and in our spiritual world there has been a like succession of influences. At one time the whole community are aroused to religious thought, the conscience of multitudes is quickened to a new remorse, their fears are impelling them to rush together for the narrow path. At such a time a new variety of discourse is needed, a fresh vigor of appeal, an unwonted pungency of exhortation, a novel boldness of rebuke. This change in the pulpit arouses men to look at truth in an unusual aspect, and though they had become callous to a doctrine in one relation, they are now sensitive to it in a different bearing. The occasional coming in of this peculiar style is one variety in the pulpit ; so its occasional going out must be another. It has been said that these seasons of special excitement may be protracted through life. But then they could not be special. Then they could not be revivifying, awakening processes. It is not in human nature to endure a long continued agitation of those sensibilities which are prominent in the simultaneous rousing of an entire parish to the work of pressing sinners into the kingdom of God. There need be no inequality between the degree of holiness exercised during a religious awakening, and the degree put forth when

there is no concentrated attention of multitudes on the one query : What must we do to be saved. But there should be a variety in the mode of manifesting that unchanged degree of holiness. As the farmer will not plant in the winter, nor reap in the springtime, nor always busy himself in breaking up the fallow ground, but must sometimes lift up the axe upon the thick trees, and sometimes gently train the vine upon the trellis, and sometimes may sit down in the cool of the evening and enjoy the fruits of his toil, and regale himself with the freshness of the new-mown hay ; so the spiritual husbandman may be equally faithful in his service while he variegates the method of it. Forty years ago Dr. Channing remarked : " I have noticed that after a revival of religion in a church, the church becomes wearied with its minister and dismisses him ; " so it was inferred that the Spirit of God was not in the revival. This is no logical inference. The logical inference may have been, that the minister did not follow the intimations of the Divine Spirit ; he did not respect the law which God has written in the human soul that one sensibility be relieved by another. He became wearisome by the monotony of his addresses. His pressure of truth was so unvaried that it became a mere puncture. He plied his hearers so long with one motive that he merely pained them. He worked upon the sensibilities until he wore upon them. He penetrated them until he lacerated them, and they were wounded and inflamed. If the terror of men be too much protracted, it will petrify them into monuments of the fact that the law worketh wrath. If they are too continuously anxious, they will become sore vexed. It is grateful to see the clear shining of the sun after a rain, to feel the gentle fanning of the breeze after the winds have blown and beaten upon the house. It is not a change from truth to falsehood, which men need, but from one form of truth to another. Not necessarily is it a sign of the entire sinfulness of our hearers that they are pained by the unvaried iteration of one doctrine ; the original make of the soul is adverse to such sameness of appeal. The office of the preacher is to

*watch* for souls, and therefore to watch for the times and the seasons, to find out the alternating wants of his hearers, to assimilate his words to these varying needs, to bring out from his treasury things new and old, to move whenever the Divine Spirit moves, to turn whithersoever that Spirit turns, to retain one substance of doctrine, and that substance a broad one, but to hold it up in all its forms, those forms as various as the hints of the divine word, or the promptings of the Divine Spirit. There is only one firmament above us; but there are sunshine and moonlight and starlight, twilight and thick darkness, and rolling clouds and rain and snow and hail and sleet, and tempest and hurricane and lightning and meteors; — so rich in the variety of its phases is the truth of God, which is as the firmament forever and forever.

These principles in regard to variety of style extend not only to a variety of themes and the modes of treating them; to the interchange of extemporaneous with written discourses and with those wholly or partially committed to memory; to the intermingling of argumentative, didactic, hortatory, historical, biographical, and expository sermons; but also to various minor methods, some of which have been but seldom adopted. There may be circumstances in which a pastor may appropriate one part of the Sabbath to familiar lectures on the Bible, perhaps on the Sabbath-school lesson of the ensuing week. He may come down from the pulpit, and deliver them from a lower platform. He may previously inform his hearers of the passage to be explained; may request them to present their questions to him; may read these questions and answer them; may thus make his discourse a kind of dignified conversation with his people, who thus become his scholars. If he be a man of quick thought and ready utterance, and if his hearers be sober inquirers for the truth, he may encourage them to present extemporaneous questions, and thus variegate the exercise by a rapid dialogue. But if he be a man of slow mind, and if his hearers be ostentatious and pert, he must remember that a



layman may ask questions which a clergyman cannot answer, and the grove of the academy may be perverted into a bear-garden.

It is true that the services of the Lord's house require a dignified stability, and a minister may give too great indulgence to the love of change. A wise man must make his own rules for his peculiar exigencies, and avoid an extreme either of uniformity or of variety. Alluding to Dr. Payson's diversified exertions for the welfare of his people, his biographer aptly quotes the well-known lines :

“ And as a bird each fond endearment tries  
To tempt its new-fledged offspring to the skies ;  
He tried each art, reprov'd each dull delay,  
Allured to brighter worlds, and led the way.”

When this inventive pastor had lost the sense of feeling in his right arm and left side, and so had become incapable of making a gesture with his right arm, he preached one of his last and most affecting sermons. “On pronouncing the blessing, he requested the congregation to resume their seats. He descended from the pulpit, and took his station in front of it, and commenced a most solemn appeal to the assembly. He began with a recognition of that feeling in an auditory, which leads them to treat a minister's exhortations as if they were merely a discharge of professional duty, by one placed above them and having little sympathy with them. ‘I now put aside the minister,’ said he ; ‘I come down among you ; place myself on a visible equality ; I address you as a fellow-man, a friend, a brother, and fellow-traveller to the bar of God ; as one equally interested with yourselves in the truths which I have been declaring.’ He then gave vent to the struggling emotions of his heart, in a strain of affectionate entreaty, expressing the most anxious desires for their salvation . . . Though his withered arm hung helpless by his side, yet he seemed instinct with life,”<sup>1</sup> etc. One man can do at one time what he cannot wisely do again, and what another man cannot wisely do at any time. But every pastor can do

<sup>1</sup> Payson's Works, Vol. i. Memoir, pp. 395, 396.

much in so diversifying his services on the Sabbath as to make his audience expect a freshness and new life in every new service. Nothing repels so many from the sanctuary as the apprehension of tediousness. Dr. Johnson's remark on tediousness in an author is emphatically true of tediousness in a preacher : "It is the most fatal of all faults. Negligence or errors are single and local, but tediousness pervades the whole ; other faults are endured and forgotten, but the power of tediousness propagates itself. He that is weary the first hour is more weary the second, as bodies forced into motion contrary to their tendency pass more and more slowly through every successive interval of space."

Each of the preceding rules may be explained and modified by the *sixth* and last one. In order to maintain a permanent interest in the services of the sanctuary, they should be appropriate.

They should be appropriate to the theme of the discourse. Every sermon should make some one truth prominent, and the style of writing and of elocution should be in harmony with that one truth. The spirit of it should breathe itself forth in the prayers and in the songs of the service ; and every service will have a fresh interest because it is unique. An obvious fault of the Catholic worship is, that on almost every Sabbath there *appears* to be an unvaried routine of prayers and praises. Week after week, month after month, come the same tones, the same gestures ; and the feelings of the hearer are not prepared for any peculiar utterance of doctrine. The priest of this Sabbath *seems* to be clothed in the same robes which were worn by the priest of the last Sabbath, although the two preachers are strangely dissimilar in form ; and the doctrine, if there be any, held forth to-day is shrouded in the same formalities which covered up the doctrine held forth yesterday. The material and the spiritual clothing are made to fit everybody and therefore nobody, everything and therefore nothing. At length there rises a longing of the well-trained heart that the same things be not shown to them on the next Sabbath.

The instructions of the sanctuary should be appropriate to the hearers, as well as to the theme. In many denominations on the continent of Europe there is a pericope established by ecclesiastical authorities, and the discourses for every Sabbath must be founded on texts selected and prescribed centuries ago as the theme for that day. No peculiarities of the hearers, no casualties, no parochial or domestic joys authorize any deviation from the stereotyped order. Food is given where medicine is needed. But a doctrine has a *meaning* at one hour which it has not at another hour. It continues to awaken the reverence of men, if it be preached when it has its peculiar force. A word fitly spoken, how good is it. Some musical instruments give only a harsh noise when sounded alone, but in consonance with a full band they redouble its thrilling influence. If he who singeth songs to a heavy heart be as vinegar to nitre, much more does he who utters a truth to minds unprepared for it produce a needless confusion. We may injure the moral, as well as the physical, system by giving to either a stimulant when it demands a sedative. There has been a report, false we believe, yet once common, that Oliver Cromwell consoled himself on his death-bed with the hope that as he had been in his youth regenerated, so he would at last be saved, although he was aware of his having filled up the interval between the earliest and the latest years of his regenerate life with unmitigated selfishness. If this report were true, and if, relying on his old experience, he had been merely assured by his chaplain that all who have been once renewed will be reclaimed from their apostasy before they die, he would have been harmed by the assurance. It would have been truth at the wrong time, which is like food at the wrong time. It would have been one part of a truth separated from the other parts of it, which is like the alcohol separated from the wheat. Dr. Owen or Dr. Bates might have been refreshed by the same thought which would have enfeebled the man who encouraged himself in sin because he trusted in the mercy of God. Multitudes of unfaithful

men are reposing a one-sided confidence in the mercy of God, when they ought to reflect on him as a consuming fire. On the other hand there are multitudes who feel the terrors of a slave in view of his justice, when they ought to be soothed by the tones of his grace. When our Saviour was addressing the Pharisees, he did not condemn the open impiety of their Sadduceean enemies, nor in preaching to the Sadducees did he inveigh against pharisaical pomp. But when the Pharisees were before him he spoke of hypocrisy, the sin for which they were noted; and when the Sadducees were before him he proved the resurrection of the dead. In the hearing of the Jews he advocated a comprehensive benevolence, and praised the good Samaritan; for this benevolence was the grace which did not adorn the Jews, and the Jews had no dealings with the Samaritans. But in the hearing of the Samaritans he defended the Jewish orthodoxy, and said: "Ye worship ye know not what; but we know what we worship; for salvation is of the Jews." It was in this fitting style that he aroused the prejudices of selfish zealots; and they said: "Come, see a man who told me all things that ever I did." His words were like nails fastened in a sure place. His auditors expected from him something *opposite*, something which they could *remember*; and even when their wills rebelled against his truth, yet they had involuntary impulses to hear it again and again; for as cold water to a thirsty soul, so is an apt remark, even to the man who is chilled by it. "It is not," says Archdeacon Paley, "the truth of what we are about to offer which alone we ought to consider, but whether the argument itself be likely to *correct* or to *promote* the turn or bias of opinion to which we already perceive *too* strong a tendency. Without this circumspection, we may be found to have imitated the folly of the architect who placed his buttress on the wrong side. The more the column pressed, the more firm was its construction, and the deeper the foundation, the more certainly it hastened the ruin of the fabric."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Works, Vol. v. p. 35.

But the services of the sanctuary must be appropriate not only to the theme and to the audience, but also to the preacher; to his character, to his office, to the time when and to the place where, he preaches. It is often difficult to make the preacher's words appropriate both to himself and to some classes of his auditors. His sphere of thought is higher than theirs. In coming down to them he may appear unnatural; but he must come down. When an educated man converses with operatives and mechanics, he talks, if he be a man of sense, not of *his* subjects, Plato and Homer; but of *their* subjects, mills and manufactories. So when he preaches, he must leave the plane of his own thoughts and move toward that of his people's thoughts. Our Saviour when on earth did not converse in the words which angels use, but he spoke of planting, fishing, trading, making bread, constructing houses and wine-presses. Hence "the common people heard him gladly," and his disciples requested him to speak *again* on the same topics. But while in some particulars it is not, in other particulars it is, easy for a man of culture to combine a style befitting himself with a style befitting his people.

It is appropriate to him that he speak with *authority*. Therefore he is to select those themes on which he is supposed to know more than his hearers know. These are the truths revealed in the Bible, with which, if he be a real minister, he is more familiar than laymen are. His themes are duties implied in *evangelical* truths, and his life is consecrated to the developing and enforcing of what men ought to *do* in relation to those Christian truths which they ought to *believe*. Now, the more nearly his words approach to a rehearsal of the divine mandates, so much the more authoritative may be his style. He is to rule over his church, because he is the representative of his Master, and fortifies his own utterances by the plea: "My doctrine is not mine, but his that sent me;" "it is not I that speak, but the Father who speaketh in me." The preacher is to have a sway, but it is to be the sway of the gospel, the sway of

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Jehovah. There are emergencies, indeed, in which he may advise and recommend and suggest a scheme with regard to which others may decide as well as he; but if he be accustomed to let down the authority of his ministrations, they will cease to command the homage of the people; and his pulpit, which ought to be the place where "thus saith the Lord," will sink to the level of a political rostrum. In the eighteenth century a German pastor discoursed on the danger of bearing lighted candles at night through the house and barn; but even the servants who heard him were more capable than himself of judging with regard to that practice. They did not crowd the temple of God to learn the truth with regard to that practice. In our own land, a very few years ago, a pastor discoursed on the importance of voting for James Buchanan as President of the Union. But if this pastor had qualified himself to speak with confidence in giving this counsel, he must have wasted on partisan newspapers the time that he should have consecrated to the volumes of theological science. He must have dissipated his mind on political details, when he ought to have concentrated it on moral principles. So far as he leaves the truths of the gospel, just so far does he leave his profession; and so far as he leaves his profession, just so far does he lose his authority, and, like the giant shorn of his locks, his strength will go from him, and he will become weak, and be like other men.

Again, it is appropriate to the minister that he so preach as to make the *principles* of goodness prominent in his ministrations. He is sent to establish *moral principles* which are eternal, and not to ferret out the fleeting appearances of each new day. He is a minister of God. Therefore his main themes must be the perfections of God, the government of God, the redemptive scheme of God. His hearers should flock into the sanctuary *expecting* to catch a glimpse of some new glories in the character of the Sovereign; to be quickened with some new impulse for praising him whom they ought to prize above their chief joy. Love to Jehovah;

submission to him; the supreme desire to please him by obeying him; trust in Christ; union with him; repentance for sin; resistance to it; self-denial for the welfare of others; forgiveness of enemies; patience under insult; firmness in adhering to the right; these, and such as these, must be so commonly the topics of the pulpit that hearers will be trained to *anticipate* them, and to be astonished if theories of political economy be substituted for them. The temple of God must be distinguished from the hall of a political caucus; and if hearers are led to expect a political harangue when and where they ought to hear a religious appeal, they will ere long absent themselves from the house of prayer, and devote their Sabbaths to the perusal of newspapers. *If* they be drawn into the sanctuary, they will not be allured to it *as a sanctuary*, the eloquence *in* the pulpit will not be the eloquence *of* the pulpit, and *if one* minister should so fascinate his auditors as to retain them Sabbath after Sabbath in his lecture-room, he would still vitiate their taste, indispose them to hear a truly religious sermon, and prevent them if they should ever hear one, from beseeching that the same things be preached to them on the next Sabbath. It does indeed require a delicate tact to ascertain the line beyond which a minister should not pass in illustrating an evangelical truth by political movements; but we may be sure that he has crossed over that line when his name has become associated first of all with political theories; when every allusion to his discourses suggests first of all some questions of civil concern. This proves that he has not made the gospel prominent, but has made a secular scheme prominent.

The idea of the sanctuary ought to be an idea of holy worship, and as there can be no heaven, unless the Lamb be the light thereof, so there can be no real worship unless the *truth* of God shine through it and in it and around it. In many European churches the congregation are drawn together by the music; it is the chant, rather than the large thought; it is the concord of sweet sounds, rather than the harmony of truths; it is sound, and nothing but sound, which

allures men into the house which is *called* the house of prayer; and as they have gratified their sense with the notes of the choir, multitudes leave the sanctuary as soon as the text of the sermon is announced; sometimes they go directly from the doors of the house of God to the beer-garden. A theatre on the Sabbath has in their mind the same associations as a cathedral. In England it has been proposed to dispense with the sermon in the church altogether, and confine the service to the chants and the liturgy. In our own country it has been proposed that the minister preach but once on the Sabbath, and that he substitute Bible-classes for his second sermon. But the minister knows or ought to know better than the laymen, *what* to say, *when* and *how* to say it; he can speak the truth more effectively than his choir can sing it; and so far as he abandons his pulpit, which is his throne, he ceases to rule over his people, and there is danger that the Bible-classes will fail to present the truth in its dignity and authority, and that the chants and the liturgies will sink into the ceremonies of a play-house.<sup>1</sup>

Again, it is appropriate to the minister that he preach with the obvious design of promoting the divine glory by promoting the regeneration and sanctification of *his* hearers. His

<sup>1</sup> Dr. John Edwards, an eminent divine of the church of England, writing in 1705, says: "In prayer we make our addresses to God, and speak to him, whereas in preaching he vouchsafes to speak to us, which makes this performance the more honorable . . . . If we are heartily desirous that the Almighty should give ear to us when we pray, it is certain we shall be desirous and forward to hearken to his voice when he speaks to us by his ministers. . . . By the benefit of preaching we come to understand how we are to pray, and for what; by prayer we gain the divine assistance to enable us to perform what we hear. Hearing guides and directs our prayers, and prayer conveys a blessing on what we hear. In short, hearing without praying is of no use, as, on the other hand, praying without hearing is wholly insignificant, for an infallible author hath told us that 'he who turneth away his ear from hearing the law, even his prayer shall be an abomination' (Prov. xxviii. 9). So that upon the whole matter impartially weighed, prayer and hearing must go together, and not be separated. . . . As prayer in some respects is preferable to preaching and hearing, so these in other respects have the preference of that, which is confirmed to us by what the wise man saith: 'Keep thy foot when thou goest into the house of God, and be more ready to hear than to give the sacrifice of fools' (Eccl. v. 1)."

first office is not to influence a *political election*, but to persuade men to become more and more reconciled to God. If he exhort them to perform some external service, it should be a service obviously connected with the religious life, and the style of that exhortation should be fitted to quicken that life. If he urge them to erect a meeting-house, or to endow a college, or to form a temperance society, his conspicuous aim must be not merely to build up an outward institution, but to cultivate a benevolent temper among those who listen to him. He aids other parishes by nurturing the philanthropy of his own parish. There has been an American divine who would read of a strange sect in Europe, and at once proceed to disprove the tenets of that sect before his own congregation who would never have heard of such a sect save for his intermeddling. Whenever he heard of a new error in any remote section of his own country, he would devote an entire sermon to the refutation of that error, which would have remained hidden from his auditors but for his much speaking. Now a pastor is not called to be the shepherd of his flock in order that he may first of all benefit absent and distant folds, but in order that he may do good to those who are assigned to his keeping. If he write his discourses, primarily, that he may do good to a succeeding generation, he will be sure to lose his posthumous fame. If he write them primarily in order to instruct the nation through the press, he will stumble like the man who walks among pitfalls and keeps his eye fixed on the stars. He should say of his discourses as the Master said of his final prayer: I *preach* not for the world, but for them that are given to me out of the world, that the world *through them* may believe.

Once more, it is appropriate to the minister that he so exhibit the conspicuous features and the evident bearings of the gospel as to guide his hearers in the religious discharge of their civil duties. The temple should never be degraded into a forum; but every forum should catch the reflections of the temple. The pulpit should exhibit principles that will instruct men in domestic duties; but it should not busy



itself with the minute details of domestic life. It is a *conspicuous* feature of the gospel, that it befriends the poor. When preachers of this gospel have attempted to justify the practice of enslaving the African, they must have impaired the continuous influence of their pulpit by intricate and special pleading. If slavery could not be justified without recondite argument, it should not have been justified in the pulpit. It is the *evident* tendency of the gospel to nurture a *spirit* of peace, and of obedience to the powers that are ordained of God. When preachers of this gospel have attempted to inflame the passion for war and for rebellion, where the interests of virtue did not obviously demand battle and revolutions, they must have weakened the permanent interest of their pulpits by abstruse and sophistical reasonings. If the *patent* instructions of the Bible are not in favor of a civil strife, the pulpit is no place for commending it. The man lectures on politics when he is compelled to hide the plain bearings of the gospel in behalf of enslaved men, its palpable remonstrances against needless war. But he preaches religion when he holds up the prominent duties of the Bible, makes its conspicuous features stand out in bold relief, and so unfolds the tendencies of the Christian system as to regulate not absent men, but his own hearers, not in mere political action, but in their efforts to bring religious principle into that action. He must have a broad culture, or he will swing like a pendulum from one to an opposite extreme in his relations to the State.

On the other hand it is not uncommon for one minister to start from the axiom that he is set apart for the enforcement of *divine* truth, and therefore must abstain from all allusion to the affairs of the commonwealth, even in the most perilous emergency. He must imitate the Analogy of Butler, which, it has been said, would lead no reader to conjecture when or where, how or with whom, the author lived. One consequence is, that men do not care to have him preach the same things to them on the next Sabbath, when these things are sure to have no affinity with the schemes which absorb them; when



he refuses even so much as to *illustrate* the genius of the gospel by a reference to political duty, and discourses as if it were not a duty because it is political; when he excludes all the morals of statesmanship from the sphere of religion, as if religion could not rise so high as to control a commonwealth. He will indeed enunciate abstract principles; but these have no force unless they are so presented that they may be applied to particular exigencies. The gospel may be preached through the live-long year in vague abstractions, and no individual or national sin will be rebuked. David might have been *amused* for his life-time with unapplied parables, but "Thou art the man" was needed for pointing the truth to his conscience. More than one preacher has been so sensitive to the evil of disturbing the church by civil broils that, on the Sabbath after he has witnessed a slaveholder's tyranny, he has devoted his sermons to the proof that the atonement was *not* made for all men. On the Sabbath after he has listened to the turgid boasts of demagogues threatening to resist the government which they were under oath to sustain, he has merely filled his discourses with the proof that the sin of Adam *was* imputed to all men. It is not extravagant to affirm that our Southern States would never have adventured on their fratricidal war, if the clergy of these States had been faithful to the emergencies of the day; if they had preached the duty of a master's loving his slaves as himself, treating them as he would himself be treated; on the master's duty to be himself industrious, frugal, temperate, reverent in his language, not arrogant or high-minded, not a duellist or a gambler, not envious of superiors, not revengeful for the loss of office, but submissive to the powers that be, studying the things that make for peace: "if it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men." Generations now unborn would have revered our Southern pastors if, instead of meeting the exigencies of their lot by discoursing on doctrines out of place and out of time, they had enforced such obvious principles as would have led every master to toil for the freedom of his slaves; if

they had condemned such obvious sins as lay at the root of the slave system, if they had reiterated such obvious rules as would have subdued into a meek temper those who were infuriated with the spirit of carnage. The very structure of the human soul is such, that for all deliberate refusals to speak his word in season, God will take away the *abiding* honor of his ministers. "Son of man, I have made thee a watchman over the house of Israel: give them warning; if thou give him not warning, the wicked man shall die in his iniquity, but his blood will I require at thy hand."

An evil of extremes is that one impels to another. There are preachers disgusted with the inanity of all vague discourses, who therefore plunge their Sabbath hearers into the mere details of politics. They pretend to be illustrating a moral principle, but their illustrations are voluminous, and the principle is buried under them. Religion is not their *apparent* theme. Piety is not their *conspicuous* topic. They may by dint of argument prove that there is some alliance of their teaching with the clear principles of the gospel, but it is *not these clear principles* which give the tone to their discourses. It is the sense of fitness, and not the successive links of argument, which must determine whether or not a sermon be evangelical. For example: this country is important for the cause of missions, for the preservation of civil and religious freedom throughout the world; therefore the pulpit which promotes the welfare of the world must plead for the welfare of the nation; certain politicians are sanctioning an injurious policy; these politicians must be denounced by name in the pulpit; the speeches of this senator and that representative must be dissected, their sophistries exposed in the pulpit. Certain schemes, sanitary, perhaps, were deemed essential to the welfare of our soldiers in the late war; these schemes were unfolded and the method of executing them developed in certain pulpits. Pursuing the same course ministers might have stood in their place and preached on the structure of the Dahlgren gun, as best fitted to defend our

army and thus to preserve our Union, and thus advance the welfare of the world. Now when a clergyman has bidden farewell to the sense of propriety, it takes but a little logic to turn him into a mere instrument of politicians. He can never retain the interest which belongs to a prophet of the Lord, if he allow himself to be used as an iron-clad ship, turned whithersoever the captain listeth. He is not a weapon of steel, but a soul; and his interest as well as duty is, not to be handled by statesmen, but to look for principles which should rule the statesmen, and to hold up truths which will aid men in searching out the details of their civil duties.

The preceding trains of remark suggest objections to various methods which are adopted for alluring men into the sanctuary. Some of these methods consist in substituting not only political, but also other kinds of secular disquisitions for the preaching of the gospel. But the question which we have now been examining is: How shall a minister present *evangelical truth* so as to perpetuate the interest of men in listening to it. It assumes that the Sabbath and the worship of the sanctuary were instituted for the presentation of this truth, and that both will be ultimately neglected if they be given over to secular themes. A sermon on the merits of Bismark, or of the Duke of Wellington, or of rival candidates for a lucrative office, may attract multitudes to hear it, but may indispose them for listening afterward to sermons on the doctrines of the Bible. Some of these methods consist in associating religious topics with fantastic or farcical trains of thought. But the taste for these grotesque relations of doctrine is a disease, and grows by what it feeds on, and will end in such a hankering after amusement as the preacher's ingenuity will be unable to satisfy. Some of these methods consist in publishing advertisements of extraordinary scenes to be enacted in the sanctuary on the Sabbath. But these advertisements will be overmatched by the placards of "spiritualists" and "mediums" and infidel lecturers, who will exhibit their arts on the same day. Other methods

consist in making the sermons easy and short. The rules for preaching are given thus: "This is the age of railroads and steamboats; therefore be brief"; Preach as if you yourself were obliged to telegraph your own sermon across the continent"; "Three words are enough for a sentence, and even a short word is better than a long word at that"; "Imitate the merchant who utters his monosyllable, and is off about his business"; "Some things may be now taken for granted, such as that there has been a flood," etc. But the rule should be, not make your sermon short, not make it long, but make it appropriate to the theme and the occasion. A sermon like one of Dr. Barrow's may exhaust the subject and the preacher and the hearer, and may prompt some persons who have been afflicted with it never to expose themselves to a similar calamity. So an easy and short and superficial sermon may induce other persons to remain at home, and read a sensible discourse, rather than hear remarks utterly inadequate to their theme. We need not wonder why so many members of our parishes disbelieve in "the flood," in the fact of creation, in the substantial unity of the race, in the truth of the Bible, when we shrink from all such topics in our sermons, and treat every doctrine as if it were too frail to be touched. Other methods consist in adorning the house of God, elevating its roof, darkening its windows making it majestic with pillars, introducing marble statues and statuettes, etc. Are all these attractions appropriate to the enforcement of religious truth? So far as they are not, they will cultivate not a taste, but a distaste for evangelical discourses. "Raise me but a barn in the very shadow of St. Paul's cathedral, and with the conscience-searching powers of a Whitefield I will throng that barn with a multitude of eager listeners, while the matins and the vespers of the cathedral shall be chanted to the statues of the mighty dead."

## ARTICLE VII.

MEMORIAL OF DR. SAMUEL HARVEY TAYLOR.<sup>1</sup>

BY PROF. EDWARDS A. PARK.

It is told of Saladin, the champion of Islamism, that after he had retaken the Holy City, subjugated numerous fortresses in Syria, Arabia, Persia, and Mesopotamia, performed so many exploits in the Crusades as to be designated "the Great," he was seized with a disorder which threatened to wither up at once all his garlands of victory. When he saw that death was inevitable, he called his herald, who used to carry his banner before him; took his lance, which had so often been shaken in battle; tied his shroud to the top of his lance, and then said to the herald: "Go, unfurl this shroud in the camp. It is the flag of the day. Wave it in the air, and proclaim: 'This is all that remains of Saladin the Great, the conqueror, the king of the empire; all that remains of all his glory!'" But when a good man dies, we cannot say that all which remains of him is the coffin and the shroud. He has lived in his thoughts and deeds. He still lives in the remembrance of them; they are like seeds planted by the watercourses; they spring up and bear fruit, and he lives in their perennial life.

When George Whitefield died, he did not pass away from among men. He lived in those of his survivors whose character he had improved. He preached one sermon in

<sup>1</sup> The preceding pages of this Number of the Bibliotheca Sacra were corrected for the press by Dr. Taylor. It has been deemed fitting that the Address, which was delivered on the second of February in the Hall of his Academy, should be published in the present Number of the Periodical on which he had expended some of his last labor, and next to the Article which he had himself revised. As the author was absent from Andover on the Sabbath of Dr. Taylor's decease, January 29th, and as he could not begin to write the Address until the following Tuesday, and was obliged to deliver it on the next Thursday, he has added a few sentences which he had not time to insert in the original manuscript.



the native town of the friend who has just left us ; and one of our friend's ancestors was morally transformed by the instrumentality of that sermon. That ancestor exerted a marked influence on the mother of Dr. Taylor, and she exerted an obvious influence on him ; so that there is one important sense in which George Whitefield has been living through the last three and thirty years in Phillips Academy. There is more than one important sense in which he that believeth in Christ shall never die.

In the latter part of the seventeenth century, in consequence of the persecutions of the Covenanters, a company of devout Scotchmen left their homes for the north of Ireland. In the year 1719, sixteen families of these devoted pioneers came to this land, and established themselves in the old township of Londonderry, New Hampshire. During that and the following year more than four times their number joined them in the new colony. Mr. Horace Greeley, one of their descendants, says : " They were eminently men of conviction. They saw clearly, they reasoned fearlessly, and they did not hesitate to follow wherever truth led the way. I presume," he adds, " more teachers now living trace their descent to the Scotch-Irish pioneers of Londonderry than to an equal number anywhere else." <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The hearty and life-long interest which Dr. Taylor cherished in his native town was constantly strengthened by the history of the men who descended from its first settlers. Among the teachers thus descended are Presidents McKeen of Bowdoin, and Aiken of Union College ; Professors Jarvis Gregg, W. A. Packard ; Joseph McKeen, Rev. James Means. Among the clergymen are Rev. David McGregor, son of the first pastor of the town (Rev. James McGregor), and ancestor of a large and distinguished family ; Rev. Samuel Taggart, of Colerain, Mass. ; Rev. James Miltimore, of Newburyport ; Rev. Rufus Anderson, of Wenham, " who at the close of his life was preparing a historical work on Modern Missions to the Heathen," and whose son, Rev. Dr. Rufus Anderson, of Boston, is the historian of the missions under the care of the A. B. C. F. M. ; Rev. Silas McKeen, of Bradford, Vermont ; Rev. Dr. Morrison ; Rev. James T. McCollom. Among the jurists and statesmen, are John Bell, member of the Provincial Congress ; John and Samuel Bell, both Governors of New Hampshire ; Judge Jeremiah Smith. Among the military men are Gen. George Reid and Gen. John Stark. Of the Londonderry immigrants and their posterity who have attained distinction in other States the number is not known ; but " of those who have become eminent in New Hampshire, six have

One of these Londonderry emigrants was Matthew Taylor. He held the title-deed of his farm from Lieutenant-Governor John Wentworth, and that farm had been previously owned by John Leverett, Governor of Massachusetts Colony. On that ancestral land, now within the township of Derry, lived and died Matthew Taylor. There were born his children and many of his children's children. There Samuel Harvey Taylor, a descendant of the fourth generation from Matthew, was born, on the third of October, 1807.<sup>1</sup> His father, Captain James Taylor, was a man of sterling integrity and high Christian principle. He was for a long time a deacon of the church in Derry, as his son has been for a long time a deacon of the church on this hill. He was obliged to be absent from home during a large part of Samuel Harvey's childhood and youth; and therefore, even at the age of eight years, our lamented friend was called to discharge a series of duties which are not ordinarily expected of early boyhood. At the age of fourteen years, the conduct of two extensive farms was in large measure committed to him. He superintended the workmen, he mingled in their labors, and learned thus early in life the principles of secular business, the art of government, and the details of hard work. Even then his industry and energy qualified him to exact the same traits from the men whom he employed.

been Governors of the State; nine have been Members of Congress; five, Judges of the Supreme Court; two, Members of the Provincial Congress; and one of these was a signer of the Declaration of Independence." — Rev. E. L. Parker, *History of Londonderry*.

<sup>1</sup> The original settlers of Londonderry, New Hampshire, emigrated from the city or the neighborhood of Londonderry in Ireland. When that city was besieged, in 1688, by the troops of Lord Antrim, defending the cause of James against William, Prince of Orange, and when some of these troops approached the city gate, and demanded that it be opened, thirteen young men, fearing that the mayor and some of the citizens would be treasonable, "rushed to the main guard, seized the keys, after a slight opposition, drew up the bridge, and locked the gate, just as the soldiers were about to enter" (Rev. E. L. Parker's *History of Londonderry*, pp. 10, 11) One of these young men was named Samuel Harvey. This fact suggested the Christian name of Dr. Taylor, one of whose maternal ancestors had the maiden name of Harvey, and perhaps belonged to the family of the resolute young hero of Londonderry.

His example justified his tones of command, and his tones were singularly effectual.

He who understands one thing knows many others; and by learning the processes of agriculture and the methods of dealing with business men, our friend prepared himself for the large variety of miscellaneous affairs which he was called to manage in various departments of life. Until the age of eighteen he intended and expected to cultivate his ancestral acres. He had been accustomed to rise often at three o'clock in the morning, and to labor with unremitted diligence through the day, and had gained a hardihood of constitution which promised a long life of manual toil. It did give him a life singularly free from physical pain. But in consequence of being thrown from a wagon, he lost in some degree his power of physical endurance, and he decided to pursue a literary life. In his mature age, whenever he passed the scene of this accident, he was accustomed to say: "Here I began my education." That one fall from a wagon has resulted in his affecting the character of six thousand pupils.

From his early childhood he had manifested a passion for books, and it was now with intense delight that he began to prepare himself for college. He entered Pinkerton Academy in his native town, and studied with his characteristic vehemence. Being unwilling to lose the time which that Academy devoted to a vacation, he spent one vacation, at least, in Atkinson Academy, and rejoined the school of his native town at the commencement of the new term. Thus at the beginning, as through the progress, of his literary life he kept himself under discipline. He prepared himself to enter the sophomore class of Dartmouth College, after only two years of academic study. The winter vacations of his college life he spent in teaching district schools. Still, he was graduated with honor in the class of eighteen hundred and thirty-two.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rev. Dr. Noyes, professor in Dartmouth College, where he was a classmate of Mr. Taylor in 1829-32, has made valuable suggestions to the writer in  
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While at Hanover, he began his distinctively religious life. When he entered the college he intended to be a physician ; when he left it, he intended to be a minister of the gospel. He came at once to Andover, and entered the Theological Seminary in the autumn of eighteen hundred and thirty-two. Professor Stuart and Dr. Edward Robinson often expressed their admiration of his zeal and accuracy in his Hebrew and Greek studies. Dr. Woods was pleased with his patient thought and conservative tendencies ; for throughout his life Dr. Taylor cherished the principles and habits of conservatism. As a theological student he was animated with a missionary spirit, and he earnestly deliberated on the question of devoting his life to the foreign service.

He had acquired such a reputation as a scholar and a teacher, that Mr. Osgood Johnson, then the accomplished Principal of Phillips Academy and a man of the rarest gifts and graces, was importunate in his solicitations that Mr. Taylor would become an assistant in the school. In eighteen hundred and thirty-four our friend yielded to the request of Mr. Johnson. He was so eminently successful in his work that, after he had spent more than a year in it, he was invited to take the permanent office of Assistant Principal in the Academy. He declined the invitation. His pupils met in a field or in a grove, and passed a unanimous vote urging the Trustees to renew their invitation, and urging him to accept it ; but he insisted on declining it, and he soon entered on a tutorship at Dartmouth College. He remained in this office through the collegiate year of 1836 and 1837. He had been " approbated " to preach the gospel, and, while laboring at the college during the week, he was accustomed to labor in some pulpit on the Sabbath. He was then an acceptable preacher, and was

regard to the worth of his associate, and says : " The friends of his early years who survive him will cherish his memory with the warmest affection. His name will long be associated with this college as one of the most useful and honored of her sons."



urged to take the pastorate of an important church in New Hampshire. His tutorship also was eminently successful. Once he invited members of his class to meet him for the purpose of engaging in a voluntary study of the Greek preposition. He did not expect that more than ten or twelve would let their zeal for the Classics carry them beyond the requisitions of college law. He was surprised to find that nearly the whole class accepted his invitation; and after preparing himself for his regular exercises, he spent four hours every day in preparing himself for this voluntary exercise, which was made interesting to his pupils by his enthusiasm in it. Amid all these miscellaneous duties of his tutorship at Hanover he still prosecuted his theological studies; spent his winter vacation at Andover as a member of the Senior Class in the Seminary; received the regular diploma in the autumn of 1837, and in the same autumn, having previously declined an invitation to teach in a New England city, he commenced his duties as the Principal of Phillips Academy.

The first Principal of this Academy was Dr. Eliphalet Pearson; the fourth Principal was Dr. John Adams; both of them were highly distinguished men, and both strict disciplinarians. They introduced a rigid government as a characteristic of the school; and when the Trustees appointed Mr. Taylor as Principal, they intended and expected that he would be faithful to the traditions of the office. He was constitutionally fitted for a disciplinarian. He had an instinct of government. This had been strengthened in his boyhood. All men are not qualified for the same method of action. Every man must pursue that method for which God has adapted him. "Let the earth bring forth the herb yielding seed *after his kind*, and the tree yielding fruit *after his kind*," was the original law of nature. The oak was not to bear roses, and the eglantine was not to send forth the gnarled branches of the oak. Professor Patterson, now a senator at Washington, one of the descendants of the Londonderry colonists, says: "Profound convictions, an inflexi-



ble will and strong sensibilities, are the natural inheritance of our people." Dr. Taylor shared largely in this inheritance. He had a stern conscience, a keen sense of duty, a deep regard for obligation. It was his firm belief that men in the learned professions would accomplish more than they now do, if they were more regular in their habits of study, if they had their fixed hours for intellectual toil; he, therefore, deemed it his duty to insist on strict regularity in his school. The future usefulness of his pupils required it. He believed that one of the dangers to which this democratic land lies exposed, is a disrespect for law; he therefore believed that he was performing an act of kindness to his pupils when he was accustoming them to obey. He believed that if they would yield their wills to the authority of a school, they would more easily yield their individual interests to the civil government, and would be more apt to prostrate themselves before the Infinite Ruler and Sovereign. He believed that indolence is not only a besetting sin of men, but the parent of a numerous progeny of other sins; he regarded himself, therefore, as performing an act of kindness for his scholars, whenever he broke up their habits of idleness. He loved labor; he had inured himself to it; he required of others no harder tasks than he had performed himself. He was apt to wonder that any of his pupils did not love what he loved, and was consequently more willing to require by law those duties which, when habitual, would be a source of delight. Being himself enamored of study, he was surprised when any of his pupils had not a similar passion for science and literature; he was thus the more willing to raise the strong arm of authority, and to exact those habits of thought and reading which form the dignity of manhood and the solace of old age. He was conscientious in the belief that classical learning is important for the welfare of our republic; that our statesmen should be imbued with a love for the great writers of antiquity; that our popular literature should be permeated with the elegance and the grace which come from intimate communion with

the sages and the poets of Greece and Rome. He therefore believed that he was discharging the duties of a good citizen and a patriot, when he was holding up a high standard of classical learning, and urging young men up to that standard, himself leading the way in the laborious ascent, and demanding that his pupils follow him. These were the principles on which he began, and continued, and ended his course as the Head Master of Phillips Academy.

It need not, as it cannot, be said that he was immaculate in following out these principles. With all his dignity and authority he was a modest man ;<sup>1</sup> he did not claim to be perfect ; he only cherished the humble but assured trust that the main principles of his government were in accordance with the spirit of good citizenship, sound learning, and rational piety. His self-distrust was not always understood. It has been noticed that a man of moral courage sometimes assumes an authoritative manner in order to resist or conceal his constitutional diffidence. Dr. Taylor has been known to speak a word of command with great reluctance, and to speak it in a tone more mandatory than he would have employed if he had not desired to overcome his native bashfulness.

It need not, as it cannot, be said that he had all the qualifications of an eminent teacher. He counted not himself to have apprehended, but until the last day of his life he pressed forward that he might attain the completeness for the want of which he sighed. It is enough to say that he had some remarkable qualifications for a good instructor. Let us meditate on a few of them.

He united accuracy in the details of classical literature with an enthusiasm in its general spirit. Accuracy is essential to the success of a teacher, but does not ensure it. Our friend was correct in the minutiae of the Latin and Greek languages. In his view no error was trivial. With scrupu-

<sup>1</sup> "I have great reason to condemn myself that I have done so little to secure the great end for which I was created." This is a specimen of the self-depreciating remarks with which his private letters abound.

lous care he exposed the slightest mistake of a pupil. He was not, however, so engrossed in looking at the trees that he failed to see the grove.

He did find a pleasure in interpreting the Greek particles. When he first studied the Greek accents he was transported with delight, as if he had been reading a romance; but he also looked beyond the points and the declensions and the various readings. It was the thought, the principle, the theory, of the great authors; it was the living sentiment, as well as the "winged words," of Homer; it was the strong sense, as well as the compressed diction, of Sallust, that aroused him. He was interested in the historical genius of Xenophon; he caught the poetic fire of Homer; his memory was replete with sound and terse apothegms from Livy and Tacitus; he quoted them with fervor on fit occasions; and he was at home amid the mountains and the groves and the streams of Greece and Italy. He was not wild in his classical enthusiasm, for he had too much of scholarly accuracy to be wild. He was not coldly correct in his interpretations, for he had too much enthusiasm to be critically dull.

He also combined, in an uncommon degree, a quickness of perception with a solidity of judgment. His rapidity of thought may have been the result of his hard work, and his familiarity with his lessons, but it surprised his pupils. The celerity with which he detected an error, analyzed a sentence, compared different constructions, appeared magical. Men of this rapid thought are apt to err. They make more mistakes than other men, because they form more opinions than others. But while our friend was rapid, he was also cautious. Perhaps he was as much distinguished for prudence as for quickness. Naturally self-distrustful, he did not choose to express an opinion until he had carefully examined it. Hence his judgment was trusted by his pupils. It was law.

He united a singular devotion to classical literature with a general interest in scholarly pursuits and the affairs of life.

By no means was he a mere student of the Latin and Greek languages. He was not ill acquainted with Theology. He was not ill versed in the History of Doctrine. He was not a stranger to the theories of Political Economy and International Law. He had formed his opinions on English, French, and German History. He had read with great care the poems of Dante, the writings of Burke, the best works on art. He was not a poor critic of sculpture or painting or music; of all which he was a loving student. He knew well the history of his native land. He was familiar with the local annals of his native State. He understood the policy of his adopted commonwealth. He had a fresh interest in the affairs of this town. He knew well the dangers, such as have been experienced in Göttingen, Halle, Jena, of a collision between the pupils of a large school and the surrounding community. During the last thirty-three years he has devoted much of his practical wisdom to the preventing of these collisions, to the interweaving of the sympathies of the school with the sympathies of the town, to the convincing of the people that Phillips Academy was one means of giving to Andover that "good name which is rather to be chosen than great riches."

Indeed, the multifariousness of his talents for mingling with different classes in the community was one of his prominent distinctions. While there are some who associate his name with strict government, others associate it with generous friendship and good cheer. During the last quarter of a century there has not been in his native town a festival or celebration which would not have seemed incomplete if he had not presided over it, or been a prominent actor in it. The school-children of that beautiful town were glad when they saw him, for he was a tender friend to them. I have been with him when he was appraising an estate, and he seemed to be in a wonted employment. I have been with him when he was conversing with a widow who had but a handful of meal in a barrel and a little oil in a cruse, and he conversed as if his business had been to relieve the timid.

I have been with him when he was conversing with the President of the United States, and he appeared well fitted to be a counsellor of the Magistrate. The foreman and the journeymen of the printing-office looked up to him as a good adviser; and the conductors on the railroads sat down with him as their friend. During the last thirty years there has been on this hill scarcely a single funeral which he has not superintended. This many-sided interest in the concerns of life gave to a large community a firm confidence in him. This public confidence was communicated to his pupils. They caught the spirit of the community. The vast majority of them believed in him.

Dr. Taylor combined a clear perception of truth with a personal and growing interest in it. He who would instruct others must himself understand what he would impart; must not only know the truth, but know that he knows it; must not only be confident, but progressive. He who ceases to learn, ceases to teach. Every day Dr. Taylor studied the lesson on which he criticised his pupils. He read the new commentaries, German and English; and when he came before his class, he was not only familiar with their lesson, but some of his ideas on it were new and fresh to himself. It was obvious that he loved the Greek verb; that he felt a personal interest in the Greek syntax. An offence against the laws of the Latin language seemed to be a personal injury to himself; and, on the other hand, he was wont to speak, as if he felt a personal gratitude to some of his pupils for their neat or exact renderings of the Classics.

The scene in his recitation-room reminded one of a torrent rushing onward to the sea; one wave not waiting for another, but every wave hastening forward as if instinct with life. Every mind was on the alert. Those who were naturally quick, learned to be accurate before him; those who were naturally slow, spurred themselves onward before him. He not only had a knowledge of his theme and an interest in it, but a knowledge of his pupils and an interest in them. He well understood the nature of young men;



he divined their thoughts; his insight of their character appeared at times mysterious; he knew how to incite and embolden them. He derived a fresh esteem for them from the very fact that they could be incited to study, and emboldened to press through obstacles.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Taylor combined in a peculiar degree the factitious, with the natural qualifications for a teacher. His stalwart person, sonorous voice, strong emphasis, gave him one kind of power. His name had become a symbol of trustworthiness; and as success is the means of succeeding, his reputation gave him another kind of power, a kind which it will require years for another man to gain. His example of punctuality, energy, and enterprise (his study-lamp regularly burning at six o'clock of a winter's morning, and nine o'clock of an evening) gave a distinct force to his admonitions. To all these requisites he added a passion for training the youthful mind. He was an educator by nature. He was in his element, when his pupils were before him and his words were summoning them to exertion with a kind of talismanic force. He had chosen the right profession for himself, — here was his wisdom; he was exerting his powers in the way for which they were signally adapted, — here was his faithfulness to himself and to his Maker. His love of teaching young men proved that he was called of God to the office, and his conscientious diligence in his work proved that he heard and obeyed the Master's voice.

I do not overlook the fact that for nearly a hundred years objections have been urged against the rigor of discipline maintained in Phillips Academy. In adhering to the traditions of the school, it was to be expected that Dr. Taylor would sometimes err in supposing that other young men could do with hard toil what he had done so resolutely. But while critics repeat some of his reproving words, they are apt to forget that he was a very model of patience in

<sup>1</sup> Here the author was intending to read a letter which he had requested one of Dr. Taylor's pupils to write; but he could not read it, because it was given him at too late an hour. It is inserted in the Appendix, Note B. p. 390.

helping dull scholars, if they were industrious ; a very model of perseverance in explaining the text and repeating his explanations until he made it clear to obtuse minds, if they meant well. He had a reverence for good intentions. He loved the sterling virtues of his pupils. He prized their moral excellence more than their mental acumen. Hundreds of these pupils confess that he started them in their career of usefulness, breathed courage into them if they were timorous ; and when he refused to do their work for them, he gave them a richer benefit in stimulating them to do their own work for themselves. He valued his pupils not so much for what they knew, as for what they could and would learn. He did not love to crowd their memory with thoughts, so much as to enable them to think. He was careful not to overload their minds, and equally careful to develop them. His aim was not to give them knowledge, but to qualify them for getting it.

He ascertained in some unaccountable way the circumstances of his pupils. He knew their fears and their sufferings. He interested himself in behalf of the poor and the sick ; he provided reliefs for them ; he dispensed charities with singular prudence. He did not let his pupils know when these charities came from himself ; he did not tell his left hand what his right hand did ; he waited patiently for the sentence : " Inasmuch as thou hast done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, thou hast done it unto me." Of his six thousand pupils it cannot be expected that all would love him. He had a positive character. He was a positive character. He spoke positive words. He did positive deeds. It must needs be that such a man will give offence to some ; but I have met men at the Falls of St. Anthony, and on the Alleghany Mountains, on a Mediterranean steamboat, on the plains of Africa, at Constantinople and Athens ; men who were strangers to me, but who gave me a hearty welcome, because I lived in the house next to that of their former instructor. They inquired for his welfare, showed a pride in having been his pupils, and

expressed the joy that they should feel if the minds of their children could be moulded by his strong hand. He can well afford to let us admit that he was not a perfect man. He can well afford to be judged by the main current of his influence rather than by a few insulated acts. The great argument in favor of him as an instructor is the general history of his school. When he became its Principal, it was far less prominent than now, although fewer schools were then in existence. It had far less influence than now upon the colleges and universities of the land, and was far less conspicuous in the history of our national literature. Often there had not been more than a hundred men in the Academy during a single year; under his care, the number has been sometimes nearly three hundred. Before he came, the Senior Class, to whom the Principal mainly devoted himself, consisted on an average of about twenty members; but since he came the Class has consisted of thirty-five, forty, forty-three, forty-eight, fifty-nine, sixty-four, and seventy-three members. The Senior Class has been the great magnet of the Institution, attracting young men to it from the plantations of Georgia, the cotton-fields of Louisiana, the banks of the Ohio and Mississippi, the Canadian Provinces. Since he has instructed it, not less than fourteen hundred and seventeen young men have belonged to it. Of the men who finished their studies in his especial class those who knew him best loved him most; the reverence of many has deepened as their age has mellowed; and not a few, grateful for the discipline which they once condemned, have been glad to honor him by owning: "He has done more than any other man to form our character and shape our life." Pupils entered his school as boys and left it as men; he was the first instructor who gave them an inspiration for their work; and, such is the grateful habit of scholars, the earliest benefactor of their minds is the last to be forgotten. Many young men who have applied for admission to this school have been refused; many who have obtained admission have been sent away; there have been no factitious

means of swelling the number of the students; no artifices have been resorted to; and the history of the Institution has verified one of Dr. Taylor's maxims, that the success of a seminary of learning depends not so much on the place of it, as on the worth of it; its permanent growth depends not on the fopperies of its scholarship, but on the hard work performed, on the exact discipline maintained, on the living enthusiasm enkindled in it. His great arguments for Phillips Academy have been, the stillness observed in its study hours by day, the livelong quiet of the night, the punctual attention of the young men to the Academy bell, their devotion to their books, their living interest in the great truths of Christianity.

While Dr. Taylor appeared to be thus absorbed in the Academy, he found time for other avocations. He was for thirty-three years a member of the Board of Trustees of Andover Theological Seminary, and the Clerk of the Board. For many years he was also the Librarian of the Seminary; a member of the Examining Committee of Harvard College; a member of the Oriental Society; a member and President of the Board of Trustees of Pinkerton Academy, and also of the Adams Female Seminary in Derry, N. H. He took a personal interest in the welfare of these two schools; a deep interest in our colleges whose curriculum of study he was habitually striving to enlarge. He attended the meetings of Associations of Teachers, and contributed to them interesting papers relating to mental culture, some of which have been extensively read.

Besides his various Essays which have appeared in the periodicals devoted to education, he was engaged in the publishing of several important volumes. In 1843 he gave to the public a "Guide for Writing Latin," translated from the German of John Phillip Krebs. In connection with Professor B. B. Edwards of Andover he published in 1844 a "Grammar of the Greek Language," for the use of High Schools, and Colleges, translated from the German of Dr. Raphael Kühner. In 1846 he published an "Elementary

Greek Grammar," compiled from a work of Dr. Kühner. Of this Grammar twenty editions have been printed, and he was preparing an entirely new edition of it at the time of his death. The German author of these Grammars has frequently expressed his admiration of the manner in which they have been translated into English. Partly in consequence of the skill developed in them Dr. Taylor was honored in 1854 by the corporation of Brown University, then under the Presidency of Francis Wayland, with the degree of Doctor of Laws.

In 1851 he assisted in editing the History of Londonderry, and prefaced it with a Memoir, in fifty-five pages, of Rev. Edward L. Parker, the "model pastor" who had written the history. Dr. Taylor's Memoir gives many indications of the good influence which had been exerted on his mind by his early reverence for ministers of the gospel, as well as by the correlative fact that the minister who had shaped his boyhood was worthy of that reverence.<sup>1</sup> In 1861 he published a volume which illustrates his own method of teaching, and is entitled "Method of Classical Study; illustrated by Questions on a few Selections from Latin and Greek Authors." In 1865 he published the "Memorial" of his brother-in-law Joseph P. Fairbanks, a liberal benefactor of the literary institutions and the clergy of Vermont. In 1870 appeared his last finished volume, entitled, "Classical Study; its Value illustrated by Extracts from the Writings of Eminent Scholars," with an Introduction by himself.

From the year 1852 to the time of his death he was an editor of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*. He corrected the proof-

<sup>1</sup> Among the many suggestions in this Memoir is the following: "A failure at an examination is always humbling; but it is doubly so when made in the presence of one whom we know to feel a lively interest in our improvement. The writer has not yet forgotten his own mortified feelings at failing to perform an exercise in the presence of his pastor, nor the resolution he then formed not to be found deficient on a similar occasion. How many youthful minds have been thus quickened to nobler exertions cannot be told; but without doubt not a few owe their first zealous impulse to study to the manifest interest and the counsels of their pastor at these school visitations" (p. 34).



sheets of eighteen volumes of this Quarterly, and wrote several anonymous Articles for it. If the labor which he spent upon it had been devoted to a lucrative employment, it would have yielded him a large income; but his labor was chiefly a labor of love. He was frugal yet generous in the use of money; he had offers of large salaries, if he would resort to other fields of labor, but his desire was to be useful rather than to be rich. As he was not avaricious, neither was he ambitious; at least he was not ambitious for himself, although he may have been for his school and for classical learning. He was the recipient of various honors, but he cast all his laurels down at the foot of the Academy which he loved, and of the cross which he loved still more.

The zeal with which he prepared himself for the exercises of his school-room is well illustrated in a brief narrative of the foreign tour which he took in 1856. On the 7th of March, he left New York for Havre; spent two days in Paris; one day at Marseilles; one at Malta, where he examined with intense interest, the scenes of the shipwreck of the apostle Paul; two days at Alexandria, where he studied the History of the Greek and Roman conquerors, and of the church Fathers who there immortalized their names; several days at Cairo, whence he made expeditions to Heliopolis, where Solon, Plato, and perhaps Moses once resided, and where stands the obelisk which the patriarch Joseph and his father Jacob had probably looked upon; and to the supposed site of Memphis, where many notable events of Egyptian history occurred, and whence arose several legends of the Greek mythology. He literally revelled among these scenes. It is characteristic of him that exactly one month after the day of his leaving New York he was on the top of the pyramid of Ghizeh. He then hastened to the ancient Joppa, and soon took up his abode for several days in Jerusalem, the city of his love. He wandered all alone, absorbed in religious meditation, on the Mount of Olives. He examined with great minuteness the topography of the city, and qualified himself to give several lectures on the

streets, the hills, the buildings, both of ancient and modern Jerusalem. Some of these lectures he has since delivered, gratuitously as was his wont, to schools and churches other than his own. He spent about five weeks in Palestine, studying the geography and the history of its old cities, exploring as far as he could the Dead Sea, the Jordan, the Sea of Galilee; and gathering a rich harvest of biblical learning and Christian sentiment from the places which have been consecrated by the feet of prophets and apostles and by the great Teacher of the world. From Palestine he hastened to catch a sight of the plains of Troy, the old camp ground of Xenophon, the places where the Persian or Grecian armies crossed the Hellespont or the Bosphorus; and then leaving the Golden Horn he took up his residence in Athens. Here he obtained accurate and vivid ideas of the ancient Parthenon and the Erectheum, of the Pnyx and the Bema, the quarries of Hymettus, the shore of Phalerum. He delighted most of all in walking over the Areopagus, and surveying the scenes which Paul must have had in view standing and speaking on that rock. He strove to identify the Academy of Plato and the Lyceum of Aristotle. Amid all these objects of classical interest, he was accumulating stores of learning for his pupils. On the ninth day of June last, I was wandering by moonlight amid the ruins of the Acropolis, and was accompanied by a native Greek, who had been educated at an American College, and who explained to me the manner in which the marble pillars of the Parthenon were constructed. I had never read an account of the architectural principles developed in those pillars, and of the manner in which those huge marble blocks had been so beautifully arranged one over another. I expressed my admiration of those principles and of the ingenuity with which they had been detected. My companion told me that he had not gained that knowledge from books, but that he happened one day to attend a Lecture in Phillips Academy, and he heard these principles described by Dr. Taylor, and that I had come all the way to Athens to learn what I might have been told by my nearest neighbor at home.

From this beautiful city Dr. Taylor made excursions to Marathon and Eleusis, and to various scenes made immortal by the genius of Demosthenes. He regaled his eyes and his mind by the sight of Corinth and Mount Olympus; the islands of the Aegean Sea which he described in a learned and stirring letter to his pupils. He then hastened to the ancient Brundisium, where the poet Virgil died; examined the structure of the Roman temples, theatres, and palaces at Herculaneum and Pompeii; studied the Museum of Antiquities at Naples; made excursions to Paestum, where he admired the temple of Neptune and wondered at the mystery of its origin; to Baiae and Puteoli; to the scenes rendered interesting by the muse of Virgil, his favorite Latin poet, and by the residence and death of Cicero, his favorite orator. He then repaired to Rome, where he dwelt in his own hired house; studied the antiquities of the city from early morning to the setting of the sun; spent his evenings, as he had spent them during his whole tour, in making exact records of his daily observations. He wandered to the beautiful site of Tusculum and the charming scenes of Tivoli; and, after devoting four weeks to a minute investigation of the Roman antiquities, he repaired to Florence; consecrated his days there to the examination of the old museums; rose at three o'clock on one morning and climbed the hill of Fiesoli, immortalized by Galileo and Milton, by Lorenzo the Magnificent, but especially by the old Pelasgic walls, which stood firm before the foundations of the city of Rome had been laid. He then resorted to the Swiss mountains, where he was as faithful in examining the wonders of nature as he had been in examining the wonders of art. It seemed as if he would shout for joy as he looked up to Mont Blanc and the Jungfrau. Sometimes, in view of these scenes, he could not be persuaded to remain on his horse; he insisted on walking with his head uncovered, feeling a close contact with the ground, making himself one with the landscape that charmed him. The sunrise and the sunset he watched from the peaks of Switzerland with faithful

interest; and more than once he has described them, as if he had been a poet, to his pupils.

He next visited the old German universities; the great schools of England and Scotland — such as Eton, Cambridge, Oxford, Edinburgh, and Glasgow, — where he formed many acquaintances with men whom he valued and who valued him. He was welcomed with distinguishing kindness by Mr. George Peabody, who afterwards became a generous benefactor of Phillips Academy; and also by the family of the late Dr. Arnold at Fox How. On one day he walked through the streets of Edinburgh early in the morning, left the city at eight o'clock, carefully examined Stirling Castle; took a boat at the foot of Loch Lomond, sailed to the landing-place opposite Ben Lomond; left the boat, and spent two hours in walking up the mountain; descended to the landing-place, took another boat to the head of the lake; and then wrote a description of the scenes he had witnessed, — the battle-fields of Robert Bruce, the dwelling-place and burial-place of the McGregors (the clan in which he retained through life the interest of his boyhood), the cave, prison, and grave of Rob Roy, the Grampian Hills, and other spots famous in history or romance. This is the record of a single day; this illustrates the spirit of his entire journey; and at length, having wearied out all his fellow-travellers, having gathered books and maps<sup>1</sup> and pictures and statuettes, and relics of Europe, Africa, and Asia, having been absent from his Academy only six months, and having accomplished what the majority of scholars would not have done in twelve months, he reached his home fresh and vigorous for his work, better prepared than ever to instruct his pupils, to quicken their interest in all truth, and especially to give those biblical lessons for one of which he sacrificed his life.

When we saw Dr. Taylor verifying the thousands of ref-

<sup>1</sup> After his return from his tour, he formed the plan, novel and elaborate, of four large wall maps of Jerusalem, Athens, Rome, and a part of Southern Italy. The maps have been beautifully prepared according to his original plan, and used by him in lecturing to literary institutions.



erences in his Greek Grammars we could not easily imagine him as capable of being transported with the emotions of taste. But he was so. During a storm at sea he pleaded, and he was the only passenger allowed, to remain on deck, where he stood at the peril of his life, admiring the grandeur of the ocean. Many of his relatives were soldiers, some of them in the Revolutionary war; and he had a touch of the military spirit. This was seen when he superintended an exercise of the fire-engine company which was composed of his pupils; as he spoke to them he had a kind of talismanic power over them; they moved at his word as if it had been an electric shock. At such times it was not easy to form a picture of him as mourning over his faults. But his friends knew him to be an humble imitator of the Man who was meek and lowly. When he heard the bells of Notre Dame he said: "This compensates me for crossing the ocean." When he looked at Cleopatra's Needle, and other relics at Alexandria, he said: "These repay me for all that I have expended in my tour." But there was no scene in all his foreign travel which delighted him so much as those scenes in which he held spiritual communion with the missionaries of the cross at the hour of worship. He sat down at the sacramental table in Cairo; only a few persons were present, and they were from seven different nations; he felt a union of spirit with the seven great churches of the world; while he was thus keeping the Christian passover he seemed to feel a oneness with the saints who instituted the Jewish Passover not far from that very spot. He was more overpowered by that religious memorial than by any of the human monuments which interested him. His piety was not of that kind which often effervesces into rhapsody, but it was sound and deep. It was remarkable for its freedom from pretense and parade. It was characterized not so much by a fervor of utterance as by a readiness to deny himself for the sake of duty. Few men have had so strong a desire as he for social intercourse, and still have indulged that desire so little when their duty called them to work in solitude. From the very first of his



public life the choice of doing what he ought to do was the principle of his conduct. While a member of the Theological Seminary, thirty-four years ago, he wrote: "If I have learned any one thing by experience, it is that the path of duty is the only way to secure true happiness. It may look dark and dangerous at first, but its end will surely be bright and cheering. It terminates in peace and joy. Oh, I desire more and more to know and do the simple will of my Heavenly Father." As at the first so to the very last of his public life the same resolute choice of doing what he ought to do, moved him onward. "My duty is to my scholars," were among the few words which he uttered just before he stepped out of his house for the last time; he was reminded of his duty to himself, to his health, but as he was wont to sacrifice himself for his pupils, he repeated the words: "My first duty lies with the school."

It is not given unto man to choose the opportunity of his departure from life. In the Litany of the English Church there is offered the prayer for deliverance from sudden death. In one of the London churches the supplication is offered for rescue from sudden death for which the dying is unprepared. We have read of military chieftains, who, before expiring in their quiet homes, expressed a wish that they might have died on the field of battle, with their swords in their hands, and their soldiers standing around them. On the last Saturday of the life of Dr. Thomas Arnold of Rugby, he discharged his duties as usual, and although slightly ill felt no indications of any alarming result. But early on Sabbath morning his illness returned, and it was announced to his bewildered pupils "that Dr. Arnold was dead." Five days ago, on the last Saturday morning, Dr. Taylor appeared in his usual health, exhibited his wonted vigor in the exercises of his school, visited Boston and Cambridge in the afternoon, and, although he felt for a time a slight indisposition, he returned to his home with more than usual buoyancy of spirit. He rose on Sabbath morning, prepared himself for his large Bible-class, but complained, as Dr.

Arnold had done, of a stricture across his chest. He was importuned to omit the biblical exercise, and to remain at home ; but for a biblical exercise like this he had been disciplining his mind and his heart by long-continued toil ; this was his most important study ; this was his chief joy ; and we have seen that to leave a duty unperformed was not his nature. He went forth like a hero, carrying his New Testament through the deep and rapidly-falling snow to this building, which had been erected under his care and according to his plan. He loved the very edifice itself. His pupils were assembling to receive his Christian instruction ; the bell was yet tolling ; he stopped in the vestibule of his academy ; his countenance was changed ; he fell ; he said not a word ; he neither sighed nor groaned ; but ascended from the circle of his astonished and loving and weeping pupils to mingle with the angels of God. Bearing the sacred volume he had passed through the storm, and then the door of his school-room proved to be "the gate of heaven" — "and he was not, for God took him."<sup>1</sup>

He had been a man of deeds rather than a man of words. He never loved to expose his religious feelings to the public gaze ; but he had a cautious though firm hope of his acceptance with his Redeemer ; and that hope, we feel assured is now swallowed up in vision. It would have been a pain to him if his imperial memory had faded gradually away ; if his massive judgment had slowly degenerated into that of a second childhood ; if his resolute will had become sickly and feeble. He would have chosen to die with all his armor on, when his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated ; when his life was well rounded and complete, and when he could leave to his pupils the example of a man strong in the Lord and in the power of his might. He would have chosen to begin his Sabbath in his favorite Academy, there to be surrounded with the scholars whom he loved, and to end that same Sabbath in the company of the great teachers of the church, the sainted scholars of ancient and modern times

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix, Note A. p. 389.

his venerated and pious ancestors, and above all in the company of the great Shepherd and Bishop of our souls.

#### APPENDIX.

##### NOTE A.

After describing the death of Dr. Arnold, Dean Stanley says: "What that Sunday was in Rugby it is hard fully to represent — the incredulity; the bewilderment; the agitating inquiries for every detail; the blank more awful than sorrow, that prevailed through the vacant services of that long and dreary day. . . . It was naturally impossible for those who were present [at his death] to adjust their recollections of what passed with precise exactness of time or place." So was it after the death of Dr. Taylor. The air was full of rumors, and no one could obtain certain information in regard to the particular incidents of the scene. Some of the closing sentences of the funeral address have been modified in order to make them a more accurate narrative of the events as they occurred.

It was about twenty minutes after nine o'clock on the stormy morning of the twenty-ninth of January, 1871, that Dr. Taylor died on the floor of the first story, near the chapel, of Phillips Academy. In less than two minutes after he fell more than a hundred of his pupils were gathered around him; fully two hundred were soon assembled, and in about ten minutes after his fall he died in the arms of his son. His funeral was solemnized at two o'clock on the afternoon of the second of February in the large hall of the Academy. He had reached the age of sixty-three years, three months, twenty-six days. At the biblical exercise on the Sabbath morning of his death he was intending to explain parts of the first and second chapters of the Book of Acts. On the previous Saturday noon he conducted the devotional exercises of his school for the last time; reading the hymn: "Show pity, Lord! O Lord, forgive;" the last stanzas which he ever perused. At the morning devotions in the chapel he read the fourteenth chapter of Mark's Gospel

from the forty-sixth verse to the end, and commented on verses sixty-six to seventy-two as compared with verses twenty-seven to thirty-two. This was his last comment on the Bible.

Physicians differ and doubt in regard to the cause of his sudden decease; but suppose it to have been apoplexy, or a disease of the heart; perhaps a rheumatic affection attacking that organ. It is probable that he had anticipated a sudden death; but he did not expect that it would occur so soon. He had formed such plans of study and authorship as would have given him two years of arduous work. In view of his probable expectation of a sudden exit from life, we may detect the hidden emphasis of the words which he wrote in regard to the death of his father-in-law, Rev. Edward L. Parker of Derry, N. H.

While returning from an evening service on the Sabbath-day (July 14th, 1850) this 'model pastor' was seen by one of his parishioners 'in the act of falling forward'; the parishioner "immediately caught the pastor in his arms, when he expired without a struggle, not breathing more than once afterwards. Thus ended the days of this faithful minister of the gospel. It was a fitting time to die—in the midst of his labors—on the Sabbath, after its duties were all performed, and at the going down of the sun. Appropriately did one of his parishioners remark: 'He served his Master faithfully all day, and went home to rest at night.' It would have been gratifying to his friends could they have stood beside him as he breathed out his life, and received from him his last messages and parting blessing. But 'what God appoints is best.' They know how he had lived, and they know what would have been his message to them and to the people of his charge, could he have spoken to them as he was entering another world." (Memoir, p. 48).

NOTE B. *Reminiscences of a Pupil of Dr. Taylor.*

"Dr. Taylor's manner towards us was dignified; an air of authority was around him, and we all felt that there was a strong hand over us. To come under his influence was to

move into a new system of gravitation ; every one, even the dullest, felt that now he was expected to *accomplish something*. He increased his authority by maintaining a reserve towards us, which indeed he seldom relaxed until we had left his care as pupils and met him as friends, when his manner became in the highest degree frank and cordial.

I vividly recall the old school days of fifteen years ago ; the exercises were then held in the Stone Academy, which has since been burned to the ground. At half-past eight o'clock we assembled for morning prayers. The moment that Dr. Taylor appeared at the door we all rose, and remained standing while he ascended to the desk and uttered the invocation. A chapter of the New Testament was then read aloud by the scholars, each one reading in turn ; and then the Doctor, while sitting in his chair, frequently gave us a clear and pungent exposition of some text in the morning lesson which was adapted to our religious needs. I can almost hear at this moment his heavy and sonorous voice as he uttered some great truths of revelation and said : "Notice these points, young men ; weigh them well." After offering the morning prayer, he often arose and made us an address, sometimes managing in a masterly manner a case of discipline in the school, sometimes urging us to greater diligence in study, warning the thoughtless of the advantages which they were neglecting, and painting so vividly the regrets which in future years awaited the idle, that we all felt them at the very moment. Occasionally he threw the whole weight of his character against some foolish opinion which was taking possession of our minds, and in a few moments chased it away, as a fog is scattered by a sharp wind. We listened to these remarks as though our destiny depended upon them ; at times they were stirring and powerful, always racy, occasionally tinged with humor. The Scotch-Irish of Londonderry were noted for their wit, a gift of which Dr. Taylor had a share, not indeed large, but large enough to smooth at times the rigor of his discipline. During the delivery of his most vehement passages, however, he kept his



eyes fixed, not upon us but on his desk ; a remnant of an early diffidence, which never entirely left him. I imagine that he was originally bashful in his temperament, until experience and success rendered him bold.

At the close of the devotional exercises, those of us who belonged to the Senior Class went to the Doctor's recitation-room, the famous No. 9 of the building, and awaited his arrival. The hour and a half of that morning recitation all of us will remember until the day of our death. As soon as he was heard at the door, our mirth was hushed. He entered the room with a firm and heavy tread, looking straight before him, opened the text-book and commenced the recitation. He first reviewed the lesson of the previous day and then commenced the advance. Upon the review he was very rigid in his requirements ; towards mistakes in the advance he was far more lenient. In a few moments every one felt the spell of the Doctor's influence. We seemed to leave the outside world, and float off with him on a strong, irresistible current. The thoughts of the day departed wholly from the mind ; we lived in other ages, with our intellectual ancestors ; again we were wandering with Aeneas, retreating with the ten thousand, burning with Achilles in his wrath. We were called up with great rapidity, and trained to tell promptly and concisely what we knew. Woe to the boy who professed to understand what he did not, no matter how smoothly he could repeat it ; the fraud was instantly detected, and exposed without mercy. As I look back to these exercises in the light of subsequent attainments, they do not seem to me like recitations in Greek or Latin, but lectures upon the science and formation of language. The ease with which Dr. Taylor handled an intricate passage was astonishing. In a few words he pointed out the subject and predicate, detached the connecting clauses, and took the sentence to pieces in a manner which would interest the dullest. The minutest touches of the Greek author, the position of the particles, the various meanings of the article, the delicate methods unknown to any

modern tongue, by which thought could be implied yet not expressed, aroused his enthusiastic attention. I heard him once say that on the whole ‘his saddest task was to deal with men who attended to generalities and neglected details.’ The tenses of the Greek verb quivered with life and meaning in his hands, and he detected the subtle Greek idioms which enrich our modern poets. On one occasion he explained at great length the peculiar power of the Greek Imperfect tense to paint or describe a continued action, and suddenly he darted his exact meaning into our minds by quoting the line from Milton :

“He scarce had ceased, when the superior fiend  
Was moving toward the shore.”

Dr. Taylor was not a poet. But when he illustrated to us the great poets of antiquity, he merged his being into theirs, and became a poet for the time. He made us all hear the murmur of the “deep resounding sea” “and the clang of the silver bow”; when he scanned the words “Arma virumque cano” they sounded like the roar of the ocean, nor did he let the clear lunar beauty of the Anabásis escape our boyish attention. I heard him once draw almost a volume of poetry from each word of Virgil’s terrific line :

“Monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum;”

and at another time I heard him repeat in a transport of delight,

Δεινὴ δὲ κλαγγὴ γένετ’ ἀργυρέοιο βιοῖο.

—when suddenly his face changed, a new thought darted across his mind, he repeated Milton’s line :

“Now morn, her rosy steps in the eastern clime  
Advancing, sowed the earth with orient pearl;”

“Gentlemen” said he “there is more poetry in those two lines than in all the rest of literature.” This union of grammatical minuteness and poetic beauty in the teacher, the severe tension of our own minds, the rapid change of our thoughts, — at one moment receiving an idea from our instructor, the next instant imparting to him our own, —

gave to his recitation-room an indescribable excitement. After graduation some of his pupils enjoyed the instructions of world-renowned men, who probably surpassed Dr. Taylor in extent of attainment. I have observed, however, that they often retained little of those instructions, beyond the vague remembrance of meeting an eminent man at the lecture-room, while they could take up Virgil or Homer and recall many of Dr. Taylor's comments, as though uttered yesterday.

Nor was he one who could be described upon the whole as a man of eloquence. Yet sometimes he spoke to us so earnestly that he seemed to become the mere means through which the truth or the need of the hour impressed itself upon us; and never have I felt more stirred by the address of any one. His remarks upon our school compositions were admirable, and showed much knowledge of the author's art. On Wednesday afternoons we were required to declaim before the school; his comments upon our efforts were models of criticism and showed a great knowledge, not only of our characters, but of the principles of rhetoric. I remember once that a pupil recited an extract from Webster, and charmed the young audience by a declamation which was really false and theatrical. The Doctor said to him kindly: "Granting your conception of the piece, you have spoken admirably; but I think you have misunderstood the author's meaning. Consider first, what the author honestly meant, secondly, how you can express it." I have sometimes thought that Dr. Taylor's power was due to a certain balance of his faculties, rather than to the pre-eminence of any one talent. Upon the basis of common sense and Saxon energy of character, there rested several powers, which were always strong and available, though no one of them was of the *very highest* order. Without being a man of vast erudition, he was an able scholar; though not a poet, he was often poetic; he was not an orator, but was occasionally eloquent.

What, then, is our estimate of Dr. Taylor after a fifteen years interval, when the prejudices and irritations of boyhood

have passed away? Time develops his memory well; he towers up grandly in the distance; the impression which he made upon our youth was no illusion, for his stature seems as large to the man as it did to the boy; but he is now better understood, and grows more genial with age, as some build-ings wear a softer outline when seen in the distant perspective. The thoughtless and idle disliked him, undoubtedly; yet I have noticed that when they became responsible for boys they often hastened to place them under his care. Like the loadstone, with an affinity for steel and iron, his character recognized intuitively all that was good in other men. I never saw in any mind such a sympathy with the right intentions of others, whether this intention was struggling against obtuseness, early disadvantages, or the pressure of poverty. Naturally a ruler, he had a strong moral sense of the necessity of training the young to obedient habits. In his eye, subordination was the first virtue of the pupil; he was the stern foe of the proud and unyielding, and sometimes probably denied them real justice. To the contrite, however, his heart warmed, and to save the penitent he did at times risk the authority of the school. I thought that a few took advantage of this kindness, and persuaded him to retain them in their places when his real judgment was to dismiss them at once. With a strong natural sense of the worth and mission of the scholar, he longed to raise all his pupils into this exalted class of men; yet his sense of duty controlled his passion, and he aimed at the development of manhood, rather than the accumulation of learning in the pupil's mind. Most of the complaints against him have originated from the unworthy. In the main, the public has decided in his favor; and it is unjust to weigh a few instances of conduct which seemed to be arbitrary, against thirty years of constant and increasing success. To expect perfection is always unwise; some teachers may have avoided his faults, but few have surpassed his merits; and we may be obliged to wait long before another such instructor is raised up for the youth of our land."

Since the preceding was in type another of Dr. Taylor's pupils, a Professor in a New England College, has written : "The strictness of Dr. Taylor's discipline to a well-disposed student was no more disagreeable than a bracing northwest wind to sound lungs and a good constitution. We knew that we *must* study under him, and we were glad to be *made* to form good habits of study. Many, like myself, had such experience of his kindness in poverty or sickness that we came to understand what a warm heart there always was beneath his usual and natural reserve of manner. We had our eyes opened to comprehend what and how much was meant by 'classical scholarship'; at least the dullest of us saw 'men as trees walking.' We were taught *how* to study. We were compelled to some degree of accuracy and thoroughness in our lessons. He gave us some insight into the meaning and spirit of the works we studied. His renderings of words, phrases, passages of Virgil, and Sallust, could not be forgotten. Following, as they so often did, his exposition of the syntax of a sentence, or of some allusion, or his revelation of the radical meaning of a word, they were as nails fastened by the masters of assemblies. And it does seem to me that they were *models* in the way of translation. They had not only the merit of fidelity to the exact meaning of the original; they were given in English that was idiomatic, concise, elegant. Had he chosen to *edit* Virgil, I believe he would have resembled Conington in some of his brightest excellences as an annotator and translator.

That he was a most patient workman upon all the material put under his hands, however unpromising, all his pupils can and must realise, in looking back; and appreciate the fact that his power or genius to fashion and to train equalled his rare scholarship and his ability to instruct."



## ARTICLE VIII.

## NOTES ON EGYPTOLOGY.

BY JOSEPH P. THOMPSON, D.D., LL.D., NEW YORK.

THE war has seriously interrupted the publication of works on Egypt at their two principal centres, Paris and Berlin; yet the very last invoice from Paris, before the siege, embraced three volumes of unusual value. One of these was the first in the long-promised issue of the results of Mariette-Bey's explorations. Acting under the authorization of the Khedive, with men and means provided by the government, M. Mariette has been enabled to prosecute his researches for a series of years without interruption or delay; and his scientific method of excavating ruins has led to many discoveries and few disappointments. The museum at Boulak is his creation; and Egypt, no longer the spoil of foreign governments, will there preserve the treasures of her own antiquity. But the superb volumes now coming out under the auspices of Ismaïl Pacha will lay the results of Mariette's labors before the scholars of other nations, as fully as if Egypt were immediately under their eyes. Volume first is occupied solely with a description of the temple of Sethos I. at Abydos, — the principal seat of the worship of Osiris, — and consists of thirty pages of letter-press and upwards of a hundred folio plates.<sup>1</sup>

From indications of its former grandeur yet remaining in his day, Strabo ranked Abydos next to Thebes in magnitude and importance among the cities of Upper Egypt.<sup>2</sup> This celebrity, however, was due less to its real importance as a city, than to its fame as a sacred city, and to the richness of its temples. As the chief seat of the worship of Osiris — the one universal divinity of Egypt — it attracted to its shrines pilgrims from all parts of the country; and to accommodate this concourse of worshippers the temples of the city were numerous and extensive.

M. Mariette laments the paucity of the results of his explorations among the ruins of the ancient city — here and there a stone, a mutilated statue, or a diminutive temple being his only reward outside the precincts of the temple of Sethos; and even this yielded far less than would be expected from a monument so large and so complete. As a rule, the Pharaonic

<sup>1</sup> Abydos. Description des fouilles exécutées sur l'emplacement de cette ville par Auguste Mariette-Bey. Ouvrage publié sous les auspices de S. A. Ismaïl Pacha, Khedive d'Égypte. Paris: Librairie A. Franck, Rue de Richelieu. 1869.

<sup>2</sup> Book xvii. chap. i. sec. 42.

temples are much more chary of explanatory inscriptions than the Greco-Egyptian temples of the Ptolemaic period. In the latter, the design of the temple, the attributes of the divinities, and the meaning of the ceremonies are all made plain; but in the former there is an intentional mystery or reserve upon these points, so that one is left in doubt as to the philosophical or religious idea of the temple itself, and the origin, date, or significance of the ceremonies pictured on its walls. Nevertheless, this great temple of Osiris, which Strabo styled the Memnonium, and likened to the Labyrinth, is now unveiled; its walls and pillars lie before us in detail in these splendid plates, and the key to its inner mysteries may yet be found.

That this temple which impressed Strabo so strongly had always a special interest for travellers is evident from the numerous *graffiti*, both Greek and Phenician, upon its stairways and corridors. The Phenicians rendered honors to Osiris; and other temples of his in Egypt bear records of Phenician visitors upon their walls. Abydos, being the terminus of the route from the oasis of El-Khargeh to Egypt, was much frequented by the Libyan tribes of the western desert.

The temple is divided into seven longitudinal naves, which open upon the façade by seven doors, and terminate in a corresponding number of arched halls or sanctuaries. The arch is here very distinctly introduced for architectural purposes. These halls are dedicated to Horus, Isis, Osiris, Ammon—who occupies the central one,—Armachis, Ptah, and the king, who is here enshrined among the gods. The walls and pillars are covered mainly with religious scenes and symbols; the sculptures are upon a scale of unusual grandeur; and the hieroglyphics are cut with remarkable neatness and precision. A favorite scene, several times repeated, represents the princes and princesses of the family of Ramses going in procession to the altars of the gods, with offerings of animals, fruits, flowers, bread. Again, the king himself offers to Isis incense, flowers, fruits, victuals, wine, oil; while Isis, in turn, gives to him the symbols of power, and pours over him the water of lustration.

Another series of pictures represents the ceremonies prescribed for the king upon entering certain chambers of the gods, and the details of these compose a ritual that should satisfy the extremest devotee of St. Albans. There are instructions how to enter the door, how to prostrate himself so as to touch the ground with his fingers, how to adore the god and the goddess, each four times in turn, how many grains of incense to use in one and another of the offerings, how to put on the purple band, how to put on the green band, how to put on the white band—in a word, the whole ceremonial is here exhibited upon a scale of magnificence that puts to the blush the tawdry imitations of modern ritualism.

The temple is remarkable for the deification of the monarch during his lifetime. In one scene Sethos is represented as a sphinx; and in others he personates Osiris himself.

Phallic worship is strikingly and somewhat grossly portrayed in a scene where Osiris is sleeping upon a funeral couch, holding the phallus in his right hand, and pressing his left hand to his forehead, Horus and Isis standing by. This was intended to represent the dread mystery of life and resuscitation, about which the whole legend of Osiris revolves.

The temple of Abydos, begun by Sethos, was completed by Ramses, and one of its grandest scenes represents Sethos receiving the felicitations of his royal son and of several divinities upon the work of piety so successfully achieved. Ramses opens the tribute, describing how the gods had assisted in the work, by marking out the boundaries of the temple and consecrating the wall, the pillars, and the sanctuaries as these in turn were completed. Then the goddess Sefek presents her congratulations: "Sethos has been established as king upon the throne of the sun; the world has been given him as a balance, which he holds in equilibrium by his beneficent virtue; the whole earth is filled with his fame; he is the guardian of sleep, the light of darkness." Next Toum addresses the king: "I am satisfied with thy deeds; I have united for thee the south and the north, and have placed them under thy feet. I have joined the plant of the south to the plant of the north, [i.e. the symbol of the two sections blended in one crown] to make thee king of Upper and Lower Egypt." Finally Thoth addresses to the monarch his felicitations: "The memory of Sethos shall endure for thousands of years. All the world shall gather unto the temple that he has founded. All the gods shall there repose. He has enriched their altars. He has purified the sanctuaries. He has multiplied their offerings. In strengthening himself, he has fortified Egypt. He has spread his wings over her inhabitants. He has been to her a wall of granite." Such panegyrics rival those of Babylon in Oriental hyperbole.

The most important contribution of the Abydos temple to Egyptology is the now famous list of kings—the seventy-six royal predecessors to whom Sethos is offering homage. The list begins with Menes and has scarcely a break. A full description of it was given in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for October 1867, p. 774.

*Philology and Archaeology*—M. A. Franck of Paris has commenced the publication of a serial, to be devoted to matters of philology and archaeology, both Egyptian and Assyrian. One number only has appeared, and this gives neither the name of the editor nor a prospectus of the magazine. It is to be hoped that it does not represent a new rivalry among the limited number of scholars in these departments; but with the *Revue Archéologique* at Paris and the *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache und Alterthumskunde* at Berlin, both freely open to scholars of all countries, and both encouraging the impartial discussion of disputed questions, one hardly sees the need of another journal for the same limited field. It imposes a new tax upon students who wish to keep pace with these spec-

ialties, and will cause confusion, or diffusion at least, where we had begun to look for harmony and concentration. No. 1 is beautifully printed in royal octavo,<sup>1</sup> and contains four essays: The Poem of Pentauer, by Count Rougé; the Expression *Mââ-Xeru*, by M. A. Devéria; Studies in the Demotic by M. G. Maspero; and Moral Precepts from an ancient demotic papyrus, by M. P. Pierret. The poem of Pentauer, a fulsome eulogy of Ramses the great, was first brought to light in 1856 by the translation of the Sallier Papyrus, of the British Museum. A missing page of that papyrus has since been discovered in another collection, and several verses of the poem have been transcribed from the sculptured walls of Luxor and Karnak. From the collation of these Count Rougé has prepared the revised translation which he now gives to the public. This is but one example of the patience and fidelity with which Egyptologists are pursuing their work. The poem celebrates the king ever terrible and victorious in battle. He performs prodigies of valor. By his unaided powers he sweeps down his enemies like a flaming divinity. Then he returns serene to his capital and receives the acclamations of the people and the welcome of the gods. Some of the battle-scenes are pictured with graphic effect, and there is at times a Homeric grandeur in the impersonation of the divinity by the heroic monarch.

The study of the Demotic has been greatly stimulated by the completion of Dr. Brugsch's Grammar and Dictionary, and the publication in *fac-simile* of so many demotic papyri, under the editorship of M. Pleyte of Leyden. Several Egyptologists are now devoting themselves to this popular form of the ancient language, and its Coptic equivalents, with gratifying results. It is from a demotic papyrus of the Louvre that M. Pierret has derived the moral precepts which conclude this number of the *Recueil*. These precepts furnish so striking an illustration of the morality and humanity of the ancient Egyptians that we give the entire series.

1. In the heart of a mother there should be no place for gall.
2. Do not kill, for that is to expose thyself to be killed.
3. Do not take a wicked man for thy companion.
4. Do not follow the advice of a fool.
5. Do not build thy tomb under those who command thee.
6. Do not maltreat an inferior; respect the aged.
7. Do not maltreat a woman, whose strength is less than thy own. Let her find in thee her protector.
8. Do not curse thy master before the gods.
9. Do not speak against thy master.
10. Do not save thy life at the expense of another's.
11. Do not cause suffering to thy child, if he is weak, but rather help him.

<sup>1</sup> Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes. Vol. i. Liv. 1. Paris, Libraire: A. Franck. 1870.



12. Do not make sport of those who are dependent upon thee.
13. Do not permit thy son to lie with a married woman.
14. Do not build thy tomb within the grounds. — i.e. the sacred enclosures.
15. Do not build thy tomb in the approaches to the temple.
16. Do not walk with an enraged person.
17. Do not stop to listen to his words.
18. Do not pervert the heart of thy comrade, if it is pure.
19. Do not take on airs.
20. Do not make sport of an old man, thy superior.

Many like precepts are found in other papyri, or as mottoes upon funeral monuments. Thus: "I have honored my father and my mother." "I have reached out my hand to the unfortunate." "I have given bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, clothing to the naked, lodging to him who was without a home." "I have treated the powerful even as the wretched." "My doors have ever been open to those who were without, for furnishing them what was necessary to the support of life." "To the powerful I was a brother, to the unfortunate a father, and I never spread hatred among men." "If thou art intelligent, bring up thy son in the love of God. If he is courageous and active and increases thy property, give him the better recompense. But if the son whom thou hast begotten is a fool, do not turn away thy heart from him, for he is thy son." "If from a humble condition thou hast become powerful, and the first in the city for opulence, let not riches make thee proud, for the first author of these good things is God."

A people capable of such sentiments as these, and accustomed to incorporate them into domestic precepts and monumental inscriptions, could not always have been so sunken in heathenism as the grossness of some of their religious symbols would seem to indicate; and the evidences are multiplying that they once had a relatively pure monotheism, with a corresponding morality.

*Assyrian.* — M. Jules Oppert has published in an elegant folio, the text of the *Inscriptions of Dour. Sarkayan* (Khorsabad), with an interlinear translation in Latin, and a separate version in French. Leaving to Rev. W. H. Ward the critical estimate of Oppert's readings and their historical value, we confine ourselves to a statement of the contents of the volume. These are (1) an inscription on the walls of Khorsabad, (2) the cylinder of Sargon, (3) inscriptions upon several native tablets, of silver and of mineral substances, more or less defaced, and finally the grand inscription of the Annals of Sargon. The burden of these inscriptions is the praise of Sargon and the glory of his achievements. The narrative of his campaigns furnishes some geographical data of interest, and illustrates the relations of his kingdom with other peoples. Mention is made of Hamath, Ashdod, Samaria, Tyre, Gaza, Egypt, the whole of Phenicia, and of Syria.



as having felt his power. The material resources of his kingdom appear in the enumeration of his buildings and other public works. The cruelties of ancient warfare are blazoned in such boasts as this: "Unpitying, suffering no infraction of my authority, I tortured king Iloubid, and flayed him, and tanned his skin, and dyed it like wool."

*Papyri.* — The third set of the Papyri of Turin, published in *fac-simile*, and edited by M. Pleyte of Leyden, has appeared, and contains a variety of brief documents, chiefly of the nineteenth and twentieth dynasties. These relate to religious ceremonies, to matters of revenue, and details of civic administration. The full analysis of this fragmentary literature promises much material for the reconstruction of Egyptian society.

*Naville's* analysis of texts relating to the Myth of Horus, found in the temple of Edfou, and Lepsius's dissertation upon a pre-historic Stone-Age in Egypt — the former a valuable study in Mythology, the latter in Archaeology — must be reserved for a subsequent Article.

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## ARTICLE IX.

### BIBLICAL INTELLIGENCE — ENGLAND.

THE following is a project for what is styled in the Prospectus "The Bible Commentary," but is commonly spoken of in England as "the Speaker's Commentary," not on account of any official connection of the Speaker of the House of Commons with the work, but on account of his personal interest in it. The full title of the work, is:

THE HOLY BIBLE, ACCORDING TO THE AUTHORIZED VERSION, A.D. 1611. With Explanatory and Critical Notes and a Revision of the Translation, by Bishops and Priests of the Anglican Church.

The origin and design of the enterprise are briefly these:

The want of a plain Explanatory Commentary on the Bible, more complete and accurate than any now accessible to English readers, has been long felt by men of education. In 1863 the Speaker of the House of Commons consulted some of the Bishops as to the best way of supplying the deficiency; and the Archbishop of York undertook to organize a plan for producing such a work by the co-operation of several scholars selected for their biblical learning.

The great object of such a Commentary must be to put the general reader in full possession of whatever information may be requisite to enable him to understand the Holy Scriptures, to give him, as far as possible, the same advantages as the scholar, and to supply him with satisfactory answers to objections resting upon misrepresentation of the text.

It has been decided to reprint, without alteration, the Authorized Version from the edition of 1611, with the marginal references and renderings; but the notes forming this Commentary will give amended translations of passages proved to be incorrect in our Version. The Comment will be chiefly explanatory, presenting, in a concise and readable form, the results of learned investigations carried on in this and other countries during the last half century. When fuller discussions of difficult passages or important subjects are necessary, they will be placed at the end of the chapter or of the volume.

The plan of the work has been settled and the writers have been appointed, under the sanction of a Committee, consisting of: Archbishop of Canterbury, Archbishop of York, Bishop of London, Bishop of Llandaff, Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, Bishop of Chester, Lord Lyttleton, Right Hon. The Speaker, and the Right Hon. Spencer Walpole, Dean of Lincoln.

The conduct of the work has been entrusted to the Rev. F. C. Cook, M.A., Canon of Exeter, Preacher at Lincoln's Inn, Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of London, and Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen, as general Editor.

The Archbishop of York, in consultation with the Regius Professors of Divinity of Oxford and Cambridge, advises with the general Editor upon questions arising during the progress of the work.

The work will be divided into eight Sections. The following is the List of Contributors sanctioned by the Committee:

SECTION I. *The Pentateuch*: Genesis, Right Rev. E. Harold Browne, D.D., Lord Bishop of Ely; Exodus, Chap. i.-xix., the Editor; Exodus, Chap. xx. to the end, Rev. Samuel Clark, M.A.; Leviticus, Rev. Samuel Clark, M.A.; Numbers and Deuteronomy, Rev. T. E. Espin, B.D., Warden of Queen's College, Birmingham.

SECTION II. *The Historical Books*: Joshua, Rev. T. E. Espin, B.D.; Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Right Rev. Lord Arthur Hervey, M.A., Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells; Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Rev. George Rawlinson, M.A., Camden Professor of Ancient History at Oxford.

SECTION III. *The Poetical Books*: Job, the Editor; Psalms, Very Rev. G. H. S. Johnson, M.A., Dean of Wells; the Editor; Rev. C. I. Elliott, M.A.; Proverbs, Rev. E. H. Plumptre, M.A.; Ecclesiastes, Rev. W. T. Bullock, M.A.; Song of Solomon, Rev. T. Kingsbury, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge.

SECTION IV. *The Four Great Prophets*: Isaiah, Rev. W. Kay, D.D., late Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta; Jeremiah, Rev. R. Payne Smith, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity, Oxford; Ezekiel, Rev. G. Currey, D.D.; Daniel, Ven. H. J. Rose, B.D.

SECTION V. *The Twelve Minor Prophets*: Right Rev. Connop Thirl-

wall, D.D., Lord Bishop of St. David's. Hosea and Jonah, Rev. E. Huxtable, M.A.; Amos and other Prophets, Rev. R. Gandell, M.A., Professor of Arabic, Oxford; Joel and Obadiah, Rev. F. Meyrick, M.A.; Zechariah and Malachi, Rev. W. Drake, M.A.

SECTION VI. *The Gospels and Acts*: Matthew and Mark, Most Rev. W. Thomson, D.D., Lord Archbishop of York; Very Rev. H. L. Mansel, B.D., Dean of St. Paul's; Luke, Ven. William Basil Jones, M.A.; John, Rev. B. F. Westcott, M.A.; Acts, Right Rev. W. Jacobson, D.D., Lord Bishop of Chester.

SECTION VII. *The Epistles of Paul*: Romans, Rev. E. H. Gifford, D.D.; 1 and 2 Corinthians, Rev. T. Evans, M.A., Professor of Greek in Durham University, and Rev. J. Waite, M.A., Master of University College, Durham; Galatians, Very Rev. J. S. Howson, D.D., Dean of Chester; Philippians, Very Rev. Dean of Lincoln, Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge; Ephesians, Colossians, Thessalonians, and Philemon, Rev. J. B. Lightfoot, D.D., Hulsean Professor of Divinity, Cambridge; Rev. B. F. Westcott, B.D.; Rev. E. W. Benson, D.D., Head Master of Wellington College; Pastoral Epistles, Right Rev. John Jackson, D.D., Lord Bishop of London; Hebrews, Rev. W. Kay, D.D.

SECTION VIII. *The Catholic Epistles and Revelation*: Epistles of John, Right Rev. W. Alexander, D.D., Lord Bishop of Derry and Raphoe; Epistle of James, Rev. R. Scott, D.D., Master of Balliol College, Oxford; Peter and Jude, the Editor; Revelation, Ven. W. Lee, D.D., of the Dublin University.

It may be added that Dean Alford, the well-known commentator on the New Testament, was, at the time of his lamented death, engaged in preparing a Commentary on the entire Old Testament, in which he was to be assisted by one of the ablest Hebrew scholars in England.

The Messrs. Clark, of Edinburgh, have at length organized a corps of translators for giving us Meyer's Commentary on the New Testament in English. The part on Acts is to be furnished by Dr. Gloag, so favorably known for his own commentary on that book.

H. B. H.

Since the preceding communication was printed we have received intelligence that the first volume of the Speaker's Commentary has been published in two parts.

Several eminent Biblical scholars in Great Britain are engaged in publishing "The Hexaglot Bible; comprising the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments in the Original Tongues; together with the Septuagint, the Syriac (of the New Testament), the Vulgate, the Authorized English and German, and the most approved French versions, arranged in parallel columns." They have already published Volume I., 632 pp., THE PENTATEUCH; and Volume II., 579 pp., JOSHUA — 2 KINGS. The entire work will consist of six volumes. It will also be published in Monthly Parts, each containing sixty-four pages.

## ARTICLE X.

## NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

## A. GERMAN WORKS.

THE JESUITS.<sup>1</sup>—As the title of this work informs us, Dr. Zirngiebl devotes special attention to the efforts of the Jesuits in connection with education; and a melancholy estimate, we must say, does he lead us to form of the method and tendency of those efforts. He also confines himself almost entirely to Germany, whose Catholic portions have had much to suffer from the influence of this Order. The subject is discussed in seven Studies, of which the titles here follow: 1. The Founding of the Society of Jesus; 2. History of Schools and Humanistic Studies during the Middle Ages; 3. The Institutions established by the Jesuits in Rome, for the effecting of a counter-Reformation in Germany; 4. The Corruption of the Priesthood in Germany prior to the Reformation, and the laxity of Episcopal Discipline; 5. The Period from the Commencement of the thirty years' war to the Middle of the eighteenth century; 6. The Abolition of the Society of Jesus and the asylum they found in Silesia and St. Petersburg; 7. The Jesuits in the nineteenth century.

In our view, it is as needful as ever for Protestants to be on their guard against the influence and power of the Jesuits; for their essential principles and modes of procedure are as "jesuitical" as they ever were. Any one who is inclined to take a more charitable view of them than was once usual, should give himself the trouble to read works like the one under notice: which, without being in the slightest degree sensational, supply dry facts enough to convince men who respect truth, honesty, and spiritual growth, that the Jesuits are a very pest. If we mistake not, the author is a Roman Catholic, resident in Munich, and he confesses that the effect of his own inquiries into the history of this society, has been greatly to lower the not very high conception he had previously formed of its character. We have in our hands a Hand-book of Moral Theology, or Ethics, used at this present moment in many of the principal seminaries for training priests throughout Europe, by a Jesuit writer, which is a disgrace alike to science, morals, and religion.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE BISHOPS OF ROME<sup>2</sup>—This is a dry book, ex-

<sup>1</sup> Zirngiebl, Eberhard, Studien über das Institut der Gesellschaft Jesu mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der pädagogischen Wirksamkeit dieses Ordens in Deutschland. Leipzig: Fries. 1870. Price, 3 Thaler.

<sup>2</sup> Lipsius, R., Ad. Chronologie der römischen Bischöfe bis zur Mitte des vierten Jahrhunderts. Kiel: Schwes. 1870. Price, 2 Thaler.



ceedingly dry, but as thorough and scientific as it is dry. It treats of the Chronology of the Bishops of Rome down to the middle of the fourth century. Such investigations as these of Professor Lipsius are very necessary; but they involve an amount of self-denial both in writer and reader that is rare in these days of piquant newspapers and magazines. The author confesses that he has not produced anything lively or edifying; but advances the, in his case, very sound excuse that he could not do so. The first one hundred and forty-one pages of the work are occupied with a critical examination of the sources, of which the principal are the catalogues of the Popes, which are classed in a general way as Greek or Oriental, and Latin or Occidental. The list of bishops of Rome, with their dates, which he himself constructs on the basis of his inquiry is as follows: Linus; Anencletus; Clemens, presbyter, end of first century; Euaristus, Alexander, presbyters, beginning of second century; Xystus, ten years, d. 124-126; Telesphorus, eleven years, d. 135-137; Hyginus, four years, d. 139-141; Pius, bishop, fifteen to sixteen years, d. 154-156; Anicetus, eleven to twelve years, d. 166 or 167; Soter, eight to nine years, d. 174 or 175; Eleutherus, fifteen years, d. 189; Victor, nine or ten years, d. 198 or 199; Zephyrinus, eighteen to nineteen years, d. 217; Callistus, five years, d. 222; Urbanus, eight years, d. 230; Pontianus, five years, resigned 235; Anteros, one month, d. 236; Fabianus, fourteen years, d. 250; vacant to the beginning of March, 251; Cornelius, two years, d. 253; Lucius, eight months, d. 254; Stephanus, three years, d. 257; Xystus II., eleven months, d. 258; Dionysius, nine years, d. 268; Felix, five years, d. 274; Eutychianus, eight years, d. 283; Gajus, twelve years, d. 296; Marcellinus, eight years, d. 304; vacant to March twenty-third, 307; Marcellus, one year, d. 309; Eusebius, three months, d. 309; vacant to first of July, 310; Miltiades, three years, d. 314; Silvester, twenty-one years, d. 335; Marcus, eight months, d. 336; Julius, fifteen years, d. 352; Liberius, ordained twenty-first of June, 352.

In appendices we have the "Catalogus Liberianus" and the "Vitae Paparum usque ad Liberium" ex cod. Bern. 225.

**LIFE OF ANDREAS OSIANDER.**<sup>1</sup>—This is the most recent volume of a valuable and interesting series of works entitled "Lives and Select Writings of the Fathers and Founders of the Lutheran Church"; nor is any one in the series deserving of higher praise. Dr. Möller is already known as a thoroughly learned, though not fully appreciated scholar. Osiander is to us one of the most interesting figures of the period of the Reformation, and we confess to a much deeper interest in his views (much as they were attacked when propounded), than in those of most others. After indicating the general contents of Dr. Möller's most

<sup>1</sup> Möller, Dr. W., Andr. Osiander, Leben und ausgewählte Schriften. Elberfeld Friderichs. 1870. Subscription price, 1½ Thaler.



thorough life, we will refer to one or two of Osiander's peculiar positions. The volume is divided into five books, which are mainly devoted to the various ecclesiastical controversies and labors in which Osiander was engaged during his stormy career. He was born in 1498; the son of a blacksmith, and grandson of a converted Jew. When at school in Leipzig he had to beg his living. He became a priest; and taught Hebrew for a time in an Augustinian monastery; but was converted to Protestantism in Nürnberg, where he became a powerful preacher of evangelical doctrine. Later in life he removed to Königsberg, where he fought many battles, the bitterness of which was perhaps due in a considerable measure to the heat of his own temperament. He died on the seventeenth of October, 1552. So violent was the antagonism he had excited, that people declared the devil had screwed his neck, and the duke in consequence caused a post-mortem examination to be held, in order to ascertain the facts of the case.

The two points for which Osiander was chiefly attacked were, the relation of satisfaction to justification, and the question, Whether the Son of God would have become incarnate if man had not sinned? He objected to a justification which consisted merely in the forgiveness of sin, maintaining that the latter was rather the presupposition of justification than justification itself. He charged his opponents with teaching a satisfaction without justification; they charged him with separating the two. He held that man is justified only so far as Christ, who is essential righteousness, is laid hold of by faith. The fundamental idea of his theory of justification was the oneness of man with God and Christ through the medium of faith. In a modified shape Osiander's position is now held by many who pass for orthodox. The fact is, his view was a needed reaction against the outward, legal conception set forth by the Lutheran scholastics. His principal grounds for believing as he did, that Christ would have become incarnate, even apart from sin, are as follows: 1. *Si Filius Dei non debuisset fieri homo, Adam non fuisset ad imaginem Dei conditus.* 2. *Si Filius Dei non fuisset incarnandus, nisi Adam peccasset, Adam non in imagine Christi sed Christus in imagine Adami esset factus.* 3. *Homines si non peccassent, non mansissent incolae et agricolae paradisi in omne aevum, sed tandem aliquando immutandi et in coelum transferendi fuissent. Sed nullus terrenorum hominum hanc immutationem et translationem neque sibi neque aliis praestare potuisset. Ergo Filius Dei caelestis fuisset incarnandus, licet Adam non peccasset, ut hoc opus praestaret hominibus.* 4. *Si Filius Dei non fuisset incarnandus nisi peccatum introiisset in mundum, nos atque adeo totum regnum Dei carere cogeremur rege nostro, idque in omnem aeternitatem.* 5. *Si Filius Dei non fuisset incarnandus, nisi homo peccasset, non posset illud mysterium in Christo et in ecclesia existere (Eph. v. 32).* 6. *Nisi Deus voluisset filium suum incarnari, nunquam de mundo condendo quicquam cogitasset. Sed Deus ante alia*

omnia filium suum incarnandum decrevit ac propter ipsum reliquas creaturas universas fecit, nullam prorsus conditurus, nisi filius ejus esset incarnandus. Ergo fuisset haud dubie incarnatus, etiamsi nos non pec-  
cavissemus.

This opinion is entertained at the present day, if not for precisely the same reasons, by some of the most eminent and evangelical of the theologians of Germany and France.

CHRYSOSTOM.<sup>1</sup>—Lic. Förster sets forth the relation of Chrysostom to the school of Antioch in six chapters: 1. The Doctrine of the Holy Scripture; 2. Anthropology; 3. Conception of God and the Trinity; 4. Christology; 5. Soteriology; 6. Ethics. The work is the fruit of careful and independent study. Passages from the originals are cited in illustration and proof of the opinions advanced.

THE GOSPELS.<sup>2</sup>—The subject of this new work of the most extreme disciple of the Tübingen school is: "Mark and the Synopsis of the Canonical and extra-Canonical Gospels, according to the Oldest Text, with an Historico-critical Commentary." It comprises a new translation, a full account of the various readings, a detailed analysis of each of the sections into which the narrative is divided, an exegetical and historico-critical commentary, and an exegetical and historico-critical comparison of the parallel portions of the remaining canonical and non-canonical Gospels. Volkmar regards the Gospels not as genuine histories or memorabilia, but as productions designed to justify, by means of invented discourses, acts, and experiences of Jesus, the doctrinal, ritual, and social ideas of one or other of the two great parties into which the Christian church was at the outset divided. Accordingly, he explains the greater part both of Mark and the other Gospels allegorically. One or two quotations will give our readers an idea of his method. In the account of the stilling of the storm (iv. 35-41) *Jesus* represents *Paul*. The feeding of the five thousand, recorded in the sixth chapter, symbolizes the feeding of the heathen by means of the eucharist. The words, "He that is not against us is on our part" (ix.), are paraphrased: "If he (Paul) is not against us (the twelve apostles), he is for us, and you ought not to forget the charitable contributions he brought to Jerusalem!" The following are, in brief, the results at which Volkmar has arrived regarding the gospel history: 1. The first writing was the Apocalypse (A.D. 68), whose author repudiates Paul, because of his anti-Israelitic views and conduct; 2. The Gospel of Mark (A.D. 73), which is a "didactic poem," in the "form of a prosaic narrative." On the

<sup>1</sup> Chrysostomus in seinem Verhältniss zur antiochenischen Schule von Lic. Förster. Gotha: F. A. Perthes. 1870. Price, 1½ Thaler.

<sup>2</sup> Die Evangelien oder Marcus und die Synopsis der Kanonischen und ausserkanonischen Evangelien nach dem ältesten Text mit historisch-exegetischem \*Commentar. Leipzig: Fues. 1870. Price, 4 Thaler.

basis of Mark arose nine other writings of a similar kind: 3. *Genealogus Hebraeorum* (A.D. 80); 4. *Evangelium Pauperum* or *Essenorum* (about A.D. 80); 5. *Luke* (about A.D. 100); 6. *Matthew* (A.D. 110); 7. *Gospel of Peter* (about A.D. 130); 8. *The Gospel of Marcion* (about A.D. 138); 9. *The Gospel of the Nazarenes according to the twelve apostles* (about A.D. 150); 10. *The Gospel of the Logos, according to John* (about A.D. 155); 11. *The Gospel of the Egyptians* (A.D. 160–170). Those who are acquainted with the views of the founder of the Tübingen school of criticism will see that Volkmar, perhaps through greater consistency, far outstrips his teachers. Any remarks of ours will be quite unnecessary.

THE CHRISTOLOGY OF PAUL.<sup>1</sup> — An investigation of Paul's doctrine of the Person, in connection with his doctrine of the Redemptive Work, of Christ, as laid down, first, in the four Epistles to the Romans, Galatians, and Corinthians, and then in the Epistles to the Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians. Lic. Schmidt examines: 1. The antagonism between flesh and spirit as the presupposition of Paul's doctrine of redemption. "Σάρξ, in distinction from σῶμα, as the form in which the flesh exists, is the material substance of the human body; πνεῦμα is the supersensuous essence not bound to matter, the non-material — positively considered, the motive force." 2. Salvation by the death of Christ, in connection with the resurrection. His position here is not very self-consistent; but his idea seems to be that the death of Christ is rather the principle of our death to sin than a substitutionary endurance of punishment. 3. The Mediator of salvation. "The apostle," says he, "knows nothing of a Deity of Christ like that taught by the church, but only of the pre-existence of Christ as πνεῦμα, perhaps with a corporeality of some sort or other." 4. The Christology of the Epistles to the Ephesians, Colossians, and Philippians. The result at which the author arrives is that the church in its teachings regarding the person and work of Christ has advanced beyond the apostle Paul. We do not agree with him; but his discussion is able.

THE EPISTLE OF JAMES.<sup>2</sup> — We are glad to be able to introduce to our readers this exhaustive and in the main satisfactory view of the theology of James. The subject is discussed in nine sections, preceded by an introduction which musters the early witnesses to the Epistle. Chapter 1, treats of the character of the Epistle; 2. of its occasion;

<sup>1</sup> Die Paulinische Christologie in ihrem Zusammenhange mit der Heilslehre des Apostels dargestellt von Lic. R. Schmidt. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1870. Price, 1 Thaler.

<sup>2</sup> Der Lehrgehalt des Jacobus-Briefes von Lic. Dr. Schmidt. Ein Beitrag zur neutestamentlichen Theologie. Leipzig: Hinrichs. 1870. Price, 1 Thaler.

3. of its soteriological presuppositions; 4. of its view of sin; 5. of regeneration, faith, and works; 6. of justification; 7. of the Christian life; 8. of James himself; 9. of the relation of the Epistle to the Christianity of Paul. On this last important point the author's conclusion is that James and Paul have one and the same conception of justification as a "declarative" act; that both conceive of living faith as inwardly connected with works; and that both deny justification by works alone.

INTRODUCTION TO THE OLD TESTAMENT.<sup>2</sup>—The eighth edition of the first part of De Wette's *Historico-critical Introduction to the Old and New Testaments*, "worked up afresh," by Dr. Schrader. The editor is said to have introduced many improvements. Occasionally he has approximated more closely to orthodox views; and he has added notices of the new works that have appeared. However one may differ from De Wette-Schrader, the joint work certainly ought to be consulted.

*Schöberlein*: *Schatz des liturgischen Chor-und Gemeindegesangs*. A collection of chorales, chants, responses, and so forth, drawn from sources of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with historical and practical explanations, edited by Professor Schöberlein of Göttingen, an authority on the subject. The musical part is superintended by H. Riegel, another authority on church music. It is being published in parts of about one hundred and fifty pages, each costing 1½ Thaler. The work has been very strongly recommended both privately and officially.

*Schletterer*: *Geschichte der geistlichen Dichtung und kirchlichen Tonkunst*. A history of spiritual poetry and church music in their connection with the political and social development of the German people in particular, which is spoken of as both thorough and interesting. The first part of the book sketches the history of poetry and music among the nations of antiquity; e.g. Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Hebrews, Greeks, Romans.

*Rougemon*: *Geschichte der Astronomie in ihren Beziehungen zur Religion*. A translation of the work of the well-known French writer on the history of astronomy in its relation to religion. He takes us through the various periods of astronomy, and shows us what influence it had in each case on religion, and religion on it. Interesting.

*Rougemon*: *Die Offenbarung Johannis*. An exposition of the Book of Revelation, by the last-mentioned writer from the point of view of such authors as Elliott, Gaussen, Auberlen, and the like. He seems to expect that Christ will really appear for the deliverance of the Jewish nation in

<sup>1</sup> *Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in die Bibel alten und neuen Testaments*. 1 Theil Einleitung ins Alt. Test. und die Bibelsammlung überhaupt. Von De Wette. Neu bearbeitet von Dr. E. Schrader. Berlin: Reimer. 1870. Price, 2½ Thaler.



the year 2000. In one respect he is more sensible than Dr. Cumming — none of his contemporaries will live to charge him with being a false prophet.

*Pfannenschmidt*: Das Weihwasser im heidnischen und christlichen Cultus, etc. The author of this treatise on holy water among heathens and Christians, believes that it was first used among the Jews. His historical facts, so far as they are reliable, are interesting, but the use he makes of them, and the theories he builds on them, are singular.

*Palmer*: Evangelische Pädagogik. The fifth edition of a work on paedagogical methods and principles from an evangelical Protestant point of view. It is calculated, of course, rather for Germans than for Americans; but any one who wishes to see how a good and able German clergyman looks on the school, the schoolmaster, and the relations of the two to Christianity and the church, cannot consult a more trustworthy book.

*Dühring*: Kritische Geschichte der Philosophie. The design of this work is not to give an account of the philosophical systems that have been successively produced by the human mind; but to ascertain, by critical sifting, how much abiding truth each has been the means of evolving. Its criticisms are often severe, and it does its best to pull down idols. Men whom Germany places in the foremost rank, such as Leibnitz, Fichte, Hegel, Schelling, he degrades, and some whom Germany has rather snubbed of late, as Locke, Hume, Schopenhauer, Giordano Bruno, and others, are promoted. The tendency of the book reminds one rather of Lewes's "History of Philosophy."

*Fischer*: Geschichte der neueren Philosophie. Two new volumes of the second edition of this very detailed history of modern philosophy. They treat of Kant's Critique of Pure Reason, and of the system based on this critique; and extend over no fewer than thirteen hundred and six pages! Regarding some parts of Fischer's representation a controversy has long raged between him and Prof. Trendelenburg of Berlin. This has recently become so bitter that, as we have heard, it contributed not a little to bring on the serious illness under which the latter is now suffering. Fischer's is a very able work, although too much protracted.

*Th. Zahn*: Der Hirt des Hermas. A painstaking monograph on that strange early Christian writing "The Shepherd of Hermas." The author believes it to have been the work of a Roman Christian, of the name of Hermas, who stood at the head of the Roman church at the time of Clemens, shortly after the Domitian persecution; who really had the visions he records, between A.D. 97 and A.D. 100: and who was regarded as a proclaimer of divine revelations. Lic. Zahn takes a totally different view of the work from that of the critical school, and in his negation is right; but whether he is equally right in his positions, we should be disposed to doubt. As giving a complete review of the subject the monograph deserves attention.

*Prof. v. d. Goltz*: Gottes Offenbarung durch heilige Geschichte, etc.



A series of lectures unfolding the various aspects of revelation in their historical development. The author's idea is a good one; and some of his thoughts are suggestive; but a cursory examination of the earlier lectures left on us the impression of lack of distinctness; which, however, may be our fault.

*Thomas*: *La Resurrection de Jesus Christ*. A "biblical study" on the subject of the resurrection of Christ, written as a prize essay. In the first part the facts are examined as far as to the vision of Paul; in the second, the positive, direct and indirect, and the negative proofs; in the third, the consequences.

*Mestral*: *Tableau de l'Eglise Chretienne au XIX Siècle*. An attempt to give a complete doctrinal and statistical picture of the Christian church in its various branches at the present moment. On doctrinal matters the author endeavors to let each church speak for itself, though he also tells us when he thinks it lags behind its creed; e.g. especially in the case of the Greek church. The following is in brief the statistical result at which he arrives: Roman Catholics, one hundred and ninety-five millions: Greek church, ninety-five millions: Protestant, one hundred and ten millions. As is usual with continental writers, his description of what are called the Protestant sects, is marked by not a few inaccuracies. The word "sect," always has a remarkable effect on continental theologians!

*Böttcher, Dr. F.*: *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache*. The second volume of a new large Hebrew Grammar, which is said to be remarkably full and accurate in the matter of verbal forms. It supplements in several important respects all existing grammars, and as such deserves the notice of teachers of Hebrew.

*Gass, Dr. W.*: *Geschichte der Protestantischen Dogmatik, etc.* The fourth and last volume of a very valuable work, designed to exhibit the course and development of Protestant dogmatic theology from the Reformation down to Schleiermacher. This last part treats of "Illuminism and Rationalism," "the dogmatics of the philosophical schools," and "Schleiermacher and his time." The author's own point of view is moderately orthodox, perhaps somewhat freer than we should be disposed to consider consistent with the truth; but his book is learned, well-arranged, and on the whole impartial. Being himself a pupil of Schleiermacher, without, however, accepting all his teacher's positions, the section relating to him is specially full and interesting.

*Preuss Theod.*: *Kaiser Diocletian und seine Zeit*. A painstaking account of the reign of Diocletian, which throws new light on some points, though open to criticism on others. Said to be mainly valuable as a clear putting together of the results of the labors of other writers: though the original sources have also been used.

W. S.

COMMENTARY ON THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.<sup>1</sup>—We have two criticisms to make on this book of Professor Overbeck, and both of them moral (*moralisch*), rather than critical or scientific. One of them is that the author allows himself to call this a fourth edition of DeWette's Commentary on the Acts, when, as he himself states, his own additions to this fourth edition (DeWette's last being the third) exceed the original work in the proportion of three parts to one. Not only so, but the parts which he adds are so incorporated with DeWette's text as to make this text an appendage merely to his own, for the most part hardly more distinct than the citations which he makes from other writers to whom he frequently refers. To call such an agglomeration a fourth edition of DeWette's work misstates the relation of the two works to each other, and is unjust to DeWette. One effect of this unfortunate plan is that it goes very far to destroy the character of compactness and precision for which DeWette's treatises are justly celebrated.

But this is not the worst aspect of the matter. The other objection is that Professor Overbeck here offers to the public a Commentary on the Acts, under the authority of DeWette's name, written from a stand-point which DeWette not only did not occupy, but repudiated in the most emphatic terms. In the preface to his third edition (the last in his lifetime), DeWette speaks of Baur's critique as not only destructive, but too confessedly extravagant and self-refuting to need any refutation on his part. He terms it "a measureless critique," which, by its own overstepping of all proper metes and bounds, serves only the one purpose of warning us against a path which leads to such results. But the editor in his preface to this fourth edition not only avows himself one of this critical school, but with commendable candor assures us that he stipulated with the publisher that he should be allowed to make DeWette's Commentary a vehicle for bringing his own Baurism before the public, and in fact consented to do the work only on that condition. It is not surprising to be told after this, that the apologetic exegesis of Germany and other lands (meaning that which treats the Acts as a true history, and capable of defence against all reasonable objections) belongs to an antiquated past. He looks upon all commentaries written from that point of view as now quite worthless, except as monuments of an unscientific method and of a credulity which this generation has outgrown.

On its philological side Professor Overbeck's work deserves to be commended. We have evidence of his use of the best results of grammatical study, and of the later geographical works that serve to illustrate Paul's history. The views of interpreters on difficult passages are much more fully represented than in DeWette's briefer annotations. H. B. H.

<sup>1</sup> Kurze Erklärung der Apostelgeschichte, von Dr. W. M. L. De Wette, Vierte aufgabe bearbeitet und stark erweitert von Lic. Th. Franz Overbeck, A. O. Professor in Basil (pp. liii and 487). Leipzig. 1870.

## B. ENGLISH AND AMERICAN WORKS.

THE LIFE OF FRA PAOLO SARPI, Theologian and Counsellor of State to the most Serene Republic of Venice, and Author of the History of the Council of Trent. By Miss Arabella Georgina Campbell. From Original Manuscripts. 8vo. pp. 253. London: Molini and Green. 1869.

We have here the memoir of one of the most eminent men of the sixteenth century — a noted reformer in the Catholic church. Paolo Sarpi was born in Venice in 1552. He appeared upon the stage at the era when the Reformers were contending with the Jesuits, and was contemporary with Philip II. of Spain, and Queen Elizabeth of England. During his childhood he showed marked intellectual powers; and at the age of fourteen, against the wishes of his friends, he entered the convent of the Servi, one of the mendicant orders of his day. His mind tended towards secular studies, which he prosecuted with great vigor; and while still a young man he became eminent as an historian, metaphysician, and anatomist. Indeed, many claim that he was master of all the learning of his age. He is said to have discovered the inclination of the magnetic needle, the existence of valves in the blood-vessels of the body, and the contraction of the pupil of the eye. Through life he was the friend and correspondent of Galileo, whom he might have rivalled, had he confined himself to the realm of physical discovery. He is known to posterity, however, more by his political contest with Pope Paul V. and by his historical work resulting from it, than by his scientific eminence. With his great learning, Sarpi had a marvellous aptitude for practical affairs, and at the age of twenty-six he was chosen provincial of his order and counsellor to the republic of Venice. The Venetians were at this time nobly contending for their liberties against the papal encroachments. Sarpi saw with the rapid insight of genius that the miseries of Italy were really due to the temporal power of the pope, and this abuse he attacked unceasingly with all his learning, sarcasm, and eloquence. The infallibility of the pontiff he boldly denied, and the world stood astounded to see the poor Servite confront the papal court almost alone. Through his influence, the Jesuits were expelled from Venice with contempt, and so formidable did Sarpi become to the court of Rome that an assassin was sent from that city to dispatch him. The ruffian failed in his purpose, though he inflicted a terrible wound. From this time Sarpi lived in constant danger of assassination; but he conducted himself with great courage, and guided the Venetian republic by his wisdom till the end of his days. During his old age he pursued his attack upon the pope's infallibility, by composing his celebrated History of the Council of Trent, a work which all good judges have pronounced to be a master-piece of ecclesiastical history. He died in 1623, at the age of seventy-one.

Sarpi appears to have had one of those gifted minds, capable of achieving the highest success in everything which he attempted. He appeared to

be equally at home in examining nature, searching history or managing men. These talents were accompanied by a beautiful modesty of character, which won the confidence of men and really increased his authority. Without making the least display of power, his advice was so constantly taken that he was always the real ruler. With all his sagacity and boldness, Sarpi was of gentle character, and though he vehemently denounced the errors of the Catholic church, he showed no disposition to leave it. Had he left the Romish communion, it is hard to tell whether he would have led Italy on to Protestantism, or hastened to a martyr's grave. His differences with Rome, however, had more of a political than a religious character.

The present work, as the title indicates, has been compiled by Miss Campbell from original manuscripts. Much learning and research have been displayed in the book, but the work is very deficient in pictorial or dramatic power. The ability of the authoress to acquire facts is much greater than her power to express or manage them. The treatment of a period of history requires a strong imagination; without this element, the work subsides into mere chronicle; the picture may be exact, but it grows very dim. If the historian is not something of a dramatist, he will give us mere lists of names instead of living men. With a very little art, the strong points of Sarpi's life might have been far more distinctly impressed upon the mind. But the author goes over the whole ground with a dull fidelity, dwelling upon the great event and the small one as though they were of equal importance. The valuable materials of the book are loosely arranged; often the writer leaves her narrative for digressions upon unessential points, and inserts many documents which load down rather than invigorate the work. The details are given with a research and accuracy which merit great praise; in fact we think there is little to be known about Sarpi which this book does not present. But we have the impression that a real master in the biographic art could take the same facts, and give us in a few pages a far more real and graphic idea of this great Italian.

A HAND-BOOK OF LEGENDARY AND MYTHOLOGICAL ART. By Clara Erskine Clement, Author of "A Simple Story of the Orient." With Descriptive Illustrations. 12mo. pp. 497. New York: Hurd and Houghton; Cambridge: Riverside Press. 1871.

An American, travelling in Europe, and desiring to examine the specimens of legendary and mythological art there collected, will find this volume an important aid to him. Indeed, no work on the existing monuments of these forms of art is, in our opinion, equal to this, as a guide through the museums of the European cities. Others are too voluminous, or else too meagre. Rare tact, extensive knowledge, delicate taste, sound judgment, are exhibited on almost every page. The volume contains about two hundred, some of them very accurate, illustrations of the pictures, sculptures, symbols pertaining to the old mythology and legends.



Its value would be much increased by an index of the topics explained in it. The need of this index is not superseded by the alphabetical arrangement of the principal subjects.

THE METHOD OF SHAKESPEARE AS AN ARTIST. Deduced from an Analysis of his leading Tragedies and Comedies. By Henry J. Ruggles. 16mo. pp. 298. New York: Hurd and Houghton; Cambridge: Riverside Press. 1870.

The design of this treatise is admirable. The writings of Shakespeare ought to be studied with philosophical discrimination. Far more can be learned from him by the critical investigations of a private reader than by frequenting the stage, where his plays are acted by men incapable of understanding them. He has been studied in Germany with much more industry and patience than in England. The present volume indicates a tendency among our own countrymen to examine the organization and the moral bearings of his works. It contains a good Introduction and three ingenious Essays—one on the Twelfth Night, or, What you will; one on Hamlet; one on Macbeth. Of these Essays the second is the most instructive, although all are worthy of attentive perusal.

A POPULAR COMMENTARY UPON A CRITICAL BASIS: especially designed for Pastors and Sunday-schools. With Illustrations. New York: Sheldon and Co.; Philadelphia: Smith, English and Co.; Chicago: Henry A. Sumner; Boston: A. F. Graves. 1870.

Those who have examined Mr. Clark's "Harmony of the Gospels" will need no assurance of the fidelity and conscientiousness with which the present kindred labor has been performed. The author evinces a wide acquaintance with the best results of critical scholarship, and, in the use of them, has here performed a valuable service for all readers, but especially for pastors and Sunday-school teachers, whose benefit he has had particularly in view. We commend the volume heartily to all who wish, under competent guidance, to study and understand the life of the Saviour as recorded by Matthew. That important feature of this Evangelist's Gospel, the fulfilment of Messianic prophecy in the person and history of Christ, is duly recognized and brought out in the notes distinctly and impressively. At the same time the author's plan secures a good degree of historical completeness by noting the intersections of this and the other evangelical narratives, both as they occur in their proper order, and in the valuable synoptical view of the Four Gospels in tabular form, prefixed to the Commentary.

The style of the work is neat, perspicuous, and scholarly. We congratulate the author on having executed so well his difficult design: that of giving us a popular commentary upon a critical basis. We are glad to know that he proposes to go over the other Gospels in a similar manner.

H. B. H.



THE  
BIBLIOTHECA SACRA.

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ARTICLE I.

WAYS TO ROME.

BY REV. FRANCIS WHARTON, D.D., LL.D., PROFESSOR IN THE EPISCOPAL  
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IN one respect the work before us<sup>1</sup> is open to serious exception. Herr Nippold is a "liberal," and as such revolts from anything that savors of a positive faith. He does not see that orthodoxy can be anything else than compulsory; he is unable to conceive of a mind that in perfect freedom, under the blessed influences of the Holy Spirit, accepts and obeys the revealed gospel of Christ. "Bondage," and yet "liberty," simple submission to a creed coalescing and becoming coincident with entire freedom both of belief and life, — these are among those mysterious harmonies which, verified as they are by the experience of every Christian heart, pass, like the co-existence of predestination with individual responsibility, beyond the range of the comprehension of the world. Hence it is that so often we hear the view incidentally taken by Herr Nippold in one of his closing sections — that whatever sets up an authoritative standard, in matters of faith at least, opens the way to Rome. Now, in one sense, this is nothing more than Luther's well-known

<sup>1</sup> "Welche Wege führen nach Rom. Geschichtliche Beleuchtung der römischen Illusionen über die Erfolge der Propaganda," von Friedrich Nippold. Heidelberg, Verlagsbuchhandlung von Fr. Bassermann. pp. 456. 1869.

saying, that there is a pope in every man's belly; and if it be limited to this, it is a position that all must admit. Every man, if he follow his natural instincts, will be a pope if he can. And this holds good in things ecclesiastical, as well as in things practical and domestic. The Methodist class-leader who patronizes no Christianity that is not Methodist, and sees nothing Methodist that is not Christian; the Presbyterian elder who makes his self his creed, and his creed an anathema; the Episcopal neophyte, who believes himself the holy catholic church that can never err, and who treats his bishop with the most abject professed veneration and the most insolent practical contempt — each of these assumes papal powers, so far as his little opportunities will allow. Nor can we stop here. If the pope is incarnate in any one, it is in those by whom "free-religionism," as it is called, is most clamorously maintained. Some months since was published the life of a "liberal" Unitarian clergyman, who, having obtained a chaplaincy during our late war, used the powers it gave him to take military possession of a Southern pulpit, and there, as he exultingly tells us in his diary, to "force" the reluctant people to listen to the theories, political and social, which he was pleased to call the gospel. A regiment stood without; a prison or a gibbet rose in the perspective. It would be disloyal to fly from the loyal preacher who thus took possession; and thus he was able, as he felicitated himself, to ruthlessly assail the most cherished convictions of his hearers' hearts. Now, this was the "compelling to come in" of Pope Innocent, with but a slight variation; the variation being that in one case the compulsion was to hear that everything the church taught was true, while in the other case the compulsion was to hear that everything that the auditory believed was false.

Nor can we exempt Herr Nippold himself from the same embarrassing charge. Of all others, when we remember his pretensions and protestations, he ought to be the last to have nestling in him an embryo pope; but when we scrutinize closely his bearing, we cannot but see that appearances are

very much against him. Notwithstanding his creed of universal liberty, there are ominous shudderings observable in him, and ill-concealed mutterings of reprobation, when any one comes athwart his vision who believes more than he is pleased to believe himself. It is the "pope" of human nature that more or less fully occupies each of us. It is the same pope that, under the guise of rampant liberalism, is concealed in the person of even Herr Nippold. In this sense, it is true, orthodoxy embodies the pope; but it is orthodoxy only so far as it is burdened with our corrupt nature, and in this respect orthodoxy and heterodoxy stand on the same ground.

But the position which we have thus criticised fills, we are bound to say, but a very small and unimportant place in Herr Nippold's treatise. The object before him is one of deep interest; and he has bestowed on it not only exhaustive historical labor, but acute critical skill. He has undertaken to meet the boasts of the Romish Propaganda, that there is a great moral movement among devout Protestants towards the Romish see; and he has performed the work by taking up the list of converts published by Rome, so far as Germany is concerned, and explaining, in each case, the motives and circumstances of conversion. The examination is so interesting, both psychologically and theologically, that we now propose to sum up its general results.

It is Nippold's theory that the last century, which ended in 1830, may be divided into two almost equal eras — the first, that of liberal advance, culminating with the French consulate; the second, that of conservative reaction, culminating with the short-lived triumph of Bourbonism and of the Holy Alliance. In the first of these eras, liberty, if we may use the expression, was in the air. Men caught it as if it were an epidemic. Philosophers, scholars, preachers, even courtiers, such as those who crowned Franklin with laurel, and waltzed Louis XVI. into war, were alike infected by its spirit. In the second of these eras conservatism seemed to emit the same universal infection. It was not

merely conservatism shuddering at the horrors of the French revolution; but it was conservatism in another and better phase. Legitimacy — such was the term happily hit upon by Talleyrand at the Vienna Congress — was the antithesis not merely of the popular license of the French republic, but of the military autocracy of Napoleonic imperialism. Legitimacy, therefore, was a safe and commodious refuge, not merely from the excesses of too little government, but from the excesses of too much. Into it rushed the enthusiastic rationalists of Germany, with patriotic banners flying, singing Körner's insurrection songs. Into it tottered the stupid retrogressivism of England, led by Percival and Liverpool, and followed by the English middle classes as a mass. It was not merely a refuge for the romanticism of Burke and the feudalism of Chateaubriand, but for the enlightened comprehensiveness of Canning and the majestic constitutionalism of Stein. That the latter were grossly mistaken the event showed; and soon they achieved their escape. But into the common ranks of reactionism they for the time went; for the temper was one which for the moment pervaded almost all phases of European political life.

But did not the same temper enter into the church? Herr Nippold maintains, and maintains truly, that it did; and he asserts, further, that this temper, when morbidly developed, was the cause of many perversions to Rome. These perversions, arising from this reactionary spirit, he carefully analyzes, and reduces them to the following heads:

- I. Die mit der Gegenwart zerfallene Geburtsaristokratie (Politische Romantik).
- II. Die romantische Dichter-schule (Poetische Romantik).
- III. Die romanisirenden Kunstschulen (Künstlerische Romantik).
- IV. Die restaurative Rechtslehre (Juristische Romantik).
- V. Die rücklaufigen Tendenzen in Lehr- und Nährstand (Sittliche Romantik).
- VI. Die moderne Orthodoxie (Theologische Romantik).

Taking Herr Nippold's classification, therefore, the various ways to Rome may be thus described:

I. Political Romanticism ; II. Literary Romanticism ; III. Artistic Romanticism ; IV. Juristic Romanticism ; V. Social Romanticism ; VI. Religious Romanticism. Or, viewing these tendencies as in their origin reactionary, they may be ranged as :

1. Disgust with the Political Present ; 2. Disgust with the Literary Present ; 3. Disgust with the Artistic Present ; 4. Disgust with the Social Present ; 5. Disgust with the Moral Present ; 6. Disgust with the Theological Present.

At some of the "disgusts" which are above enumerated we propose, guided by Herr Nippold, for a few moments, to glance.

### 1. *Disgust with the Political Present.*

For, complete as was, apparently, the restoration of legitimacy by the Congress of Vienna, the second-class princes and nobility of Germany felt, even at the outset, that the ground on which they stood was insecure. The liberation-war (Freiheits-krieg) had evoked a popular element ominously like that which had destroyed Louis XVI., and which had driven into exile the French noblesse. Without this popular aid the battle of Leipsic would not have been won. It was this that gave such splendid enthusiasm to the German arms, as well as such immense accessions to the German armies. Without this Austria and Prussia would have remained second-class powers, while the minor princes and nobility would have continued the obsequious satellites of Napoleon. They owed their release from this fawning slavery to the people ; but they did not feel comfortable at the alliance. The monster, it is true, had rescued them ; but the monster might devour them, if he were not restrained ; and, besides this, anything like a partnership in power with such a creature was odious. And then, again, intelligent statesmen, such as those who then guided the Prussian and Austrian courts, were not slow in giving as their opinion that "legitimacy" must throw off its feudal incumbrances ; that the exclusive social privileges of the nobility must be moderated ; that some deference, at



least, must be paid to popular rights. And then, in addition, the dangerous idea of German nationality was looming up, and was understood to be encouraged by the Prussian court. It was not a feudal nationality, such as that of the old Roman Germanic empire, that would be thus instituted; it was not a nationality in which the people would have no power, the emperor but little, while all real authority would be vested in princes and nobles. But it was to be a nationality, either military or popular, by which the nobility, as a class, would be humbled; by which the lesser principalities would be absorbed; and by which all power not possessed by the people would be vested in the central executive. It is no wonder that, under such circumstances, those who would be thus victimized should have objected. And it is no wonder, also, that, as this idea of nationality gradually approached realization, this objection should have become clamorous. The only way to meet the danger was to restore the old safeguards; the only way to prevent absorption was to restore feudalism — feudalism in church, as well as in state. In every petty court, Protestant as well as Romish, in every forlorn and decayed castle, whose inmates, incapable by their traditions of any useful labor, were living in impoverished pomp, the same cry arose: "The spirit of the age is degenerate. Prince and noble are shorn both of power and respect; the only course is to go back behind the Reformation, and restore the Middle Ages as they were. We must have back the old empire, and, of course, we must have back with it the old pope."<sup>1</sup>

Naturally enough did herds of the supernumeraries whose privileges were thus threatened turn wistful eyes to Vienna

<sup>1</sup> Voss thus expressed this cry: "For the welfare of Germany we need unity of ecclesiastical, as well as of secular power, as in the mighty Middle Ages, when emperor and pope could keep an impious rebel in proper check. It becomes all officers of the empire to reverence the emperor and imperial law; it likewise becomes all faithful and orthodox believers to reverence the pope and the canon law. The secession of Luther and Zwingli have destroyed the unity of empire, as well as of church, have weakened Germany, and have checked true civilization."

and to Rome. Naturally enough did their bleatings shape themselves into moans over the demoralizing character of progress; on the ruin which would prostrate everything, if the old rights of the nobility were not restored; on the pastoral charms of the Middle Ages, when the peasant was a simpering hind and the lord a maudlin despot. Naturally enough did sympathetic Jesuits hurry up, at these cries of distress, and whisper into the ears of the alarmed and impotent train that their safety was to rush from the disorganized, revolutionary present back into the fold of the secure, primitive past. There they went, hurrying as fast as they could to antiquity, stimulated and comforted by their Jesuit guides. There is the list of them. It is published by Rosenthal and Rohrbacher, the pamphleteers of the Propaganda. It is reproduced by Nippold. Princes and princesses, noblemen and noble ladies, how proudly are they arrayed in all their ribbons and banners by their Romish leaders! And with what imposing circumstantiality are their pedigrees sounded by their heralds, as they approach their goal! Reigning princes, consisting of that branch of the Coburgs which was to repair its ruined fortunes by marriage with Romish princesses! Mediatized princes, who awoke after the Congress of Vienna, and found that their subjects and their territory had, during the revolution, gone from underneath them! Counts and countesses, barons and baronesses, each accompanied, no doubt, by a due proportion of chamberlains and ladies in waiting! There is something pathetic in the procession, as, in the due order of their rank, they pass before us in their poverty, their dethronement, their fantastic reactionary demeanor and attire, bidding their adieu to the nineteenth century, and betaking themselves to the tenth. But, touching as the picture may be, we are amazed that the Propaganda should unfold it. They left, because they could not tolerate the present, and were not tolerated by it; and to cite them as an illustration of the tendency of the present to Rome is certainly as extraordinary as it would be to appeal to the

flight to England of American loyalists, after the Revolution, as a proof that the United States were struggling to get back under the British crown. And no Protestant can gaze on these high-born converts without a feeling of satisfaction. Some of them were absurd and doleful; others were absurd and frivolous. Some were men of true chivalry, but as mad as Don Quixote; others were selfish adventurers; but in one respect they agreed, — their pretensions were so monstrous, and their system so diseased, that the atmosphere congenial to them would be insupportable to ordinary healthful life. Whatever else the installation at Rome of such anachronisms may prove, it certainly does not show that Rome is a harbor of refuge for the representatives of modern political thought.

## 2. *Disgust with the Literary Present.*

It is a great reproach to German literature that at the time of the first Napoleonic tyranny so many eminent German thinkers should have withdrawn into epicurean seclusion, or should have been willing to treat of any subject except those which directly related to the national life. It was natural that by such men the real and the present should be ignored; since, if they touched at all on the real and the present, they could scarcely avoid noticing the mean sycophancy with which their princes fawned on their conqueror, or the odious oppressions the conqueror imposed on the land. So, to escape such themes, Fichte lost himself in subjective idealism; and Goethe fell into raptures over Chinese and tea-roses; and Fouqué discoursed about shadows and water-nymphs; and Jean Paul devoted his inimitable genius to the immortalizing of whatever was grotesque enough to be impossible. Soon this extravagance became contagious, and there arose a school of "Romanticists," as they were called, each of whom selected from the mystical past some ideal lady of fancy, to whom he consecrated his exclusive regards. Some personified, for this purpose, the genius of heathen mythology; and among these we are sorry

to remember that Schiller was for a time enrolled. Others vowed their devotions to the purely poetic element in primitive Christianity, making it the mistress to whom their lances were pledged. Others sighed, like Rosseau, at the feet of a sentimental philanthropy, whose real children were sent to the poor-house, while its imaginary brotherhood was idealized into an Arcadia. And others, conspicuous among whom were Friedrich Schlegel, Müller, and Werner, dedicated themselves to the chivalric service of the saints of the mediaeval church.

It is said that there are Spanish convents in which the nuns, compelled to live in idleness, take to the dressing and fondling of dolls. We certainly all of us know how surely a divorce from active and real life engenders extravagant and capricious humors and enthusiasms. And the Romanticists had divorced themselves most effectually from all that was real and present; and, by long association, their particular extravagancies were so imbedded in them that when the public mind was restored to a healthy condition these extravagancies had become a second nature, and could not be got rid of. So it was with Schlegel and his romanticism about mediaeval heroes, princes, and saints. Wherever he went to lecture,—and for lecturing his natural gifts were great,—this romanticism stuck to him; and to some parts of young Germany it was inexpressibly heavy; to others, inexpressibly grotesque. He went to Cologne, under the shadow of whose dome, and in the centre of whose feudal memories, he could at least expect deference; but at Cologne he was unnoticed by all that savored of active, present life. Only ancient “Catholics” attended his lectures; only Jesuits uttered his praise. So he himself writes, and so writes his wife, in letters since published, in which with the greatest bitterness they denounce the realism of an age that shut its ears to the Romanticists, and refused to listen to their songs. He was wretchedly poor; and when we recollect the gallant extravagance with which he originally pranced forth on his early tournaments, and the popular applause which then

greeted him, we cannot but be saddened on viewing the desolation and want into which he fell. And yet there is truth, as well as point, in Gervinus's remarks, when, after narrating the dissolution of the Romanticists, and after mentioning the retreats in which these superannuated enthusiasts found shelter, he says: "Some who, like F. Schlegel, Müller, and Werner, removed to Vienna, made their new creed [the Romish] remunerative, and derived from it not merely repose, but income." To each of these forlorn fugitives comfortable offices were assigned. They found, what elsewhere they could not have found, sympathizers and co-groaners and supporters; they were rescued not merely from the ridicule which the veteran and inveterate Romanticists encountered in the practical circles of the living present, they were rescued, also, from starvation. That they should thus have been comforted and entertained was but right. The amazing feature is, that the Propaganda should now put forward the Romish absorption of the literary Romanticists as a proof of the Romeward tendency of modern thought. It is as if we should point to the owl creeping into a dark hole, as a proof that birds shun the light. The Romanticists of this school crept into Rome, because in the open world they were shunned as obsolete by the practical, and tittered at as ridiculous by the unthinking. They crept into Rome, because their sight had been so long adjusted to the phantoms of an unreal life that the daylight of the real and the practical was to them a blur and distress.

### 3. *Disgust with the Present in Art.*

So far as architecture is concerned, the question is easily solved. The dispute is an old one; it is that between the eye and the ear as the avenues of instruction — which is to be the subordinate? Are buildings for public worship to be constructed in the way which will best enable thought to pass through the ear by way of language, or in the way that will best enable it to be displayed to the eye by means of pictures? Now, between the two systems, the first is the



Protestant in the construction of churches, and the second, the Romish. The first says: "Give me a building in which the preacher's voice can be best heard by the largest number of persons." The second says: "Give me a building which will itself, through the eye, most deeply impress the religious sensibilities, and which will afford the most effective and imposing stage for the spectacles of the altar and the processions of the nave, and for the numerous statues and pictures by which religious truths may be symbolized." Now, while fully admitting the claims of architecture as an art, — while fully admitting the powerful influence on the imagination of noble and richly-adorned buildings, there can be no doubt that between the two ways of communicating thought, that by picture or figure and that by word, the former is the mark of a more barbaric and ignorant, the latter of a more cultured and mature, age. The teaching of picture or spectacle is limited to but a few combinations of expression; is stiff and inflexible, and cannot be varied, as can the preacher's speech, from day to day and from moment to moment, to meet the worshipper's wants; is expensive and almost unattainable in its better phases, and approaches to the ridiculous in the lower; and is liable to draw forth, instead of the worship of heart and soul, sometimes a sensuous worship, sometimes worship that is merely sentimental, sometimes gross idolatry. Feel as tenderly as we may the charms of art, we cannot but see that to subordinate, in this respect, the ear to the eye, is to push worship, if not the worshipper, back into a grosser and more barbarous age. That an architect, filled with enthusiasm for his art, should revolt at the Protestant demands in this respect, should not surprise us. Plainness, if not ugliness, seems inseparable from all buildings whose object is the easiest transmission of the voice. Nor is it by any means clear that when the end is to impart unbroken the current of thought, columns imbedded with statues, niches rich with pictures, do not tend almost as much to distract the attention, as they do to break the sound. Westminster Abbey can only be made fit for public

worship by letting down heavy sheets of canvass, which cover up the historic walls, while they shut in the speaker's utterances; and, though we may reproduce Westminster Abbey for other purposes, — as a national monument, or as a great and sublime work of art, — yet when an audience-chamber is to be effectively constructed, something like these canvass-sheets must be invoked. Protestantism, therefore, affords but little field for ecclesiastical architecture, while Romanism opens a sphere in which it can lavish its richest treasures, can exercise its sublimest genius, can win its most glorious reward. We need not wonder, therefore, at the tendency of ecclesiastical architects towards Rome, or towards those high ecclesiastical theories by which the Romish idea of worship is adopted. But with all personal deference to such men, — with the highest appreciation of architecture as a means for elevating the public taste, and of making almost perpetual certain grand rudimental ideas in patriotism, and even in religion, we have to say that the disgust of ecclesiastical architecture in this respect with Protestantism is a disgust with the nineteenth century; is a disgust with printing and common-school education, which have made nine tenths of our population more approachable through language than by picture; is a disgust with the necessary conditions of this age and country, as distinguished from the obsolete conditions of four centuries ago.

And so with painting. The objections of the Reformers to pictures as incidents of public worship arose not merely from what might be considered an overstrained interpretation of the second commandment, — not merely from the shock which men of severe taste and high religious tone must receive from the hideous or absurd representations of things sacred by which three fourths of the continental churches are disgraced, — but from an intuitive sense that the era which was opening was to be an era, as has just been stated, in which men, by the force of living words, and not through the unplastic and often false picture, were to be brought to know God. We cannot, indeed, blame those great

painters, who, absorbed with enthusiasm for their art, desirous of making that art the minister not of sensual life, not of inanimate nature, but of religious thought, have revolted at this stern decree, accepted, as it has been, as one of the fundamental maxims of Protestantism. There is no law, no matter how wise, but has its dark side; and undoubtedly there is this dark side to the law of which we speak, that it silences, as it were, in the sanctuary, the ministry of painting, so far as painting undertakes to exhibit dogma. But in view of the great principle we have just stated,—in view of the fact that where there exists one picture capable of giving a true conception of the gospel, or of Him from whom the gospel springs, there are countless myriads which pervert that gospel, and exhibit our blessed Lord and Master in false or grotesque or even odious lights,—in view of the fact that the worship thus directed is thus often erroneous and almost always gross,—we feel that the decree is right, and must be rigorously maintained. We look, it is true, with sadness on Overbeck, on Schadow, on Vogel, on Veit, on the long train of their scholars, as they leave the Evangelical German church, and join that of Rome.<sup>1</sup> They were not frivolous men, nor men superannuated and fantastic, as were the patrician reactionists, whose perversion has already been recorded. Overbeck, the leader of the artistic Romanticists, was a compound, as Mr. Hilliard well says, of painter, gentleman, and monk. He was severe and pure as a man, and as an artist mighty and sublime, standing in the noblest contrast to the dissolute race of painters whom he succeeded. His quarrel with them was a right one. He was right in saying that Raphaelism and Titianism had been pushed into a sensualism of subject and of coloring which both enervated art and demoralized

<sup>1</sup> Archdeacon Hare, in his charge of 1843, speaks of similar migrations from the church of England: "One man became a Romanist (in Germany), because he admired the knights of the Middle Ages; another, because he admired the pictures of Perugino and the earlier works of Raphael; others, because they admired the architecture of our ancient churches and cathedrals. How strong this latter temptation is we have seen of late in England."

the artist. He was right in saying that to portray the graceful and the lovely alone was not the sole, or even the highest object of art. But he was wrong, even artistically, when his reaction became retrogression, and when, in recalling the sublimer theories of the pre-Raphaelites, he thought himself bound to revive the stiff drawing and the rude colors by which the pre-Raphaelites were marked. And morally, also, were he and his disciples wrong in their quarrel with Protestantism, because in this respect they also quarreled not with Protestantism, but with the century in which they lived and the higher conditions of the faith to which they were devoted. Ungenerous it would be to say that they left the evangelical church because the evangelical church closed its sanctuaries to their pictures, while Rome enshrined these pictures on its altars. But right is it to say that they went to Rome because Rome perpetuates the conditions of sensuous worship and scenic instruction, while these conditions Protestantism rejects. *Their* disgust, also, was not simply with Protestantism, but with the age we live in and the culture this age has reached.

4. *Disgust with the Social Present*; 5. *Disgust with the Moral Present.*

Here we rise to a still higher class of converts, following the gradual ascent we began, as we previously passed from the romanticism of the retrogressive aristocrat to the romanticism of the retrogressive artist. It is impossible to view without an increased tenderness of interest the men whom Nippold arrays before us under the last-mentioned heads, and the men who under similar influences have fled to Rome in our own land. The "disgusts" we have now to treat of are those of noble, though really unsound, minds. We can arrange in certain well-known classes those German perverses here introduced to us; and we can find, with slight variations, the same classes among ourselves. The general cause is heart-sickness and exhaustion from unrest, whether social or moral; and the motive-power of the perversion is

the belief—a belief utterly delusive, as we will presently show, but to a diseased understanding not unnatural—that certainty and rest and peace are to be found in a system where the external and formal is declared to be perpetual and immutable. The unrest which leads to this romantic moral reaction is of various kinds. There is the unrest of society—the turbid tossings of the great social sea, tossings which make an earthly haven, if there be such, the object of such fond desire. And there is also the apparent godlessness of the life about us; the misery, the crime, the uproar which it is so easy to attribute not to the want of inner principle, from which they really spring, but to the want of a vigorous external church. Such are the conditions from which men like Brownson in America and Adam Müller in Germany have turned to seek in the Romish church that rest which it is not the divine will should be found anywhere short of the heaven of peace and of joy. And then there is that feeling of alarm which is caused by the spectacle of governmental or popular interference with general ecclesiastical institutions. Several cases of migration from this cause in Germany are detailed by Nippold. In England it was Lord Grey's measure for the consolidation of Irish sees, in connection with the reform bill, that first brought Dr. Newman and his immediate associates—so Dr. Newman has recently told us—to the conclusion that they could no longer remain in the English church. And then what is called the sect spirit is constantly impelling nervous and morbid minds in the same direction. The very exuberance with which, in a free country, religious individualism manifests itself,—the tendency to disintegration, and to the erection of new communions, in which sometimes in the most extravagant relief are brought out the antagonisms and prepossessions of their founders,—all this, which, deplorable as it is, is but a rank growth of early, unrestrained life, a growth of excessive vigor, which as maturity approaches, and the uniformity of settled society diffuses its cohesive influence, will give way to more symmetrical development,



—all this alarms the timid and morbid, and prompts them to seek some ecclesiastical fold where form, at least, is stable, and where the outside, at least, is at rest.

Now, there are two remarks to be made as to this temper. The first is that conservatism does not necessarily involve immutability of form or frame. On this topic, the following striking observations of Bluntschli, as quoted by Nippold, are worthy of study :

“The ideas which we have to combat have neither the glow of youth nor the ripeness of manhood ; they are essentially effeminate. Chief among these is the longing for rest and stability. The theory that these were to be the prime objects of society was proclaimed, after the reaction of 1815, as the highest grade of political wisdom, and was falsely stamped with the name of conservatism. But the true conservative is far too powerful and too active to love rest for itself. He desires restoration, it is true, but it is such restoration only as sleep gives after a day’s toil. But the absolutist views this stability as the highest good—a good that secures all the enjoyments of life. He loves rest as rest. In this idea of stability, on the other hand, the conservative sees an ignoring of the necessary motion of life and of the unavoidable changes of things. When nations are exhausted, either by revolution or by war or by any great labors and exertions, then, naturally, they are for the time disposed to rest, seeking, as it were, sleep. This is absolutism’s opportunity, and this opportunity it can most adroitly use. The absolutism of the last century was not reactionary, because it paved the way for the transition from the Middle Ages to the conditions of modern life. But the absolutism of the present century is reactionary, because it opposes its antiquated conceptions and fancies to the youthful energies of a new era. It neither understands nor likes the present. Its thoughts are turned backward to the lost paradise of clerical and aristocratic mediaevalism.

“The absolutist exults in the claim that he reverences law and establishes order. But his law is without life, and his

order without freedom. He elevates the form of law over its spirit, and exaggerates the mere technicalities of the letter. If the choice is open to him between right and might, he chooses the latter. For might permits no doubt, and therefore tolerates no agitation.

“In the order of the Jesuits we find absolutism developed in its most dangerous and its most portentous phase. It is characteristic that Jesuitism should have sprung up in the last absolutist period of the Middle Ages; should, during the following centuries of absolutism, have become dominant in so many Roman Catholic countries; should have fallen contemporaneously with the diffusion of modern light in the European horizon; should have been restored contemporaneously with the attempted restoration (after the Vienna treaty) of pre-revolutionary life; and should now be the armed antagonist of modern life, protected by the absolutism of courts, partly from fear, partly from sympathy.”

In view of the fact, stated by Nippold, that almost every representative of morbid reactionary conservatism — almost every pilgrim for an illusory ideal of repose who takes refuge in Rome — ends with the adoption or the vindication of Jesuitism, the following gains peculiar significance: “In an army the principle of mechanical obedience to authority is necessarily accepted. By the Jesuit, however, this principle is transferred to religion in a manner that annihilates the freedom of the members of the society and makes them the involuntary instruments of an exterior will. The ostensible object of the order is personal holiness, evangelization, submission to the divine will. In its members it destroys, by careful discipline and mortification, all individual ambition. But, in truth, its object is the absolute control and absorption of society to serve its own purposes; and the ambition of its members it consolidates and nerves into the insatiable ambition of the aggregate order — an ambition which would both enslave men’s souls and absorb their wealth. Jesuits can never be free men. Instead of principles, they have

maxims ; instead of settled laws, a secret, elastic casuistry ; instead of the open deed, the concealed intrigue.”

But there is another view, in which we advance a step further than the acute thinker whom we have just quoted. The rest and harmony which are attained by a submission to Rome only extend to the surface ; they do not subdue the inner perturbations of the soul. This the following considerations will show :

Time, as Lord Bacon says, is the greatest of destructives ; and truth must be constantly employed in repairing the ravages which time makes. Thus time is unintermittingly employed in changing the meaning of words ; and truth must, therefore, from era to era, betake herself to maintaining the integrity of principles which otherwise would shift with language. “It would be manifestly desirable,” says Archbishop Trench, speaking of such changes, “that these unnoticed obstacles to our seizing the exact sense of scripture—obstacles which no carelessness of our translators, but which time in its onward course has placed in our way—should, in case of any revision, be removed. ‘Res fugiunt, vocabula manent.’ This is the law of things in their relation to words, and it renders necessary, at certain intervals, a readjustment of the two.” Thus time, at the advent of Christ, made obsolete the terms “priest” and “sacrifice,” except so far as they were types of the one High Priest, eternal in the heavens, and his perfect sacrifice on the cross. The church of Rome, in clinging to the absolute form, has been the destructive assailant of the essential principle. Here Rome is the agitator and the radical ; but the Truth, the conservative.

So with regard to the Orientalisms of the New Testament, which now, when used literally, are shorn of the spiritual meaning in which they were originally applied. Time, in transferring the Gospels, so far as concerns ourselves, from Oriental to Occidental use, has given these terms the hue of a gross materialism, which the church of Rome has accepted and enforced. “This is my body,” and so the

priest, Christ's successor, creates the Lord whom he succeeds. "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church," and so the faith is subordinated to the mutable and fallible successors of Peter, instead of the successors of Peter to the immutable and infallible faith which Peter professed. Here, again, is Rome the agitator and the radical, and the Truth the conservative.

So with regard to inspiration. Inspiration was a special and temporary gift communicated to the apostles, just as would be the case were a telescope of extraordinary powers placed in the hands of a body of astronomers, and then destroyed. In the latter case, it would be folly to predicate of succeeding observers an accuracy and authoritativeness they were no longer able to secure. The data which were obtained when the powerful instrument was in use must be taken as the basis of all subsequent calculation; it would be a destructive radicalism to submit these to the revision of the unarmed eye. And so it is with regard to the canonical scriptures. They were written when inspiration existed. When they were closed, inspiration ceased. In supplementing them by the utterances of uninspired men, Rome is the agitator and the radical, while Truth, in maintaining their sacred integrity, is the conservative.

So, again, it was a temporary condition of the church, at its founding, that its members should be grouped together in one close, visible organization, which, through the supernatural insight of the apostles, was made coincident with the communion of all sincere believers in Christ. The principles of faith and salvation are permanent and immutable; those of polity, which sprang from the supernatural insight and miraculous gifts of the apostles, were special and mutable, and were to be subordinated to the maintenance intact of the former. Hooker states this, when he declares: "So perfectly are these things [of faith and salvation] taught, that nothing can ever cease to be necessary; these [matters connected with the discipline of the visible church], on the contrary side, as being of a far other nature and quality,

are not so strictly and everlastingly commanded in scripture but that unto the complete form of a church polity much may be requisite which the scripture teacheth not, and much that it hath taught become unnecessary, because we need not use it—sometimes because we cannot.”<sup>1</sup> And again: “The rule of faith [quoting Tertullian] is but one, and that alone immovable and impossible to be framed or cast anew. The law of outward order and polity is not so.”<sup>2</sup> Rome makes the rule of faith mutable by subordinating it to what is now the peccable and mutable church. The Truth, on the other hand, makes the mystical church pure and perpetual, by subordinating it to the immutable and perfect faith. Here, again, Rome is the agitator and radical, and Truth the conservative.

So, again, as to usages and rites. “Nothing,” says Lord Bacon, “is so uproarious as a froward custom.” By which he means, we suppose, that there is nothing that produces so much disturbance and riot as the persistent enforcement of a custom that the body politic has outgrown. A boy whose parents should force him to wear through his boyhood his old child’s skirt may appear fractious enough at the absurd sight he presents and the awkward bandages in which he is swathed; but the real insubordinate element would be traceable to parents whose conservatism was so unique. The sheath which shelters the bud in its formation only crushes the flower when it begins to blow. The safety-valve, which must be kept down when the steam begins to form, must be opened when a high pressure comes, or the boiler will explode. Hood’s conservative old knight, who when the houses of parliament were burning, rushed to his seat, saying that he never would desert it, come what might, was not a conservative at all; he was an absurd radical, who pursued the fleeting form, deserting the essential substance; and yet Hood’s knight was but a type of toryism, such as that of Lord Eldon, which, in preserving the obsolete phraseology of the coronation service, would sacrifice

<sup>1</sup> Eccl. Pol., Book iii. chap. xi. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. chap. x. 7.



those great principles of reciprocal loyalty which that service was meant to express. For, while these great principles of loyalty remain steadfast, the crude symbols which form their expression in a nation's babyhood, must yield to well-weighed and exact sentences when the period of manhood comes. The college cannot retain the clappings and marchings and singings of the little pupils of the Kindergarten, nor parliament the monotone of the professor's chair. Hence it is that that which was necessary to convey instruction in the dark ages to barbarous and uneducated hearers now no longer quickens, but distracts spiritual thought. So, also, usages which were needed in apostolic times to protect the church when she was an outcast, are no longer appropriate when her worship has the support both of law and of public opinion. "It is not, I am right sure," said Hooker, in arguing with the puritans, who then took the position that all apostolic usage was *jure divino* immutable, while Hooker insisted that usage, even divinely directed, is mutable, and is to be changed so as to make it from age to age the fit exponent of immutable truth — "it is not, I am right sure, their meaning that we should now assemble our people to serve God in close and secret meetings; or that common brooks or rivers should be used for places of baptism; or that the custom of church-feasting should be renewed. In these things they easily perceive how unfit that were for the present which was for the past age convenient enough. The faith, zeal, and godliness of former times is worthily held in honor; but doth this prove that the orders of the church of Christ must be still the self-same with theirs — that nothing which then was may lawfully since have ceased?"<sup>1</sup> It is he who enforces a custom no longer intelligent and sensible who is "uproarious." The true conservative is he who seeks "the faith, zeal, and godliness" of apostolic times, and would adopt the forms and agencies by which this faith, zeal, and godliness may be best expressed.

Many like illustrations might be given; but between

<sup>1</sup> Eccl. Pol. Book iv. chap. ii. § 3.

Rome and the Truth the distinction may be generally stated as follows: Rome clings to the letter, and changes the essence as the letter shifts its meaning with time. The Truth clings to the essence, and adopts a new letter to express it when the old becomes obsolete or false. Or, to state the same proposition in another form: With Rome, doctrine is mutable, and organization immutable; with the Truth, organization is mutable, and doctrine immutable. Rome adds to or varies the volume of revelation, but declares its ecclesiastical mechanism to be infallible, unchangeable, and perpetual. With the Truth, the volume of gospel inspiration is complete, and by man its sense can neither be added to nor changed; but the hierarchy is fallible and imperfect, and is to be so moulded as to adapt it to the conditions of each particular country or age. In other words, while Rome presents stability of form, and hence instability of life, the truth presents stability of life, and hence flexibility of form. And, tenderly as we may view those who in seeking for rest ally themselves with Rome, we cannot but feel that that from which they are reacting is not Protestantism merely, but a necessary condition of all life and truth.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Then, again, visible unity may be but that of a fagot, while mystical unity is that of the branches of the true Vine. The branches may be invisible, as the Vine is invisible, and the Husbandman who tends it is invisible. And yet the tie that unites the branches to the Vine, and makes them a living whole, is none the less essential because it is invisible. "In St. Paul's representation of the church, the unity of the one body springs from the unity of the indwelling Spirit; from the one Lord, who is the sole Head of his church; from the one faith, whereby it is united to him; from the one baptism, which is the initiation of that union; and from the one universal God and Father, who rules over all its members, and pervades them, and abides in them. In like manner, when St. Paul is speaking of manifold diversities of gifts and offices, and pointing out the necessity of these diversities, he at the same time declares that at the root of all these diversities there is a ground of unity, in that they are all the gifts and ordinances of one and the same Spirit. Here everything is spiritual; and when acting under this her heavenly Guide, the church will preserve the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace." "When St. Paul is reproving the divisions at Corinth, he does not set himself up as a centre of unity; nor does he tell them that they must seek a centre of unity in St. Peter. He tells them that Paul is nothing, that Apollos is nothing, that Peter is nothing. But is his inference that they are therefore left to hopeless divisions? He does not say

### 6. *Disgust with Orthodoxy.*

It is at this point, as has already been incidentally mentioned, that we depart from Herr Nippold; and, in fact, apart from the considerations already mentioned, a scrutiny of the cases detailed by him in this portion of his work, shows that so far as the accessions from orthodoxy are concerned, reac-

that there is no foundation for them to rest on, nor that Peter is the foundation on which the church is to be built. He says merely that none can lay other foundation than that which has been laid already, and that this only foundation is Christ. In truth, this Romish inability to recognize the unity of the church without the help of a visible human centre, is only another instance of that miserable incapacity for faith in spiritual realities which, we have repeatedly observed, is the pervading character of Romanism." — Arch. Hare, *ut supra*.

And, once more, all the analogies of society are against the idea that religious peace is to be secured by submission to an infallible judge. Rome says: "In every phase of society we must take our duties from others—the child from the parent, the servant from the master, the suitor from the judge." But, as Archdeacon Hare well observes, the analogy points the other way: "Children need guides, and have fallible ones. Pupils need guides, and have fallible ones. Nations need guides, and have fallible ones." And as in social matters, so in ecclesiastical. Nothing can be less peaceful than the clothing of authority with infallibility. The Highland chief who insisted on having his whole clan vaccinated by force, had right on his side, so far as vaccination itself is concerned; but to bring in by force troops of grown and even aged men, struggling, kicking, and screaming, in order to have the virus communicated to them, without explanation, was far more objectionable, and certainly far more riotous, than would have been the slower process of explaining to them what vaccination meant, and obtaining their free consent. The imposition of infallibility may produce peace in the same way that destroying the vital powers destroys pain. Or it may drive men off from religious controversy, just in the same way that imperialism drives men off from political controversy; but the result in the one case is spiritual, in the other political, degeneration. But, if it means the inculcation of doctrine by force, then the result is uproar not unlike that of the Highland clan to which we have referred. If doctrine be viewed as anything else than a matter of mere indifferentism, then there is nothing the soul resents so convulsively as the attempt to impose such doctrine on it by force. And so absolute submission by itself destroys true faith. But this "is not God's mode of dealing with his human creatures. In the whole scheme of our redemption the help which is granted to us is to elicit a corresponding energy in us. The eye drinks in the light, and puts forth its faculty of seeing. So every truth communicated to the mind is the awakener and stimulator of an intellectual energy. Thus, and thus alone, truth becomes power. We are not supplied with leading-strings to draw us blindfold to the truth. But we have every help, each according to his need; and if we make a right use of

tion from orthodox severity was in no sense a motive power propelling to Rome. Let us examine this position a little in detail.

Take, for instance, the history of Scotland and of England. Undoubtedly the reign of puritan and of covenanter was followed by a reaction; but it was not a reaction Romewards. If in the days of the puritan and the covenanter, the letter was unduly elevated over the spirit; if there was a tendency to bind down the gospel by a series of minute ascetic observances, by which a temper of legal fear was substituted for that of faithful love, men did not seek relief by a recourse to Rome. The excess which they reacted from was that of undue restraint: that which they rebounded to was undue liberty. Because they found the bonds of the letter grievous, they revolted also against the bonds of the spirit. Because that which was merely mutable—as Hooker so well taught—in the apostolic practice was unduly pressed on them, they discarded that which was truly immutable, that which was the eternal essence of the gospel of Christ. A reign of laxity and of rationalism followed; and it was not until men saw how perilous this laxity was, and how hollow this rationalism, that the reaction began towards Rome. Of course we do not class under this head such inconsistent bigots as James II. or such miserable time-servers as his courtiers; though, as far as there was any religious sincerity in them, they were impelled by disgust, not at that which was orthodox in the

what we have, and seek for more, under the guidance of God's Spirit, meekly, patiently, diligently, we shall assuredly have more and more of this truth made manifest to us" (Archdeacon Hare's Charge of 1840, p. 35). Infallibility shuts, close to the eye, the lid of the telescope of faith. But the truth lifts this lid, and bids us strain our sight through it, and, though our vision is fallible, and the telescope is fallible, yet in this way alone is Christ revealed. Then, again, by one of the conditions of our nature, just as an infallible principle reaches us only through a fallible form, so an infallible form involves a fallible principle. Rome offers an infallible form in the papacy, tendering a peremptory decision on every disputed point; but when we go back from the form to the principle, we find contradiction, intrigue, and corruption. The truth, on the other hand, confesses to fallible forms. Language changes, doctors vary, councils err; but above us, as a centre of unity, is Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and forever.

puritan creed, but at that which was lawless in those by whom the puritans were followed. But we do speak of the cases of men of true piety who then, and subsequently, have passed from orthodox churches to the church of Rome; and what we have to say is that what took them over, was not disgust at the orthodoxy these churches cherished, but dread of the rationalism by which this orthodoxy was assailed. Those of this class who are cited by Nippold bear this testimony: "The atonement, the incarnation, were doubted, were imperilled; we sought refuge in a communion where they would be unquestioned." It will be seen, therefore, that we have ascended to a still higher range than that which we reached in viewing the former "disgusts." Those who now pass before us are serious, devout men, who feel that they must live by faith, and not by sight, and that in the poverty of this life of show and sense, it is the supernatural alone that can feed the soul. Christ as a reality is what they crave; and it is a sad thing that they should leave the region where he can be viewed directly by the spiritual eye, for that in which between him and the believer are interposed distorting ordinances or erring men. And yet so it is; and this class of refugees, seeing that out of Rome Christ is denied, fly to Rome as a secure retreat, just as would men, who, perplexed with the quiver and refraction of the noon-tide air, should hide in a dark cave in order to see straight. The doctrines of the Trinity and of the atonement, as we have seen, they find are attacked by the rationalist; therefore they go to Rome, in order to hold these doctrines in peace. And yet where could there be a greater mistake! For the doctrine of the Trinity is assailed in truth at Rome, not by denying the Godhead of Son or Spirit, but by adding the Godhead of virgin and saint. The assailants of the Trinity are enthroned at Rome; not indeed, in the persons of Socinus, arguing only for the schoolman, or of Hegel, rhapsodising only for the philosophers, but in those of the virgin, appealing to a whole humanity, and of saints, appropriating each suppliant. And of the atonement, the religious and moral bearings are re-



versed. By the Truth, the atonement is applied by Christ on the cross; by Rome, it is applied by the priest at the altar. Hence it comes to pass that that which is free in the gospel doctrine of the atonement is limited by Rome, and that which is limited in the gospel doctrine of the atonement is free in Rome. The gospel offers the atonement to all who approach in obedient faith. Rome limits it to those to whom the priest communicates. The gospel limits the atonement to those spiritually united to Christ. Rome enlarges it to all who are technically united to the church. And the consequences are tremendous. The gospel is deformed by reversing its conditions and man is imperilled by making his religion to consist in a submission of the lips, and not a conversion of the heart.

And then, finally, so far from theological certainty being secured at Rome, the late council has accumulated about the approach to the papal see a mass of doubts and difficulties the greatest that any religious faith has yet had to remove. Contrast, for a moment, the points of belief demanded by the gospel with the points of belief demanded by Rome.

By the gospel I am required simply to believe that Christ Jesus died to save sinners, and that such a sinner am I.

But by Rome I am required to believe, (1) that the "rock" spoken of in Matt. xvi. 18, was St. Peter, though the sense is non-natural, and though of the numerous primitive Fathers, including Origen, Crysostom, Hilary, Augustine, Cyril, and Theodoret, who have commented on this passage, there is no one who even hints such an interpretation; some of them applying the term to Christ himself, some of them to the body of the apostles; and yet, if I do not believe that the rock was Peter, I am anathematized; (2) that the "rock," in opposition to the consent of the early Fathers, and to all sound criticism, includes with Peter, his successors in the see of Rome; and if I deny this, I am also anathematized; (3) that Luke xxii. 32, where our Lord prays that Peter's faith fail not, contains an assurance of infallibility to Peter's successors, although such a view was not even suggested

until the seventh century ; and if I do not believe this also, I am anathematized ; (4) that each single pope has been infallible, though popes have contradicted each other, and some popes have been deposed for heresy, and others have pronounced their predecessors to be heretical, and others have been dissolute sceptics ; and yet, if I do not believe in this infallibility of each single pope, I am anathematized ; (5) and then, if on the authority of the council which declares these anathemas, I believe all this, I must also believe that there has been an actual succession of duly consecrated popes from St. Peter's day to the present ; though this involves the most laborious historical research in periods where the deepest obscurity prevailed, and the grossest fabrications abounded ; (6) I must believe, also, that each decree of each of these popes is right, including the decree that condemned Galileo, the decree that declared America to be the perpetual fief of the kings of Spain, and the decree approving of the massacre of the Huguenots ; for if I disbelieve in either of these decrees then the whole doctrine of infallibility falls : (7) and then, if I decide affirmatively all these points (and to decide either negatively explodes the whole system), and if in this way I arrive at a human tribunal capable of communicating to me this supposed certainty and rest, I find myself at the monstrous conclusion that the pope must first certify to me the existence of a God, before I can assure myself of the existence of a God to give authority to the pope.

In some of the Swiss lakes are still to be found traces of men who, to avoid the agitations of the mainland, formed for themselves dwellings built on stakes at some distance from the shore. It may have been that dread of a superior civilization drove them to this step ; it may have been that desire for seclusion and rest made them seek an abode thus insulated ; but if they thus sought quiet and security, quiet and security were not thus obtained. The enemies they thought to escape could pursue them still. The storms and avalanches that swept the shore descended no less fiercely on the lake. And then a peculiar danger was theirs. On

the land the solid earth was beneath them, and this, at least, could not give way. But on the lake their dwellings rested on a multitude of wooden piles; and if either of these should rot, or should be struck down by storm, or be cut by an enemy, then the whole edifice tottered. And not unlike this is the condition of the romantic retrogressionists who seek Rome for peace. They abandon the solid ground of simple, self-evidencing faith. And they take refuge on a theological platform which rests on hundreds of props, the destruction of either of which is the destruction of the whole. And on one if not all of these, the storm may any day irresistibly strike. And then comes the wreck of absolute unbelief.

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## ARTICLE II.

### THE POSITION AND METHODS OF THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR.<sup>1</sup>

BY REV. E. H. BYINGTON, BRUNSWICK, ME.

THE progress of society depends upon men of intellectual strength and culture. The chiefs of the savage tribe are the strong men, like Red Cloud; but the wise man must take the place of the strong man before civilization is possible. These intellectual leaders need a special discipline. Hence the college and the university, not for the many, but for the few who have been endowed by nature with abilities for leadership. As the wants of society are various, there are a number of distinct departments of action for these educated leaders. Each department rests upon some permanent want of society. There has always been a necessity for a class of public men, in distinction from private — the leaders and teachers of men, physicians, lawyers, ministers, and interpreters of nature; men of poetic abilities, which are of power, as Milton says, “to imbreed and cherish in a great

<sup>1</sup> This Article is the substance of an Oration delivered before the Alumni of the University of Vermont, August 3, 1870.

people the seeds of virtue and public civility";<sup>1</sup> the founders and preservers of states; and last, but not least, the ministers of religion. The men who fill these various offices constitute the scholars of the nation.

But the question is a fair one, whether there is any need of a permanent class of learned men. The system which has produced them aims at the advancement of society in general intelligence and culture. Its results are cumulative. Each generation is advanced a little beyond that which preceded it. The extension of knowledge among the people of this country has raised the standard of the common mind. Private men now read scientific works, which used to be found only in the libraries of scholars. Everybody reads, and everybody discusses, the highest questions in science, philosophy, and divinity. Is it necessary, in such an age, to have a class of professional men, who are elevated above the masses of the people by superior knowledge? Is this quite in accordance with the principles of our institutions? Is it not better to expend for popular education the funds which are used to sustain the higher institutions of learning? Are not the people outgrowing the need of professional men? Is not the time coming when every man will be his own doctor and his own lawyer and his own religious guide?

There is an apparent force in such views; but there are certain permanent facts which check the inference. For, will not children always need teachers? Will any advance in general intelligence cause reading and writing to come by nature? And if we are still to need teachers, who shall teach the teachers? Do not the lower schools depend upon the higher — the primary school upon the academy, and the academy upon the college? Is there not action and reaction between the parts of the system, so that the higher shed influences upon the lower, even as the heavens shed rain? And do not the highest inspirations ever come from above, so that the progress of intelligence among the people depends upon

<sup>1</sup> Reason of Church Government. Milton's Works, Vol. i. 146.

the advance of the scholarship of the learned class? And on other grounds, is not the need of the highest possible knowledge and skill a permanent need? Is it not true, for example, that diseases become more complicated as civilization advances, so that the intellectual man needs a much higher degree of medical skill than the man whose development is chiefly physical? Was it found, during our civil war, that men without a military education were successful leaders of armies? Have we yet a surplus of statesmen? What answer is suggested by the congressional debates, or by our systems of finance, or by the present course of trade? Does the condition of the currency indicate that the republic has no longer need of trained financiers? And what is the inference from the results of reconstruction in Georgia? What from the condition of the shipping interest? How is it in literature? Have we a crowd of men with "the vision and the faculty divine"? Has the glory of the age of Shakespeare been eclipsed by the lights of our time? Do we go for the highest and purest inspirations to the new books or to the old? The books which the world will not willingly let die—are they the books of the nineteenth century, or of the seventeenth? Are the foundations of theological science so well laid that there is no further need of divines? Are men in public and in private life controlled by well-defined principles more than in the olden time? Is modern speculation tending toward a more quiet and restful and hopeful spirit—toward sweeter and more consoling views of the highest interests—toward "calmer seats of moral strength,"—or is the tendency toward unrest and doubt?

I am sure that no careful observer of modern life will deny that so far from being able to dispense with the trained teachers and leaders of men, we need them more and more. If the people read more, and question more acutely, so much the greater need of wise men to furnish a popular literature, and to solve the questions which are new for every generation of inquirers. As our civilization grows more complicated,



there is need of a wider knowledge of history, and a closer study of political economy on the part of our public men. If sceptics challenge the grounds of our faith, the truth needs defenders of trained intellects, and extended knowledge. As the common mind rises higher, it needs wiser and more skilful leaders to guide it toward those stages which are yet in advance. The professional man of to-day has therefore, a higher work than his predecessors, and needs a more complete culture.

If it be granted that there is a permanent position for an educated class, the question returns, What is that position? Thus far we have assumed that learning is not chiefly for private but for public use, and that the professional man is, in fact, a public man. This position merits a fuller discussion.

There is a view of learning according to which it is a mere luxury for personal gratification, or it is a means of gaining personal power and fame. So far as there exist among the people a jealousy of the higher institutions of learning, it grows directly out of the popular impression that education is merely a private gain. Lord Bacon tells us that "the greatest error of learning is the mistaking the final end of knowledge; for some have sought in knowledge a couch whereupon to rest a searching and restless spirit; or a terrace for a wandering and variable mind to walk up and down with a fair prospect; or a tower of state for a proud mind to raise itself upon; or a fort or commanding ground for strife and contention; or a shop for profit and sale; and not a rich storehouse, for the glory of the Creator, and the relief of man's estate."<sup>1</sup>

This error of learning was not peculiar to the age of Bacon. No one who watches the drift of opinion among students in our colleges as well as among educated men in active life, will deny, that there is a strong and increasing tendency to regard education as a private and personal advantage — a means of advancement to wealth or position.

<sup>1</sup> Advancement of Learning. Bacon's Works (Montague ed.), Vol. ii. p. 51.

Are not the young men losing sight of the inherent excellence and nobleness of intellectual pursuits, and applying to all callings the simple test of pecuniary profit and loss? Is there any question which is examined more carefully by those who are making choice of a profession than this: Will it pay?<sup>1</sup> Do not many enter the learned professions with no higher view of their end and scope, and do not many who have entered these callings with higher aims find that their views are gradually toned down by the spirit of the age and the hard necessities of life, until they are ready to class them with the enthusiasms of uninstructed youth, and to dismiss them for more practical views of life? And, what is still more to the purpose, is it not becoming common for educated men to make the professions mere stepping-stones to positions of greater private emolument, turning aside in the very spring-time of life, from a profession ample enough to give scope to the very highest abilities, to enter some merely secular calling in which to accumulate a fortune? Is it not this view of the use of learning, which opens the way for

<sup>1</sup> The increase in the number of schools intended to prepare young men for professional life in this country has been very remarkable. A writer in Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia for 1862 (Art. Education) states the number of colleges in the United States at 240, and the number of undergraduates in round numbers at 20,000, and the annual expense of these institutions at \$5,000,000, including, we suppose, the expenses of the students. The same writer states the number of professional schools and students as follows: Law Schools 18, students 1300; Scientific Schools 15, students 1500; Medical Schools 55, students 7000; Theological Schools 92, students 4120. It is plain that these numbers can be only approximations to accuracy.

A writer in the *Congregational Quarterly* (Oct. 1870) gives some carefully collected facts, which indicate quite plainly the course of things among students. The facts cover fifty years, from 1816-1865, and relate to eight New England Colleges: viz., Amherst, Bowdoin, Dartmouth, Harvard, Middlebury, University of Vermont, Williams, and Yale. The whole number of graduates at these Colleges has increased from 191 in 1816, to 460 in 1860, and 373 in 1865. The number who entered the Christian ministry was 58 in 1816, while it was only 37 in 1865.

A comparison by decades shows the falling off of theological students even more plainly: thus, the proportion of ministers to the whole number of graduates has been as follows: 1816 to 1825, 30 per cent; 1826 to 1835, 35 per cent; 1836 to 1845, 27 per cent; 1846 to 1855, 20 per cent; 1856 to 1865, 18 per cent.

breaking the ranks of the professions, and which leads so many to ignore the Baconian maxim, that "every man is a debtor to his own profession?" Is it not also the tendency of this utilitarian view of the end of learning, to depress the standard of education, and to strengthen the hands of those who are clamoring for the so-called practical education? Does it not lead men to undervalue the means of broad and thorough culture, and to discard those liberal studies which, in the cant phrase of the day, are of no practical use? And further, is it not the direct tendency of this view, to discourage really profound learning, while encouraging superficial, and showy accomplishments? Is it not already depressing the standard of professional excellence, and weakening and impoverishing the national mind?

If this tendency is ever met, it will be by tracing it to its source in the assumption that learning is merely a personal advantage; and by meeting it with the opposite principle, that learning is a rich storehouse for God's glory and man's relief.

And here we do not need to urge those general obligations which touch all men, under the sanctions of religion, by which they are cut off from the selfish view of life, and required to follow the law of benevolence. But we insist that professional men are under obligations which are peculiar to them, and which cut them off from motives and plans of life that are legitimate for men in a private station. Because in the first place, they have been educated in an important sense by the public, and for the public. If this assertion were made only of those who receive their education at the military academy at West Point, no one would question its truth. But the principle extends to all those who receive their education at a public institution of learning. Because every such institution has been founded by the liberal gifts of men who regarded such institutions as the pillars of society; or else it is sustained at the public charge. Besides, the influences which give value to a college, are the slow accumulation of generations. The

student at Oxford or Cambridge cannot trace the influences which are drawing out his powers, and touching them to finest issues. Men of genius of other days have left their mark, great teachers of the past instruct him, he is growing in the shadow of great names. The university is not a mere school, but rather a source of influences, which refine and ripen his powers, and these influences are the contributions which great scholars have left for succeeding generations—contributions which are as necessary for the real wealth of an institution of learning, as the silver and gold of its founders. How vain it would be for any student to attempt to gather by his own means these aids to culture. And, in fact, how small a part of the direct cost of his education is paid by any student. Society has founded these schools, and furnished them with the choicest means of culture, and society may justly claim that those who enter her store-houses, and avail themselves of her garnered riches, shall rise above a merely selfish view of life, and shall devote themselves to the general good.

And further, what are the learned professions but platforms of influence, which are provided for men of liberal culture for the sake of the public advantage? Are they not, in an important sense, public offices, the entrance to which is guarded by public policy, and in some instances by legal enactments? The public concede to the professional man a peculiar position and influence, so that he is able to avail himself of his profession as a vantage ground. The man who tries to do the same things without a professional standing works at a great disadvantage. At the same time each of these professions is essential to the well-being of society, and requires men who are fitted most thoroughly for its duties. Each one affords scope for all the abilities a man possesses, and he adds to his fitness for his work by experience. No profession can stand high, unless those who enter it devote to it their best powers and their best years. Only the man who enters upon his work with the enthusiasm of generous devotion, and who gains the experience of busy

years, can do the best and worthiest work. If there is progress in the intellectual standard of the common mind, there is the greater need of these ripened powers for those who fill the learned professions. We insist, then, that the man who seeks those educational advantages, which society has so carefully accumulated, and who steps on to this platform of professional influence, is bound in honor to be loyal to his profession, and to live so that he can "give a true account of his gift of reason to the benefit and use of men."

This view is perhaps limited in popular apprehension to the clerical profession. It is the common notion that a clergyman is cut off from many courses of life which are open to other men, and that he is shut up strictly to the duties of his calling. It is esteemed an act of unfaithfulness for him either to use his profession for private aggrandizement or to turn from it without necessity. But each of the professions is for the public advantage, and why is not the physician who uses his profession for mere personal ends, or the lawyer who is unfaithful to his obligations as a minister in the temple of justice, as really a traitor to his profession as an unfaithful and selfish divine.

The older writers were wont to take high views of the duties of learned men. These men have made their election between professional life and the life of laymen. By so doing they have gained certain advantages, and incurred certain disadvantages. Lord Bacon<sup>1</sup> speaks of the meanness of employment of men of learning, who spend their lives in teaching children; and of the peculiarity of manners, whereby they differ from those versed in affairs; and especially of "the smallness of their fortune, since learned men do not grow rich so fast as other men, because they do not convert their labors chiefly to lucre and increase"; and he insists that this sacrifice on their part is needful, for barbarism would long since have prevailed, "if the poverty of learning had not kept up civility and honor of life." The great thinkers have always been content to live without

<sup>1</sup> Advancement of Learning. Bacon, Vol. ii. pp. 24-26.



large pecuniary resources. It has often been "the poor wise man" who has saved the city. The highest work for the world is never paid for. No man, indeed, is fit to be a leader of men who cannot say with Demosthenes: "My counsels to you are not such as enable me to become great among you while you become little among the Grecians; but while sometimes they are not fit for me to give, they are always good for you to follow." Great statesmen have always had in them such stuff as martyrs are made of. Truth will not give admission to her arcana to the man who does not seek her for her own sake. "In the Roman state poverty was a reverend and honored thing." The intellectual princes have not been those who served two masters. Mammon is as real, if not as great, a foe to learning as to godliness. Nor can the scholar hope to gain all things which are themselves excellent. Themistocles was not ashamed to confess that he was a stranger to elegant accomplishments; but, said he, "I know how to make a small city a great state."

The ruling tendencies of our times suggest the most weighty reasons for urging these motives to singleness of devotion to intellectual pursuits. It is an age of action, rather than of contemplation; and such an age has little sympathy with those who dwell apart from "noises and hoarse disputes, in the quiet and still air of delightful studies."<sup>1</sup> Seldom has the fidelity of scholars been put to so severe a test as now. The rewards of financial enterprise are so abundant and so sure, as to furnish a constant temptation to draw the scholar from public to private life; while the consideration which wealth gives, adds force to the motive with men who are conscious of superior endowments. So that nothing less than a high appreciation of the inherent dignity and practical value of intellectual pursuits, and a heart open to the sad, inarticulate call of helpless humanity for knowledge and freedom, and high motive, and salvation — nothing but a soul that heeds the higher call, which God

<sup>1</sup> Milton's Prose. Church Government, Book ii.

makes upon every man to do the highest work for which his abilities fit him, will be likely to keep a man loyal to his profession. And, at the same time, the need of the highest sort of intellectual work among us is most urgent. For the work which is doing in this country is a work for the future. In an eminent sense we are the founders of states. Discarding some of the most important principles on which society in the Old World is organized, we are fully committed to the effort to reconstruct social as well as political institutions on a basis of freedom. The disturbing influences are numerous and powerful. The most serious questions still wait for solution. In this work the nation has need of men of instructed reason, men who know what the past teaches, and have wisdom to build upon sure foundations. In the older nations the ignorance of empirics would be comparatively harmless, because they would be controlled by the conservative tendencies of society; but here, where everything is plastic and free, so that we have "the dangerous facility for experiments," we need men of clear eye and steady hand. We need men who can detect the unwise expedients of conceited and pushing ignorance, and have resources enough to replace their schemes by wise and practical plans. We need them in our schools, to protect them from narrow and superficial views of education. We need them in the medical profession, not only to relieve disease, but to counteract the too evident tendency to physical decadence, and to check those nameless crimes which are changing the laws of population; we need them at the bar, to secure a purer administration of justice; and in political life we need them, to give health and manliness to political contests, and to infuse a broader statesmanship into our legislation; and we need them not less in the pulpit, with power to fix attention upon the real issues of life, and with skill to apply the great and solemn truths of religion, so as to purify the sources of character and of life.

History shows that the greatness of nations depends on the power of educated intellect and conscience. The decline

and fall of nations is always commenced among the natural leaders of opinion. Death begins at the top. Let the high aims of educated men be lost, so that professional enthusiasm fails, — let it come to be the fact, that the educated men of a country seek mere secular gains and personal advantage, and there is an end of progress in science and literature and government. The leaders of thought will become mere copyists. They will lose the power to meet the emergencies of national life — the power “which mounteth with occasion.” The golden age will become leaden and iron, and no advancement in material wealth or in outward refinement can restore the lost glory. Language will decay, poetry will lose its inspiration, and the national spirit will die out. A gross materialism will check the aspirations, and corrupt the moral sentiments of the people.

We have not reached that stage, though there are too many tendencies among scholars which would, if unchecked, lead towards it. The real progress which is made, and there is real progress, is secured by those men among us of large views, who love truth and duty, who scorn base arts, and who welcome the “poverty of learning,” that they may serve their generation by the will of God. We still have them in all liberal callings — men of genius, of culture, of true nobility, who are content to work in silence and obscurity, if need be, but to do such work as will build up a free and able commonwealth. In the great crisis of the national life through which we have recently passed, the Republic owed as much, it may be, to the thinking brains of her scholars as to the courage and devotion of her soldiers. Amid the stirrings and alarms of war we give too little heed to the results secured by the men of thought. Within the past year one of the most useful of these men has passed away, a man of thorough culture, of eminent learning in the legal profession, of devoted patriotism. Where would the Republic have been to-day, but for the trained intellect and wide experience and unfailing sagacity of the great war secretary? We looked on with wonder at the development of his administrative abilities,

at his fertility of resources, at the courage which no reverses could dampen, and at the genius which brought order out of confusion, and organized victory. But it was not until the war was over that we knew how thoroughly he had worn himself out by his exertions. Nor was it until he was followed to his grave that the nation knew that Mr. Stanton had given not only his life, but his fortune, to his country, and that he had left his family no other inheritance than the gratitude of his countrymen. And now, as we look back upon his completed life, it is most instructive for its lesson of the use to which a public man may put his talents and his acquirements. Such men the country needs,—men of thought, of experience, of practical wisdom; men of great hearts, who show how royal a thing a life of duty is. In the phrase of Coleridge: “We need public souls,—we need them.”

If this public position be conceded to the professional man, we have not far to go to find what sort of culture he should have. We cannot refuse to apply the test of practical use to methods of education, only we are to insist upon giving to that term, “practical use,” a broad meaning. It is unsafe to assume that the scientific culture is of more real use than the discipline of classical studies, even if it has a closer connection with the physical wants of men. Those wants which are met by progress in the arts of life are not our deepest wants. Man needs bread; but is it not written: “Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word of God”? It would be strange indeed, if we should discover, at this late day, that the classical culture which has had so important a part in the education of the intellectual leaders of Europe since the time of Erasmus, was essentially barren. The study of Greek and Latin, by which Choate and Everett and Webster were furnished for their public career, was surely practical. No one who reads the great English divines of the seventeenth century can fail to perceive that their profound culture had its roots in a thorough classical training, and that one of the practical wants of our own

time is a larger infusion of men of equal thoroughness and breadth of view. While we are to welcome all real additions to the means of education, we are not to permit any narrow views to limit the range of study. Our age needs men of profound and comprehensive culture. Our educated men need to know the best forms of thought, to study the richest treasures of art, as well as to understand the wonderful methods and results of the practical sciences. Education lays under contribution all sciences and all arts, all tongues, all laws, all the institutions and experiences of men, for the purpose is to train men to carry forward the progress which the race has already made toward higher and more beautiful results in the future.

Passing, now, from the attractive field of discussion which these thoughts are opening before us—a field, however, which there are so many to range over—we come to the inquiry: *By what general methods is the scholar to do his work?* We shall limit the discussion to two or three points which are just now pressed upon our attention by the course of events.

I. In the first place, *the scholar should work for individual men.* His real usefulness will depend in great part upon the individuality and definiteness of his aims.

It is a serious defect in certain theories of society and of government that they have lost sight of the worth of man simply as man; and scholars have been led to aim rather at general results than at a definite personal influence.

But there is no work for man so grand as the building up of individual character; because there is nothing in this world so great as a human soul. To borrow the fine phrase of Pascal: "Man is a reed,—the weakest in nature,—but he is a thinking reed. It is not needful for the universe to arm itself to crush him. A drop of water, a breath of air, suffices to kill him. But still man is more noble than that which kills him; for he knows that he dies, while the universe knows nothing of its power over him."<sup>1</sup> We are

<sup>1</sup> Pascal's Thoughts (London ed., 1827), chap. xxiii. p. 171.



doing our noblest work when we are developing those powers, and checking the influences which limit the free unfolding of the masses of men. The wisdom of Socrates was shown in adopting the conversational method of teaching. And a greater than Socrates has taught us, by his own example, the secret of a useful life. We shall show our wisdom by following the methods of the Son of Man, who taught the woman of Samaria, as he rested at midday by the well, and who did not scorn to shed his benedictions even upon the little children whom they brought him. There is nothing which moves men so deeply as contact with real humanity. As one studies that great painting, the Heart of the Andes, with its vast reaches of mountain scenery, the lofty summits, which seem to support the very heavens, fill the mind with awe. It is a view of nature in her loftier moods. And yet the eye kindles with a deeper interest as it rests on a hunter's cabin in the foreground of the picture, from which the smoke of the morning meal is just rising, and upon the two or three hunters who stand leaning upon their rifles, looking down the glen. That glimpse of human life touches deeper chords than nature can move. And, indeed, what great work of art is there which does not connect itself closely with our human sympathies? What is all high art, but the mirror of the human soul, of the affections and passions of living men? And is it not a fact in literary history that great poems and romances depend for their hold upon the interest of men on a few strongly marked personal characters? The genius of Sir Walter Scott is shown in his power to enlist the interest of the literary world in the portraiture of the life of a Scottish peasant girl.

And in our practical life the greatest men have been able to use all their capacities in teaching and defending the common people, while at the same time the most permanent influences are exerted upon individual character. We are apt to overrate our general influence. If we can give a new truth to this man and that man and the other; if we can

freshen old truths which are dying out among the people, we shall not live in vain. It is not the best tendency of learning to seek great occasions. Some of the finest lyrics in our language were written to solace some lonely sufferer. The events in the humblest life have a greatness all their own.

The methods by which the man of culture can use his knowledge for the comfort and help of men are almost endless. Those are the true helpers of men who keep their sympathies close to the life of the people, and who show how much of beauty and of comfort it is possible for knowledge and good taste to add to the common routine of life. Safe and beautiful homes, free public libraries and galleries of art open to all, churches for the people, a truly popular literature which is enriched by the ripest thought and culture of the time; means to develop the minds and hearts and consciences of the masses of men—these are at least as legitimate objects of exertion as those more brilliant enterprises which enlist so much of the attention of educated men.

There is occasion to carry the same principle into public and political life. It is the radical defect of certain theories of government that they lose sight of the individual. There is a profound truth in the ringing words of the great Teacher: "The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath." The theory has too long been that man was made for the Sabbath, or for the state, or for the church. It is a great advance, when the truth is recognized that these are all ordained of God as means for the development of individual men.

We are apt to lose sight of the real basis of popular government in the study of its outward forms. The ballot, an elective government, the equality of the citizen before the law; what are all these but methods of securing the rights of the individual? The "glittering generalities" with which the Declaration of Independence opens may have little logical connection with the immediate purpose of that state paper, but they are clear statements of the principles on

which political institutions ought to rest ; so that it contains the germs of the Constitution, and to this day we interpret the Constitution by its light. But the theories of the Declaration were not by any means completely carried out by its authors. It is interesting to trace the process by which the aristocratic elements have been eliminated from our statutes, as well as from social life. The right of the ballot was limited, even at the time of the Revolution. It has taken three generations for the logic of democracy to bring us to general emancipation and to manhood suffrage. In no one thing has this process been more marked than in the sphere of manners. Before the Revolution, our public men cultivated the courtly manners of the British aristocracy ; while the present manners of the American people, with their excellences and their defects alike, are the genuine outgrowth of republican institutions. And the drift of thought among us is partly in favor of the development of the individual.

And yet these principles are meeting new obstacles in our day. As the country grows older, and wealth increases, the structure of society is becoming more complicated, and the tendency is to check the free activity and growth of the individual. We cannot yet tell how much our freedom has depended upon the newness of our country. The pioneer, who builds his cabin on his own acres, breathes the air of freedom and cherishes an independent spirit. Such men are hard to conquer. Personal freedom has always depended very much on the ownership of the soil, while a servile spirit is increased as men do the bidding of others. When the pioneer becomes the agent of other men, he feels at once a new set of influences. The accumulation of capital in great corporations, and the growth of great public works, tend to dwarf the great number of citizens whose property is small. The president and directors of the corporation are lifted into a princely importance, while the crowd of men who are in their service sink into a dependent position. The very greatness of the enterprises dwarfs the men who carry them forward. We are belting the continent with railways, and

we forget which is the more important, the Pacific railway, or the men who grade the road-bed. And yet which is the greater — man, or his works ; the material world, or a human soul ? It is its high estimate of the worth of individual men which is the logical basis of democracy, while the aristocratic spirit subordinates the masses of men to the purposes of the few.

And no thoughtful observer of the present drift of things in this country will deny that less and less importance is given to the individual, and that the man without capital and without powerful friends finds it more and more difficult to make his way. Even our churches are adapted more and more carefully to the wants of the more fortunate classes, while the masses of the people are left outside. The old-time meeting-house, where the common people heard the gospel gladly, was certainly nearer the wants of the largest number, than the more costly and tasteful churches, which are built, and controlled in great part, by men of wealth. And it would not be strange if the power which built the costly church should come in time to control the selection of the minister, and indirectly dictate the utterances of the pulpit. It is inevitable that as our country becomes older, an aristocracy of wealth will seek to gain the same power which is wielded in the Old World by an aristocracy of birth.

Out of these tendencies grow some of the most difficult problems of statesmanship. It was the policy of the founders of our government to impose certain checks upon the accumulation of great estates, and by all legitimate means to favor the distribution of property among the citizens. But they could not have foreseen the great increase in the facilities for acquiring wealth which the improvements in the practical arts and in modes of communication have secured. How shall we be able to preserve the principles of democracy in connection with an unparalleled advancement in wealth and in material civilization ? This is a problem which will task the wisdom of the Republic. And it is the

mission of the American scholar to keep himself in hearty sympathy with the life of the people. The power of educated minds is the best security against the selfish tyranny of wealth.

II. In the second place, *the American scholar should work in the light of history*. It will not answer for the intellectual leaders of society to lose themselves in this devotion to individuals; for there are general interests which include those which are personal. "The scholar," says Mr. Emerson, "is that man who must take up into himself all the ability of the time, all the contributions of the past, all the hopes of the future."<sup>1</sup> He is not to be merely a man of the times. He is rather to rise above the spirit of the age and nation, to the larger spirit of the ages and of the world. It is his part to correct whatever is narrow and weak in the tendencies of his own times.

The historic spirit is *conservative*. It teaches us to respect the past, for it shows us that the present rests upon the past. We have entered into the labors of those who have been thinking and planning and working for us, and our richest inheritance is what they have bequeathed us.

The historic spirit is also *progressive*. It shows that no stage has been the final stage. Each age looks forward to the future, and prepares the way for victories it cannot itself win. "These times are the ancient times," we are told, and the world has grown wiser, as it has grown older.

The historic spirit combines a true conservatism with genuine progress. It gives the forward-looking mind, as well as the circumspect mind. It inspires hope, while it teaches caution. It saves us from repeating the mistakes which have been made again and again. It shows us what is really new in the results of this age, and what is old.

In this country we have peculiar need of the broad views which are the result of the knowledge of history; for the nation is young. Its home in the New World separates it from the older civilizations by the breadth of the Atlantic.

<sup>1</sup> The American Scholar. Emerson's Prose Works, Vol. i. p. 61.



Its growth has been rapid. It is liable to self-conceit, and to that crudeness of theory which is its natural outgrowth. Our tendencies are toward provincialism in language, in art, and in legislation. This is especially true of that portion of our people who, by reason of their narrow reading, yield most readily to the peculiar spirit of the country. The tendency is to push principles to an extreme. There is no good cause but must monopolize the public attention. There is no reform but must be pushed without regard to natural limitations. At the same time we need more wisdom than older nations, because the elements we are handling are full of life and promise.

We can neither isolate ourselves from the great world, nor disregard the currents of thought and of sentiment which are flowing in other lands. The present is only a section of the continuous progress of the race. The career of man upon this planet is one. The present is linked with the past, and stretches on into the future. We are only carrying forward the tendencies which had their birth in other lands and other times. Nor is there so much which is peculiar in the progress we are making as some think. The same results, for substance, are secured by the working of the British Constitution, though by different methods. And so it is with the nations of Continental Europe. There is a stream of history which carries with it the nations of the world. There are great movements which are started by the Power that governs the nations, which are working themselves out in this age. Practical wisdom will discern and follow these tendencies. Our recent national history furnishes an instance of the strength of these great movements which are directed by an unseen hand. It was not difficult to foresee the issue of the contest with slavery in the Southern States; for this country is closely connected with the other nations of Christendom, and that contest here was only a section of a wider contest, which was begun by the words of Him who spake as never man spake. When the golden rule was given, slavery was, in fact, the corner-stone of the world's

civilization, and the movement, which started with the Christian religion,<sup>1</sup> had already given freedom to the slaves of every Christian nation of Europe. The slave power had been able to prolong its existence in the New World, by the peculiar condition of the nation ; but it must have reversed the movements of eighteen centuries, to have maintained itself permanently. If there had not been vitality enough in the Christianity of America to destroy it, the whole power of the civilization of Europe would have been thrown into the scale against it. There was something sublime in the marshaling of the forces. There were moral forces, and political forces, and ecclesiastical influences, and at last there were physical forces. Some of them came from far. Some of the agents knew not what they did. Not all the motives were pure. But there was an unseen hand directing these powers, material and spiritual, and preparing them through long years. And when the time came, there was such concentration, such bearing down from all points upon the opposing power, as is seen only at the issue of some great historic process, which is to change the future of the world. And when the end came, it was so decisive that there was no thought of raising the issue again.

But this is only a single illustration of the logic of history. A large and comprehensive view of the current of events will enable us to forecast the future. The river does not flow in a straight line, but it moves ever toward the sea. Revolutions, it is often said, do not move backward. And we do well to look out for the indices of the designs of Providence, "lest haply we be found to fight against God."

There are natural limits of progress which we may learn from the experience of society. History will hardly encourage any one to expect to build up a thrifty and well-ordered state on the principle of a community of goods. We shall do well to limit our theories of the right of suffrage by the fact that there are natural diversities between the sexes. It is not an open question whether an ignorant people can

<sup>1</sup> Works of Prof. B. B. Edwards, Vol. ii. p. 106.

maintain a republic. In these, and in a multitude of other points, the lessons of history are decisive.

If it were possible to eliminate from modern society those principles of progress which are the outgrowth of Christianity there would be left but a small remainder. It meets those wants of men which are permanent and universal. No age has outgrown it, no progress has antiquated it. The great currents of influence which are raising the masses of men from ignorance and poverty and servility, which are checking the spirit of selfishness and softening the rigors of law — liberalizing the law of nations — are they not all of them Christian in their origin? Nor does the course of history leave us in doubt as respects the future triumphs of Christianity. Slowly but surely the balance of power has been passing over to the Christian nations. The great armies and navies of the world are now controlled in the interest of Christianity, we may almost say of Protestant Christianity. The extension of commerce, and the improvement in means of communication on land and sea, are bringing all tribes and nations into closer intercourse. Light is spreading. Prejudices are disappearing. The benefits of a Christian civilization are more and more appreciated. The interests of men are auxiliaries in extending knowledge among the ignorant races. Commerce, with its myriad influences, is a powerful auxiliary. And, last but not least, the various branches of the Christian church are sending the open Bible and the living preacher to the pagan nations. Through all the ages "one increasing purpose runs." These various agencies combine for one end, and we are slowly but surely nearing the time when "the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth, as the waters cover the sea."

III. It is only carrying out this thought when we say, that *the scholar, as a public leader, should recognize the supremacy of moral and religious ideas*. He would be out of the line of history if he were to pass them by, for the course of events is bringing these ideas into greater prominence. The constitution of the human mind must be changed before we can

safely refuse to recognize religious influences. A physician might as well shut his eyes to the influence upon his patient of the social affections as of the religious nature. The teacher must take the child as he finds him, with intellect and affections and conscience, and the best education is that which meets the wants of the whole nature. Each part affects the rest. You cannot cultivate the heart without quickening the intellect, and the moral nature adds new motives to the love for knowledge. How, then, is it possible to exclude religious influences from the best systems of education? "I would not take the Bible from the schools," said Mr. Choate more than a quarter of a century ago, "so long as one particle of Plymouth rock remained large enough to make a gun flint of, or so long as its dust floats in the air. I would have it read, not only for its authoritative revelations, and its commands and exactions, obligatory yesterday, to-day, and forever; but for its English, for its literature, its pathos; for its dim imagery, its sayings of consolation, of wisdom, of universal truth."<sup>1</sup>

But we need to go further than the systems of education. Moral and religious ideas are very closely connected with the state. There is a mischievous ambiguity in the assertion so often repeated about the separation of church and state. If the meaning be, that the state does not impose a state church upon the people, and that it does not levy a tax for its support, then it is true that there is no connection between the church and the state in this country. But if the meaning be that the state is not to recognize the Christian religion as the religion of the people, then the assertion is not true. If the meaning be that the state is not to recognize moral and religious ends, and those institutions which grow out of the religious wants of men, then such a separation is clearly impossible. President Marsh stated the true position when he said: "The politicians of Europe consider it an essential part of government to support religion, but we

<sup>1</sup> Life and Speeches of Rufus Choate (Prof. Brown), Vol. i. p. 406.

have reversed the order, and look to our religion as the only reliable support of our government.”<sup>1</sup>

Every thoughtful man knows that it would be absurd to attempt to maintain a government without any connection with ideas which are strictly religious. For where would government find the sanctions on which it rests? What can take the place of those oaths by which every officer and every citizen binds himself to fulfil his duties to the state? How can government shake off the obligation to protect the religious institutions of the people? If other interests and institutions have a right to protection, why should not the Sabbath be protected by the authority of law from desecration? There is scarcely a village in all the land so small as not to have a Christian church. The settler on the frontier makes it one of his first cares to erect a house of worship. These thousands of churches are connected with the strongest sympathies and most sacred associations of the people, and and can the state refuse to recognize them, and to protect the religious observances of the millions who throng them. And still further, are there not occasions when the state needs to call directly for religious services? If the government provides for the other wants of its soldiers and its sailors, shall it refuse to provide for their religious wants? Are not chaplains called for as legitimately as surgeons? And in great public exigencies, when the pillars of the state are trembling, what shall prevent the government from calling upon the people to supplicate the favor of the Ruler of nations, and the God of battles? The strongest impulses of men have always led them to do this. And after all this has been done, how absurd it is to claim that the state has no connection with the Christian faith.

Society needs moral and religious influences for its protection. It is an admitted principle that public policy requires some system of popular education; for an ignorant population is an element of weakness. But the need of

<sup>1</sup> Memoir and Remains of James Marsh, pp. 568-569.



virtuous citizens is quite as plain. Vice will impoverish the people, and eat away the strength of the state.

We have elements in our population which may well awaken solicitude. If Europe sends us her surplus millions, they will not be the most intelligent or the most virtuous classes. We have learned how universal suffrage works in a great city like New York. And what we find in New York, we may expect to find in other great cities when they gain an equal number of inhabitants. And yet the tendency is to mass men in cities. The census has been showing for two decades that the cities are growing at the expense of the rural districts. Good authorities have stated that the urban population gains twice as rapidly as the population of the whole country, and three times as rapidly as that of the rural sections. This is one of the marked tendencies of our times. It grows out of improved means of communication, and the consequent increase of trade; and it is likely to continue and perhaps to strengthen. What then will be the state of things when other great cities become as populous as New York, and New York as populous as London? And when the cities shall control the political power of this country (as they may by and by) who can answer for the safety of free institutions?

In view of these facts and tendencies, who will say that government has no interest in the moral and religious influences which prevail? Who can deny the right of the government to regulate the traffic in those articles which are the direct causes of vice and crime? Is it safe to fill the land with godless schools and impart to the youth a godless education? Shall we write over every schoolhouse in the land: *No Bible read here, no religious teachings permitted here.*

The course of events is bringing these moral and religious questions into the foreground. The powerful and concerted movements against the Sabbath and the Bible in schools, and against the indirect recognition which the government gives to Christianity, these will in due time awaken the people to counter movements which are essential to the preser-

vation of the institutions of our fathers. The recent national convention at Pittsburgh has called attention to the fact that the Federal Constitution does not in direct terms recognize the Christian religion. This is a fact of greater practical importance than has been admitted by many who have discussed it. The legal questions which have recently come before some of the higher courts in New York and Ohio, and which are sure, sooner or later, to make their appearance before the Supreme Court at Washington — will show us how important it is. The question is already raised, whether this is a Christian nation, and some are taking one side, and some the other, So that it is no longer an open question, whether moral issues shall enter into political discussions ; but the question is whether they shall be settled right or settled wrong.

The state has no eyes, save the eyes of its leading men. The men of thought shape its policy. The scholar who knows how controlling a part religious motives and principles have, must shed light on the great moral problems which connect themselves so closely with public policy. There is no real danger of any check of material prosperity. This nation will go on extending its settlements, and increasing its wealth. But it is not so sure that the heart of the nation will be kept sound. Still less certain is it that literature and learning and art will flourish. Yet history shows that the real greatness of nations depends not so much upon material prosperity as upon the intellectual and moral influences which control them. Great poets and philosophers and divines do more to exalt a nation than those who double its trade and its wealth. The work grows larger and more hopeful as the years go by, and it was written long ago, that "in the theatre of man's life it is reserved only for God and angels to be lookers on."

## ARTICLE III.

THE DATE OF THE PASSION OF OUR LORD.<sup>1</sup>

§ I. THE right understanding of the history of the passion, even in a chronological respect, depends greatly on a proper view being taken of the order of the Jewish Passover. In Ex. xii. 1-18 we read: "Let the month Abib (Nisan) be for you the first month. On the tenth of this month let every one take a lamb for a house, . . . . without blemish, a male of the first year. On the fourteenth of this month shall they slaughter it, the whole assembly of the congregation of Israel, between the two evenings (בין הערבים), and ye shall eat the flesh in that night, roast with fire, and ye shall eat *mazzoth* (unleavened bread) in [something] bitter. . . . . Seven days shall ye eat *mazzoth*; even the first day ye shall put away leaven out of your houses. . . . . On the first day and on the seventh day there shall be holy convocation; no work shall be done, save the preparation of what is to be eaten. In the first month, on the fourteenth day of the month at even (בערב), ye shall eat *mazzoth*, until the one and twentieth day of the month at even." With slight variations, this order is repeated in Lev. xxiii. 5-14; Num. xxviii. 16-25; Deut. xvi. 1-8. Taken as a whole, it is clear; and as our design is simply to see how it was understood and observed by the Jews at the time of Christ, we may here pass over the exegetical and harmonistic difficulties presented by the various accounts just alluded to.

The current designation of the fourteenth of Nisan in the

<sup>1</sup> The following Article is a translation (by Rev. Dr. D. W. Simon of Spring Hill College, England), from an able treatise by Chas. Ed. Caspari, entitled "Chronologisch-geographische Einleitung in das Leben Jesu Christi," published in Hamburg in 1869. Permission to translate this portion for the pages of the Bibliotheca Sacra was expressly given by the publishers in the name of the author. We can commend the whole work as a very valuable contribution to the literature of Apologetics.

Talmud is ערב הפסח, "evening of the Passover"; in the same sense in which ערב השבת denotes the sixth Jewish Feria preceding the Sabbath. In the New Testament the fourteenth of Nisan is termed παρασκευὴ τοῦ πάσχα, "preparation of the Passover." On the evening of this fourteenth, that is, at its commencement, — for the Jewish day begins with the evening, and "evening and morning" constitute a day (Gen. i. 5), — they began to eat *mazzoth* (Ex. xii. 18). Nor could it be otherwise; for in the night of the fourteenth of Nisan all leaven had to be put away by light.<sup>1</sup> This day of preparation, the fourteenth of Nisan, like the day of Passover itself, i.e. the fifteenth, and like the day of convocation, i.e. the twenty-first, was a holy day.<sup>2</sup> Only the practice differed slightly in the different provinces. In Judea work was permitted on the day of preparation till dawn; in Galilee, the whole day, evening, night, and morning, was regarded as a holy day.<sup>3</sup>

Along with the putting away of the leaven and the commencement of the eating of the *mazzoth*, the chief business of the fourteenth of Nisan was the sacrifice of the paschal lamb in the holy place. Now, the sacrificing of the lamb consisted in its being slaughtered, not, as many exegetes assert, in its being eaten, in the holy place. This was to take place "between the two evenings," בין הערבים. We need not inquire what meaning this expression had in the Mosaic writings; we have only to do with its force at the time of Christ. According to Ex. xxix. 38, 39; xii. 6; Num. xxviii. 3, 4, the *thamid*, or evening sacrifice, was to be presented between the two evenings. Now, we read in Mishna: "*Thamid* was slaughtered at the half-ninth hour ( $8\frac{1}{2}$ ), and sacrificed at the half-tenth ( $9\frac{1}{2}$ ). On the day of preparation of the Passover it was slaughtered at the half-eighth ( $7\frac{1}{2}$ ), and sacrificed at the half-ninth hour ( $8\frac{1}{2}$ ). . . . . When, however, the day of pre-

<sup>1</sup> Mishna Pesachim, i. to iii.

<sup>2</sup> Jerus. Chagiga iii. 7: ערב הפסח כפסח יום טוב כעצרת.

<sup>3</sup> Pesachim iv. 5: בהורדת היר עושין מלאכה בערבי פסחים עד הצות יבגליל. לא היו עושין כל עיקר.

paration of the Passover fell on a Sabbath, *thamid* was slain at the half-seventh ( $6\frac{1}{2}$ ), and sacrificed at the half-eighth hour ( $7\frac{1}{2}$ ). Thereupon the Passover.”<sup>1</sup>

Here we have the explanation of the expression “between the two evenings”—it was the time during which the *thamid* and the Passover were sacrificed, that is, between the half-seventh ( $6\frac{1}{2}$ ) and twelfth hour; in other words, between half-past twelve P.M. and six P.M., or, rather, sunset. On the fourteenth of Nisan, when it did not fall on a Sabbath, the evening sacrifice was slain about half-past one, offered about half-past two o’clock; and then, about half-past three o’clock, the Passover began to be slain. The sacrifice of the Passover consisted in burning the fat and pouring out the blood of the lamb at the foot of the altar of burnt-offering. Josephus says<sup>2</sup> that the paschal lamb was sacrificed or slain between the ninth and eleventh hours, or between three and five P.M. Thereupon it was skinned, prepared, and roasted.

§ II. The fifteenth of Nisan was a “day of convocation,” like the twenty-first, and bore the name “Sabbath,” whatever day of the week it might be (Lev. xxiii. 6, 7, 11). During the night with which the day began the Easter lamb was eaten. That this eating did and must take place in the night is plain from Ex. xii. 8, 10. It did not, therefore, take place on the fourteenth of Nisan, which ended at sunset. Indeed, it was impossible for a lamb which was not slain till five o’clock P.M. to be roasted ready for eating before the close of the night-day. We must, accordingly, pronounce it incorrect to say that the Easter lamb was eaten at the close of the fourteenth of Nisan. The fifteenth of Nisan was celebrated strictly as a Sabbath. The following days, from the sixteenth to the twentieth of Nisan, were work-days, only

<sup>1</sup> Pesachim v. 1 : חמיר נשחט בשמינה ומחציו וקרב בחשעה ומחציו בערבי : פסחים נשחט בשבת בשבע ומחציו וקרב בשמינה ומחציו בין בחול בין בשבת הלערב פסח להיות בערב שבת נשחט בשש ומחציו וקרב בשבע ומחציו והפסח אחריו.

<sup>2</sup> De Bell. Jud. vi. 9, 3.



that unleavened bread was not permitted to be eaten on them. On the sixteenth, however, the feast of ingathering and of offering the Easter-sheaf took place.<sup>1</sup> The sheaf of barley was gathered immediately after sunset, that is, at the commencement of the sixteenth of Nisan, by deputies of the Sanhedrim. For this purpose a field in the Valley of Kedron, near Jerusalem, was selected, because the corn ripened there much earlier than in the rest of Palestine.<sup>2</sup> It was offered at the time of the morning sacrifice, and the ceremony opened the harvest of the year. In accordance with the sixteenth of Nisan the Feast of Pentecost was determined, that is, it fell seven weeks later, or fifty days later than the fifteenth of Nisan, on the same day of the week. If the fifteenth were a Sabbath, as was the case in A.D. 30, the day of Pentecost was also a Sabbath.<sup>3</sup> The twenty-first of Nisan was, again, a "day of convocation," which held the rank of Sabbath and terminated the feast of *mazzoth*.

§ III. In the modern Jewish calendar the new moon, and accordingly the first of Nisan, is no longer settled by observation of the moon's actual phases, but by astronomical calculations, and, indeed, in such wise that the fifteenth never falls on Feria 2d, 4th, and 6th, that is, on a Monday, Wednesday, or Friday, in the Jewish sense. That there was no such limitation, however, in early times, as, for example, in the age of Christ, can be clearly proved from the Talmud. In Mishna,<sup>4</sup> we read that the remains, i.e. the bones, etc., of the paschal lamb, were burned on the sixteenth of Nisan; but if the sixteenth were a Sabbath, on the seventeenth. From which it follows that the sixteenth might be Feria 7th, and the fifteenth Feria 6th, or Friday. So, also, in Mishna<sup>5</sup> is the case discussed in which the day of Pentecost would fall on a Sabbath; but as this feast occurred on the same day of the week as the sixteenth of Nisan, this latter must then have been a Saturday, and accordingly the

<sup>1</sup> Exod. xxiii. 10 seq.; Joseph. Antiq. iii. 10, 5.    <sup>2</sup> Tosaphtha Menachoth, x. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Lev. xxiii. 15 seq.; Joseph. Antiq. iii. 10, 6.    <sup>4</sup> Pesachim, vii. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Chagiga, ii. 4.

fifteenth a Friday. We might have passed over this circumstance, had it not been maintained that in the year of Christ's death the fifteenth of Nisan could not have been a Friday, but must have been a Sabbath, because, as is commonly assumed, the fifteenth of Nisan could not in any case fall on a Friday. We also believe that in the said year the day of Passover was a Sabbath-day; but we felt it right to say why we can make no use of this argument—it cannot be used in reference to the age of Christ.

THE DATE OF THE PASSION OF CHRIST ACCORDING TO THE  
SEVERAL EVANGELISTS.

§ IV. *The Gospel of John.*—1. The all-important question is: On what day of the Jewish week and month was Christ crucified? In John xix. 14, we are told: ἡν δὲ παρασκευὴ τοῦ πάσχα—"It was the day of preparation of the Passover." There is no explaining away the fact that the rabbinical ערב הפסח, the fourteenth of Nisan, is here meant. Unless we are ready to charge the evangelist with using expressions which could not but lead his readers astray, we must assume that he placed the crucifixion on the fourteenth of Nisan. John xviii. 28, where we read: "Then they (the Jews) led Jesus from Caiaphas unto the praetorium; but they themselves went not into the praetorium, lest they should be defiled, but that they might eat the Passover," ἵνα μὴ μιανθῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἵνα φάγωσι τὸ πάσχα, leads to the same conclusion. That the words "eat the Passover" do not necessarily refer to the paschal lamb, we allow; nay, more, we postulate it; but it must also be allowed that they may refer thereto. The *mazzoth* were a paschal meal, in the strict sense; but the partaking of it did not depend on Levitical purity; for the impure not only might, but even must, eat unleavened bread during these days. To eat other bread was forbidden, on pain of being destroyed from among the people. In the words quoted the Jews mean an Easter meal, which was allowed only to the pure, and that could be no other than the Easter lamb.

Some commentators have asserted that the festal thank-offering, *Chagiga*, is referred to, and the sacrificial meal that succeeded. In Deut. xvi. 16, 17, we read: "Three times in a year shall all thy males appear before the face of Jehovah thy God, in the place which I shall choose, namely, in the feast of unleavened bread (*mazzoth*), and in the feast of weeks, and in the feast of tabernacles. But no one shall appear before the Lord empty, according as his hand can give, and according to the blessing which Jehovah hath given to every one." The not appearing empty was applied by the Jews to the thank-offering and the following sacrificial meal, called *Chagiga*, which was usually offered on the fifteenth of Nisan, but might also be sacrificed at the same time as the paschal lamb, on the fourteenth.<sup>1</sup> The flesh of the sacrifice, however, might be preserved two days and a night.<sup>2</sup> Now, as the entering the house of a Gentile only defiled till evening, the Jews would have had time to eat the sacrificial meal a day later, if they had gone into the praetorium. The chief reason, however, why we cannot regard the meal for which they wished to remain pure as the *Chagiga* is, that it bore no special paschal character, seeing that it might be offered at every festival, and must be offered at the feasts of Pentecost (weeks) and Tabernacles. Hence it could not fairly be described as "eating the Passover." The Jews avoided the praetorium, in order that they might be able to eat the paschal lamb in the approaching night, which began the fifteenth of Nisan. Consequently the day on which they observed such precaution was the fourteenth — the day of the crucifixion of Christ.

2. According to John, Jesus was condemned (xviii. 29), crucified (xix. 14), and buried (xix. 31, 42) on the fourteenth of Nisan. This must have been a Friday (Feria 6th); for, according to xx. 1, Jesus rose again on a Sunday, τῇ μιᾷ τῶν Σαββάτων, after having lain in the grave over the Sabbath, which was a high one (xix. 31), i.e. both an ordinary Sabbath and the high day of Passover; having been buried at the

<sup>1</sup> Mishna Pesachim, vi. 3, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. vi. 4.

close of the day of preparation (xix. 31). In the year 30 era Dion., 783 u.c., the fifteenth of Nisan was actually a Sabbath; and accordingly the fourteenth, a Friday (or Feria 6th). The Gospel of John thus agrees perfectly with the Jewish tradition, which reports that Jesus was crucified on the day of preparation for the Passover, *בֵּינֵרֵב הַפֶּסַח*.

3. It is clear, that if Jesus was crucified on the fourteenth of Nisan, the meal which he ate with his disciples, must also have taken place on the fourteenth. But the fact can also be directly established. In John xiii. 1, 2 we read: "before the feast of Passover . . . . when supper was at an end, . . . . Jesus rose from supper" (*πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα . . . . καὶ δείπνου γενομένου*). The feast of Passover was celebrated on the fifteenth of Nisan; *before* the feast, therefore, was on the fourteenth. That the meal took place at night is clear from xiii. 30. This night, during which, after the meal, Jesus was in Gethsemane, belonged to the fourteenth of Nisan, which began at sunset, that is, in the latter part of our Thursday. The following scheme will make our meaning clear:

| JULIAN DAY.             |                        | JEWISH NIGHT-DAY.        |   |
|-------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| 6th April,<br>Thursday, | Evening till midnight, | 13th Nisan,<br>Feria V.  | { |
|                         | Midnight till morning, |                          |   |
|                         | Forenoon,              |                          |   |
|                         | Afternoon,             |                          |   |
| 7th April,<br>Friday,   | Evening till midnight, | 14th Nisan,<br>Feria VI. | { |
|                         | Midnight till morning, |                          |   |
|                         | Forenoon,              |                          |   |
|                         | Afternoon,             |                          |   |
| 8th April,<br>Saturday, | Evening till midnight, | 15th Nisan,<br>Sabbath,  | { |
|                         | Midnight till morning, |                          |   |
|                         | Forenoon,              |                          |   |
|                         | Afternoon,             |                          |   |
| 9th April,<br>Sunday,   | Evening till midnight, | 16th Nisan,<br>Feria I.  | { |
|                         | Midnight till morning, |                          |   |
|                         | Forenoon,              |                          |   |
|                         | Afternoon,             |                          |   |
|                         | Evening till midnight, |                          |   |
|                         |                        |                          |   |

The Supper. Commence-  
ment of the Mazzoth  
Gethsemane.  
Putting away of the leaven.  
Condemnation, Sacrifice of  
Crucifixion, paschal  
and burial. lamb.

Eating of paschal lamb.  
Jesus in the sepulchre.  
The Passover.

Jesus in the sepulchre.  
Gathering of the Sheaf.  
Resurrection of Jesus.

4. Every unprejudiced reader must now be convinced, that John puts the crucifixion of Christ on the day of preparation, or on the fourteenth of Nisan, and not on the fifteenth, or the high day of Passover. Further proof is unnecessary; but still we will quote John xiii. 29. After supper, it being night, Jesus had said to Judas: "That thou doest, do quickly." "Some thought, because Judas had the bag, Jesus had said to him, buy that we have need of against the feast." The feast is the fifteenth of Nisan. Had Jesus been crucified on the fifteenth, the meal would have taken place on the same afternoon; but on the fifteenth, the high Sabbath, it was impossible to *buy* anything; consequently what was required, must have been procured on the fourteenth. Hence Jesus spoke the words in question on the fourteenth, at the beginning of the night-day, in whose latter half he was crucified.

The efforts made by commentators to show that according to John the crucifixion fell on the fifteenth of Nisan, have been dictated by a desire to establish agreement between him and the Synoptics, who are supposed to put it on the same high day. We now come to the Synoptics.

§ V. *The Gospel of Luke.* — 1. In Luke xxii. 7, 8 we read: "Then came the day of unleavened bread, when the Passover must be killed. And he sent Peter and John, saying, Go and prepare us the Passover, that we may eat." What this Passover was we will leave for the moment undetermined, only remarking, that as no mention is made of a lamb, we are not absolutely compelled to suppose it to be the paschal lamb. The day of sweet bread, on which the Passover was to be slain, that is, the lamb was to be killed, its blood to be poured on the altar and its fat to be burned, was the fourteenth of Nisan; the fifteenth alone was the day of eating. Luke says expressly that when Jesus ordered the meal, the day of unleavened bread and of killing the Passover had not yet begun; it approached, ἤλθε δὲ ἡ ἡμέρα. He must therefore have given his order towards the close of the thirteenth of Nisan, in order that it might be ready by sun-



set, i.e. at the beginning of the fourteenth. The order was given on Thursday, the sixth of April, in the afternoon; the eating took place at the same date, on Thursday after sunset, accordingly on the fourteenth of Nisan (the Jewish Feria 6th). If, as is commonly assumed, Jesus had given command at the close of the fourteenth of Nisan, so that the meal was eaten at the beginning of the fifteenth, Luke could not have said, ἡλθε ἡ ἡμέρα on which the Passover must be killed; but would have said, "the day on which the Passover was killed drew towards its close"; for at that time of the afternoon the killing would either have been finished or, at all events, been in full operation.

2. If the meal which Jesus took with his disciples had been the eating of the paschal lamb, it must have been done proleptically, and in opposition to the rule; for, according to Luke, it was taken on the fourteenth of Nisan. It would be necessary then to explain how the priests came to permit the disciples of Jesus to slaughter their lamb in the sanctuary proleptically, a day earlier than others. Besides, in this case, it would follow that the crucifixion also happened on the fourteenth. For after they had eaten, Jesus said to Peter: "I tell thee Peter, the cock shall not crow *this day* (σήμερον) before that thou shalt thrice deny that thou knowest me" (xxii. 34), which involves that Peter's denial took place on the same night-day on which they ate supper together. Another passage (Luke xxiii. 26) shows that the fifteenth of Nisan could not have been our Lord's death-day: we read there, namely, that Simon, the Cyrenian, was coming out of the field, (ἀπ' ἀγροῦ,) when he was forced to bear the cross. Now, a man returning from a walk is not said to be coming ἀπ' ἀγροῦ; the expression means rather, "coming from his labor," and no one ventured to perform field-labor on the high Sabbath of the Passover; though, in case of necessity, he might do so on the day of preparation.

3. After Jesus had given up the ghost on the cross, Joseph of Arimathea buried the body, "and that day was the preparation, and the Sabbath drew nigh" (xxiii. 54). The term

παρασκευή, “day of preparation,” might mean either the day before the Passover or the day before the weekly Sabbath. It is taken in the latter sense by those interpreters who assume that Jesus was crucified on the fifteenth of Nisan, i.e. on a Friday. But would it not be strange if the highest and most sacred festival-Sabbath in the entire year were simply termed “day of preparation” like any other Friday? On the contrary, the fifteenth of Nisan was so exceptionally sacred, that the ordinary Sabbath might be turned for it into a day of preparation. When the fifteenth of Nisan fell on the Jewish Feria 1st, and, accordingly, the fourteenth of Nisan was a Sabbath, the latter might be broken, so far as preparations were necessary for the feast;<sup>1</sup> from which it follows that the Passover was more sacred than the Sabbath, and therefore, could not serve as a day of preparation for it. The παρασκευή in Luke, as in John, must therefore have been the day of preparation for Easter, the fourteenth of Nisan. From which it further follows that Luke represents Jesus as having taken the supper at the beginning of the fourteenth of Nisan, i.e. Thursday after sunset; and that he was condemned, crucified, and buried on the same Jewish night-day, the fourteenth of Nisan, that is, on our Friday. Meanwhile, at sunset on Friday, the Sabbath commenced — being at once the usual weekly Sabbath, Feria 7th, and the high Easter Sabbath. During the same they remained quiet, according to the law (xxiii. 56); on the following Sunday (τῇ δὲ μὲ τῶν σαββάτων) Jesus rose from the tomb (xxiv. 1). The chronology of Luke thus harmonizes completely with that of John.

§ VI. *The Paschal Meal.* — That the words “eating the Passover,” may denote eating the paschal lamb, is unquestionable: this is clear from John xviii. 28. Our business is now to show that this is not exclusively their force. That the last supper, as reported by John, was not the eating of the paschal lamb, is obvious. If, as reported by Luke, it were the paschal lamb, we should have a glaring contradic-

<sup>1</sup> Mishna Pesachim, iii. 6; vi. 1; Jerus. Pesachim, fol. 33, 1.

tion between the two evangelists. The opinion that Luke describes the fifteenth of Nisan as the day of the meal and crucifixion is based solely on his styling it "Passover"; for the remaining chronological hints point, as we have seen, to the fourteenth of Nisan. If he had anywhere expressly stated that the lamb was eaten at the supper, our case would be hopeless; but the word "lamb" nowhere occurs. In xxii. 14-23 he gives a detailed and careful description of the meal: Jesus gave the disciples the cup to drink (xxii. 17, 18); then the bread to eat (xxii. 19), which was his body, and (xxii. 20) the cup of the New Testament, which was his blood, to drink; but there is no allusion to a lamb. If anywhere, the *argumentum e silentio* must here be valid. What, then, was this Passover meal? Jewish tradition can alone help us here. This meal is described, with full details, in Mishna:<sup>1</sup> from it, then, we must learn when the Passover meal was taken, and wherein it consisted. It commenced with the head of the family sending round the first cup of wine (x. 2); then came the eating (x. 3). Thereupon followed a second cup (x. 4); the son asking the father, and the father instructing all present, as to the meaning of the festival (x. 5, 6). Then the great Hallel was struck up (Ps. cxiii.-cxviii.). Afterwards came the third cup, which the rabbins called the cup of blessing (כסא דברכה; x. 7; cf. 1 Cor. x. 26); and the further singing of the Hallel. It being closed, the meal was terminated by circulating the fourth cup (x. 7). What the meal consisted of, we are told in x. 3: "They place before him (the head of the family) lettuce for dipping, till the dessert (*Nachtisch*) comes. There are put before him, unleavened bread, lettuce, and sweet porridge (*Brei*) and the two cooked dishes. Rabbi Eliezer bar-Zadok says: *Mazzoth!* and in the holy place they lay before him the body of the Passover."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pesachim, x.

<sup>2</sup> הביאו לפניו מטבל בחזרת עד שמגיע לפרפרת דפת הביאו לפניו מצה וחזרת וחרוסת ושני תבשילין אפ על פי שאין חרוסת מצות רבי אליעזר בר צדוך אומר מצות ובמקדש היו טביאים לפניו גופי של פשת:

The body of the Passover was the Easter lamb. This is the only mention of the lamb in the whole long account given by the Mishna of the paschal meal. Rabbi Eliezer's observation was plainly meant to say: In the eating of the Passover the *mazzoth* are the obligatory portion; furthermore, but only for such as observe the feast in the holy place, the eating of the lamb. The description given by the Mishna applies to all Israelites without distinction, whether they lived at Jerusalem or not: the *mazzoth* were the obligatory part of the meal. It did not imply a personal presence in the holy place; it did not even imply the existence of the temple. The custom was, and still is, observed in exile, although there is neither temple, altar, nor sacrifice. But even while the sanctuary still existed, it was observed by Israelites who could not, or might not, or would not appear therein. It is therefore an error to maintain that φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα necessarily means to eat the paschal lamb; for, as the oldest Jewish traditions teach, the *mazzoth* meal solemnly taken in every Israelitish house was a φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα. We have now to ask, *when* the meal was taken? In Pesachim x. 1 we read: "In the evenings of the Passover, it is the custom to eat first about the time of the prayer *mincha*, when it has become dark; they then eat in Israel the bread of tribulation." What are we to understand by ערבי פסחים, "evenings of the Passover"? If the expression be synonymous with ערב הפסח it signifies the fourteenth of Nisan, the day of παρασκευή; but it may also denote the evening with which the fifteenth of Nisan commenced. In the former case the Jews would be represented as taking the meal, which they took at home, at the beginning of the day of preparation; in the latter case, on the fifteenth of Nisan. We pass over this philological inquiry, because it has no special bearing on the point before us. If the paschal meal were taken as a rule on the fourteenth, then our Lord's last supper coincided with it; but if it were generally taken on the fifteenth, then the Lord's supper, which was held on the fourteenth, was an anticipation — an impossibility as regards the paschal lamb,



though easily possible, if there were sufficient reasons, as regards the *mazzoth* meal. A ground of this kind is assigned by our Lord in Luke xxii. 15 : "With desire have I desired to eat this Passover with you *before I suffer*." The anticipation of the *mazzoth* meal caused no difficulty, for it was not dependent, like the eating of the lamb, on a priestly ceremony performed in the sanctuary ; but depended altogether on the will of the head of the household. In any case, too, the fourteenth of Nisan was the day of *mazzoth*. To our mind, however, the supposition of such an anticipation seems to be unnecessary. The expression ערבי פסחיים appears to us to be used in the ordinary sense of ערב הפסח "day of preparation." The moment the night fell with which the fourteenth of Nisan commenced, the leavened bread was destroyed, and all leaven put away ; accordingly, the supper taken at the beginning of this night-day could not but consist in part of *mazzoth*. Now it lies in the very nature of the case that the first partaking of this festal food should be accompanied by certain formalities—the formalities, to wit, which are described in the Mishna. Neither Luke nor John says that the supper consisted of the paschal lamb ; and so soon as the erroneous idea that this must have been the case is set aside, the report of the first-named evangelist offers not the least support to the hypothesis in question. Not only so, but if that meal had been the paschal lamb, one must surely feel surprise that the evangelist who communicates so many details, should not even allude to the chief point—neither to the purchase, nor the slaying, nor the sacrifice, nor the eating of the lamb.

§ VII. *The Gospel of Mark*.—1. "After two days was the feast of the Passover and of the unleavened bread ; and the chief priests and the scribes sought how they might take him by craft, and put him to death. But they said, Not on the feast-day lest there be an uproar of the people" (Mark xiv. 1, 2). If the wish of the chief priests, that it should not fall "*on the feast-day*" had not been fulfilled, and Jesus had been taken prisoner on the fifteenth of Nisan,



why should Mark mention it at all? In that case, he would surely either have passed it over altogether, or have stated that it was not fulfilled. If, on the contrary, it were fulfilled, as the evangelist plainly means us to understand, then Jesus was not taken prisoner, and therefore not crucified, on the fifteenth of Nisan; for even according to Mark, he was crucified on the same day on which he was taken prisoner. This passage from Mark, therefore, is decidedly in the way of our regarding the fifteenth of Nisan as the day of the crucifixion. At the time referred to, that is, two days before the Passover, or on the thirteenth of Nisan, Jesus was in Bethany, where, according to this evangelist, he was anointed. Thereupon, that is, during the same "night-day," Judas went to the chief priests to betray Jesus, and "he sought how he might betray him at a good time" (or "at the right time," not "conveniently," as our English version has it). "At a good time" or "at the right time" would plainly seem to mean, at the time desired by the Sanhedrim, to wit, "not on the feast-day."

2. "On the first day of unleavened bread, when they killed the Passover, his disciples said unto him, Where wilt thou that we go and prepare that thou mayest eat the Passover?" (Mark xiv. 12). That the eating of the paschal lamb on the fifteenth of Nisan cannot here be meant, is clear, from the words, "not on the feast-day." That Jesus did not eat the paschal lamb proleptically, on the fourteenth of Nisan, we may judge from the circumstance that the thought of the paschal meal was suggested by the disciples to the Lord, who foresaw his own speedy death, not by our Lord to the disciples; for the latter asked, not *whether* they should make preparations, for that was taken for granted, but *where*? It will scarcely, therefore, need any further evidence, that we have to do here, as in the case of Luke, solely with the meal described above (§ VI.), namely, the *mazzoth* meal taken in the evening, i.e. at the *commencement* of the fourteenth of Nisan. Mark also describes this last meal as a supper (xiv. 17); he, too, omits all mention of the lamb (xiv. 18 seq.); he

too tells us that Simon the Cyrenian, who was compelled to bear the cross, had just "come from the field" (not "part of the country," xv. 21); he designates the day of the crucifixion "the preparation, or fore-sabbath" (xv. 42); further, he lets fall not the slightest hint that the day on which the Lord was crucified was a sacred festival of the Jews; and, lastly, he represents Jesus as rising from the dead on a Sunday (xvi. 1). Thus this evangelist also agrees with John and Luke in assigning the supper and the crucifixion to the fourteenth of Nisan.

§ VIII. *The Gospel of Matthew.* — 1. Matthew's account of the events of the passion week is less distinct than that of the two other Synoptics; but still it agrees entirely with theirs. Like Mark, he mentions the resolution of the Sanhedrim to take Jesus prisoner, and the anxiety felt that it should not happen "on the feast-day" (Matt. xxvi. 2-4). Judas pledges himself to make known to them where the Lord was to be found, "at the right time" (ἐξήτει εὐκαιρίαν):<sup>1</sup> a circumstance which prevents our supposing the fifteenth of Nisan to be the day of his arrest. The account of the supper (xxvi. 17), and the declaration of the Lord that "in this night" Peter would betray him (xxvi. 34), agree also with Mark, and prove that the meal and the crucifixion took place on the same "night-day." In xxvii. 62 we are told that the "day of crucifixion" was "the day of preparation," and in xxviii. 1, that the day of resurrection was a Sunday. From xxvii. 62 it is specially clear that the παρασκευή denotes the "day of preparation" for Easter, and not merely the day of preparation for the weekly Sabbath. We read there, "on the next day, which followed the παρασκευή, the chief priests came to Pilate." If this "next day" had been an ordinary Sabbath, Matthew would certainly not have described it by this strange expression: the παρασκευή from which he started in describing the following day, must have

<sup>1</sup> The word used in the English version "opportunity" is an exact rendering of εὐκαιρία; but it no longer possesses its original force. The adjective *opportunity* represents its original force.

had a distinctive character of its own, one that did not return every Friday, that is, it must have been the *παρασκευή* for Easter, and have been a feast-day itself. According to Matthew the day of resurrection was a Sunday, the day on which Jesus lay in the tomb, a Sabbath; the day of the crucifixion was the *παρασκευή* for Easter; hence the fifteenth of Nisan must have been the Sabbath during which Christ lay in the tomb.

2. As soon as the difficulty with the paschal meal is set aside and it is allowed that this same paschal meal is not the eating of the lamb, but the solemn eating of the *mazzoth*, which took place in every Jewish house in the evening, that is, at the *beginning*, of the fourteenth of Nisan, the appearance of contradiction between John and the Synoptics, and of inconsistency in the individual synoptic accounts themselves, vanishes at once. We say "the inconsistency in the synoptic accounts themselves"; for if they had regarded the supper as the eating of the paschal lamb, which could only take place on the evening of the fifteenth of Nisan, the arrest of Jesus would have fallen on the feast-day — in opposition to the words, "not on the feast-day," to the statement that Judas betrayed Jesus "opportunistically," "at the right time," and to the notice that Simon the Cyrenian "came from the field." According to all the four Gospels, the day of the Lord's death was the *παρασκευή*, the fourteenth of Nisan, a Friday. With this too harmonizes not only the calculation of the Easter moon, which shows that in the year 30 the fifteenth of Nisan fell on a Sabbath; but also Jewish tradition, which assigns the "day of preparation" for the Passover as the day of the crucifixion.

## ARTICLE IV.

ON THE TEACHINGS OF CHRIST IN REGARD TO HIS  
THEN FUTURE COMINGS, AND THE PHRASEOLOGY OF  
THE APOSTLES ON THIS SUBJECT.

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THIS subject has a broad range of practical bearings, particularly on these two points: the true method of contemplating the now future coming of Christ in order to derive from it the best moral results; and the subject of inspiration as involved in the question, whether the apostles were or were not mistaken in their views of the time of Christ's second coming. That the latter point needs discussion no man intelligent in regard to the views extensively held, both by learned and unlearned expositors, can doubt. Some men of great erudition maintain that Paul's view of the time of Christ's second coming underwent an important change between the date of his first Epistle to the Thessalonians and of his second. If so, was he inspired in a lower degree when he wrote the first, and in a higher when he wrote the second? Or will it be said that in one or both of these letters his inspiration did not reach this particular subject? Among men moving in the common walks of life the view is somewhat current that the apostles actually expected the final coming of Christ within their own lifetime, in such a sense *near* that it might occur any night before morning. Some believe that they taught this as a fact; others that they thought it expedient for the best moral impression to assume it, and to speak *as if* it were so; the points actually believed by them being only these, that the precise time was not revealed, and that nothing forbade its being so near that it might break upon the world at any moment. Now, let it be well considered, if the apostles taught the near coming

of Christ for the final judgment *as a fact*, they were simply mistaken, and we have grave difficulties to dispose of under the question of their real inspiration ; or, if they held that nothing forbade its being so near that it *might* break upon the world during their own lifetime, and therefore, for the sake of the best moral impression, men should be exhorted to expect it daily as a possible, and perhaps probable, event, then we have to meet this difficulty : Is it supposable that their views of the gospel age, and of its predicted work under its then opening dispensation, were so very limited and so exceedingly imperfect ? These remarks will probably suffice to show that the subject calls for thorough and careful examination.

As already indicated, we propose two main subjects of inquiry :

First, The teachings of Christ in regard to his then future comings.

Second, The phraseology of the apostles in speaking upon this subject.

It will be found convenient, not to say important, to examine these points separately.

#### THE TEACHINGS OF CHRIST IN REGARD TO HIS COMINGS THEN FUTURE.

At the outset we are met with the fact that Jesus speaks of more than one then future coming. In some passages he speaks of coming within the lifetime of that generation ; in other passages, he comes at the close of the present world, in connection with the resurrection and the final judgment. Of the former class is Matt. x. 23, in which, having commissioned the twelve to preach to the lost sheep of Israel, he says : " When they persecute you in one city, flee ye into another ; for verily I say unto you, ye shall not have gone over the cities of Israel *until the Son of Man be come.*" Also Matt. xvi. 28 : " Verily I say unto you, there be some standing here who shall not taste of death till they see the Son of Man coming in his kingdom." As



recorded by Mark (ix. 1) the words are "shall not taste of death till they have seen the kingdom of God come with power"; while Luke gives it, "till they see the kingdom of God." These various phrases show that Christ sometimes spake of himself as *coming* in those signal events and manifestations of power which pre-eminently established his gospel kingdom during that primitive age, i.e. within the first century. But let us notice the context of the last cited passage from Matt. xvi. 27, 28. Having said, "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself"; "What shall a man give in exchange for his soul?" Jesus adds, "For the Son of Man *shall come* in the glory of his Father, with his angels, and then he shall reward every man according to his works"; after which follow the words: "There be some standing here who shall not taste death till they see the Son of Man coming in his kingdom." Here manifestly, vs. 27 refers to his coming for the final judgment, for he comes "in the glory of his Father"; "with his angels"; for the final reward of *every man* according to his works; points which most distinctly identify the final judgment (compare Matt. xxv. 31-46). Yet his next words refer to entirely another coming, long anterior to the final one. Why is this? Certainly not because the two comings are one *in time*; but apparently because the earlier one may represent the later, would be in some points analogous, would involve to some extent the same principles of God's government, and therefore the nearer one, falling within the lifetime of some then before him, would serve to illustrate, and perhaps still more to verify, the one far more remote. Mark also in his parallel passage has each of these comings in mind; the final one in the words: "When he cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy angels" (viii. 38); the earlier one in the words: "Till they have seen the kingdom of God come with power"; this coming with power being such a manifestation of divine judgment on a guilty nation as will both certify and illustrate the awful fact of his final coming in judgment upon the whole race. Precisely this analogy gives us (we suggest) the key to the

remarkable blending of Christ's nearer coming with the more remote one which runs through Matt. xxiv. xxv. (The parallel passages are Mark xiii. and Luke xxi.). This discourse of the Lord was occasioned by the question of his disciples: "Tell us, when shall these things be? (i.e. the vast temple buildings laid in ruins) and what shall be the sign of thy coming, and of the end of the world?"

On this prophetic discourse of our Lord the following points may be suggested: (a) Since it was occasioned by the special questions above cited, it may be assumed that Jesus answered those questions to some extent; perhaps not perfectly and to all the points made, but as far as he deemed it wise, and in the way he judged most useful. (b) Their questions make two points very clearly, viz. the *date* of the destruction of the temple, and its premonitory *signs*. To these points it will be seen Jesus made very definite answers. (c) Whether they also inquired when the *present world*, in our sense of the phrase, should end, i.e. in the general resurrection and judgment, has been doubted; this doubt turning on their sense of the phrase, "the end of the world." If (as seems probable) they took up this phrase from Christ's use of it (Matt. xiii. 39, 40, 49): "The harvest is the end of the world;" "So shall it be in the end of the world," etc., then they clearly had reference to Christ's final coming; and Jesus answered to this point, (1) by declaring that the time of this final coming is known to none but the Father; (2) by giving (as in Matt. xxv. 31-46) a very minute and sublime account of this final coming in the glory of the Father for final judgment and eternal retribution. (d) The leading, and I think we may say, the main points in this discourse are those two which stand forth so certainly, clearly, and prominently in the questions asked, pertaining to his nearer coming to destroy Jerusalem. Remarkably, Matthew only has recorded that part of his discourse which appears in Matt. xxv. 31-46, while Luke has nothing in his entire report of this discourse which does not apply readily to the nearer coming; facts which seem to show that this discourse, as a whole, impressed

the disciples much more in its relations to the fall of their city and temple than in its relations to the final coming to judgment. (e) The points of chief difficulty in this discourse (Matt. xxiv.) are of this sort; whether the latter part of it, and especially vs. 29-31 and Mark xiii. 24-27, refer at all to Christ's final coming, and if so, on what principle we shall discriminate between what refers to the nearer coming and what to the remote one; or, if we discard the idea of discrimination, and apply the same words to both events, then, why are they so blended together; and have we any means of ascertaining what Christ did really teach concerning the first coming and what concerning the second? Here it is in place to say that this manner of speaking of these two comings in very close connection is not peculiar to this discourse. It appears, as already shown, in Matt. xvi. 27, 28. Comparing that discourse with this, it seems obvious that Jesus designed to make the nearer coming both prove to men the certainty of the more remote one and develop its ground principles. These two objects were of the utmost consequence, especially at that time. Plainly Jesus did not deem it then so desirable as we now do to discriminate broadly between what belonged to the nearer coming and what to the more remote one. As he saw them, they had more points in common than we are wont to notice. The nearer one had bearings of great moment to his hearers, far greater than they can have to us. And we are slow to realize the importance of that verification of the fact of a final judgment which Jesus saw in the nearer judgment upon Jerusalem. Yet further, it is plain throughout this discourse that Jesus thought much of the immediate practical results, and hence dwelt very largely on the dangers to which his disciples would be exposed; warned them against being deceived, etc.

These considerations serve to account for the manner in which the various parts of this discourse are presented. At first view they may not seem to afford much aid in its interpretation. A deeper view, however, will suggest that

when we have really reached the mind and purpose of the speaker, we have all the clew we ever can have to the interpretation of his words. As we approximate toward his real thought and see how the subject lay before his mind, we approach also the true stand-point from which to see things as he saw them, which is essentially to see his real meaning.

The exposition of Mark xxiv. 19-36 in its connection must be admitted to be very difficult. The fact that the general drift, not to say the strong current, of the discourse throughout this chapter refers to the nearer coming, draws us to interpret these verses of this coming, if the scriptural usage of its phrases will readily admit. On the supposition that Christ here alludes also to his final coming, the point of chief difficulty is to comprehend how a mind holds before its view two distinct comings, and speaks of them both, either in the same words or by sudden and untraceable transition from one to the other. The points above suggested may help us to conceive how, to a limited extent, this might occur in this discourse with no violation of the known laws of mind. The doctrine of a "double sense" in prophecy has been strained badly, and put to a vast amount of unnecessary and therefore unreasonable service. I refer to this fact now, to beseech that what I have just said may not be wrested to the support of its abuses.

I pass to other texts which speak of the coming of the Son of Man. Luke xvii. 20-37 must refer to the nearer coming. Occasioned by the question of the Pharisees as to the time "when the kingdom of God should come," it pays little regard to this precise point of their question, but deals far more with the *manner* of that coming, and the fearfully solemn issues it will involve. The kingdom of God, Jesus replies, does not come in a way to be seen at all by the cavilling and capacious. [The Greek word for "observation" — "cometh not with observation" — is constantly used by Luke in its verbal form for the artful, malign espionage with which they "watched" Jesus. See Luke vi. 7; xiv. 1; xx. 20]. Indeed this kingdom is already *among* you, and ye know

it not. But as to the time of this coming, vs. 22 implies that it will be within the personal life of some at least of those whom he addresses. Verse 25 says that Jesus must first suffer many things, and be rejected of that generation, which implies that the coming in question follows not long after his death, and that this death precedes it as a moral cause precedes its retributive results. Verses 31, 34-36 all imply that the sweep of this destruction will leave some to escape; a fact which utterly forbids its reference to Christ's final coming.

The passage (Luke xviii. 8): "Nevertheless when the Son of Man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?" seems also to refer to the nearer rather than the remoter coming; for the word for "earth" most often means only *the land*, i.e. of Palestine. The general sense seems to be that, despite of the richness of promise and the fulness of love which ought to inspire faith everywhere, yet the Son of Man, coming to bring retribution on the apostate Jewish people, will scarcely find any faith there. The immediate moral force of the remark upon his hearers is much greater applied to the nearer coming than to the more remote one.

John (xxi. 21-23) gives us words that passed between our Lord and Peter relative to John's death. Peter inquired, Lord, what of this man (John); what about his death? To which Jesus replied: "If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?" From this a saying went abroad that John would not die, based on the assumption that the *coming of Christ* referred to was his final one, for the general resurrection. But John sets aside this interpretation, and with it the assumption on which it rested, throwing us back therefore upon Christ's nearer coming as the one referred to. Such was the fact. John lived till after Christ came to destroy the Jewish city and temple.

When the high-priest said to Jesus: "I adjure thee by the living God, tell us whether thou be the Christ the Son of God" (Matt. xxvi. 63, 64 and Mark xiv. 61, 62), he replied: "Thou hast said; and hereafter shall ye see the Son of Man



sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven." It seems most appropriate to refer these words of Jesus to that highest possible proof of his being the Son of God — the glory of his final coming to judge the world. It is indeed true that his anterior coming in judgment on Jerusalem was to be a scene of horrors to the Jewish nation, a scene, moreover, which some of that very council and some of his murderers might live to witness; and withal a fiery precursor, pledge, and illustration of his far more august appearing for the judgment of all the race. Perhaps, therefore, we may suppose that this nearer coming was not altogether absent from his thought, and that his language was chosen for the purpose of suggesting it, similar words having been used by him with primary reference to this nearer coming. Yet the main reference seems to be to the last and most sublime demonstration of his Sonship and glory as Moral Governor, not of our race only, but of the moral universe.

That magnificent and august scene, given by Matthew only (xxv. 31-46), will be admitted by all candid interpreters to refer exclusively to the final judgment. "He shall come in his glory," supreme, unsurpassed; "all the holy angels" (not a few of them only) are with him: "then shall he sit" as sole King of the universe "upon the throne of his glory"; "before him shall be gathered," not Jews alone, not the representatives of their once sacred but also once desecrated city, but "all nations"; and then the grand and final separation, the righteous from the wicked, shall take place, and the final award of bliss or woe be passed upon them, never to be abated, reversed, or brought to an end. Surely these salient and chief points in the description suffice to show that this judgment is not partial, but universal; is not a foregoing type but itself the grand consummation.

Analogous to this in their exclusive reference to the final coming are the passages Matt. xiii. 41, 49, the two parables, the tares of the field, and the fishes of the net. Here

“the harvest is the end of the world,” “the reapers are the angels,” and “as the tares are gathered and burned in the fire, so shall it be in the end of the world.” And so, also, in the parable of the net: “So shall it be at the end of the world; the angels shall come forth and sever the wicked from among the just, and shall cast them into the furnace of fire. There shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth.” There is no shade of thought throughout these entire descriptions which suggests anything whatever save the scenes and results of the last judgment.

One more passage (Acts i. 11) must have exclusive reference to this final coming — the words of the “two men in white apparel” (angels) to the disciples, who had just seen their Lord ascending, till “a cloud received him out of their sight. . . . . This same Jesus, who is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven.” In the same manner — personally, visibly, gloriously — so shall he come once more, and then every eye shall see him. No antecedent coming can be in all points, nor even in its main points, like this. This one grand appearing must far eclipse all its precursors, all its foregoing exemplifications — the august appearing of the Son of Man in his supreme glory.

Thus far we have found one class of passages in which Jesus speaks of his coming with well-defined and exclusive reference to his providential judgments on Jerusalem and its temple; another class, having exclusive reference to the final judgment; and yet another, in which it is at least supposable that both these comings were present to his mind, and that he either covered them both in the same utterance, or passed by most rapid transition from the one to the other.

It remains to inquire whether there is not also another class, in which Christ “comes” in the ministry of death, the personal death of every individual saint, to call him away to his home and reward in heavenly mansions. Precisely this construction must be given to Christ’s words: “In my

Father's house are many mansions. . . . . I go to prepare a place for you. . . . . I will come again, and receive you to myself" (John xiv. 2, 3). This coming we cannot suppose to be his visitation of judgment on Jerusalem; nor can we postpone it to his final appearing for the general resurrection and judgment. From the latter construction we are quite precluded by Christ's words to the penitent thief: "This day shalt thou be with me in paradise"; and equally, also, by Paul's confident expectation that to "depart" is to "be with Christ" (Phil. i. 23); that being "absent from the body" is being "present with the Lord" (2 Cor. v. 8). It is, therefore, altogether certain that Jesus did use this phrase, "come again," with reference to his coming in the ministry of death to take his people from earth to heaven.

Another passage seems to demand the same construction, viz. Luke xii. 35-45: "Let your loins be girded about, and your lamps trimmed and burning, and ye yourselves like unto men that wait for their Lord when he shall return from the wedding, that when he cometh and knocketh, they may open unto him immediately," etc. Here the supposed case involves a *coming* home of their lord, analogous to which Jesus, in his practical application, says: "Be ye therefore ready also; for the Son of Man cometh at an hour when ye think not." What *coming* is this? Precisely this question arose in the mind of Peter: "Then Peter said unto him: Lord, speakest thou this parable to us, or even to all?" Is this coming a special, local one, and is the admonition therefore applicable only to those few servants who may be on the earth when thou shalt come to destroy Jerusalem, or when thou shalt come to raise all the dead for the final judgment? Or, on the other hand, does it apply equally to all thy children in every age through all time? Our Lord's answer gives it the widest possible application, and therefore interprets this to be his coming to all his people in their personal death. In its spirit the admonition is pertinent to any other coming of Jesus to his people, e.g. in providential affliction, or in any extraordinary manifestation of his pres-

ence; but the primary reference, looking so obviously to their final reward, must be to natural death.

This remarkable diversity in our Lord's usage, when speaking of his then future "comings," is certainly worthy of our very careful attention. We shall refer to it again when we pass to consider what the apostles say and mean as to Christ's coming and the end of the world "near at hand." But before we pass from the teachings of Christ in regard to his final coming, some other points should be distinctly noted. 1. He rigorously refrains from giving any definite date for this final coming. He says nothing about the year of our Lord in which it shall occur. He omits all allusion to the number of centuries or ages which must first pass away. It does not appear that he gave any clew to the immediate precursors or foregoing signs of that coming. All that he says (Matt. xxiv., or elsewhere) of precursors or premonitory signs refers manifestly to the nearer coming, and not to the remote, final one. Inasmuch as those signs were certainly fulfilled in the nearer one, it is superfluous, and therefore unauthorized, to apply them to the more remote coming. Indeed, if we accept (as we must) the obvious sense of his words as recorded by Mark (xiii. 32), the precise day of his final coming was not known even to himself, but to the Father only. To this very limitation Jesus may have alluded in these words at the point of his ascension: "It is not for you to know the times or the seasons which the Father hath put in his own power" (Acts i. 7; in the Greek, placed under his own control, reserved as his special prerogative). All the speculations of men, therefore, for fixing the precise day of the Lord's final coming, or even the age, are in the last degree unfounded and presumptuous. 2. But Jesus did give his disciples some very decisive intimations of the work of the gospel age, not as to its nature only, but its extent also—the success to be achieved in the diffusion of the gospel before the end should come. (*a*) In two parables he signified not only the rapid growth of gospel influence, but the ultimate greatness and completeness of its achievements.

“Whereunto shall we liken the kingdom of God? It is like a grain of mustard-seed, which, when sown in the earth, is less than the least of all the seeds that be in the earth; but when sown it groweth up and becometh greater than all herbs, and shooteth out great branches, so that the fowls of the air may lodge under the shadow of it” (Mark iv. 30-32). Or, again, “It is like unto leaven, which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened” (Matt. xiii. 33). Of these parables the true intent and the real wealth of their meaning may be suggested by the question: What more could the leaven do? What more could be put into the symbol of a mustard-seed? The leaven permeated the entire mass, “till the whole was leavened,” just as the evangelical prophet had long before said: “For the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea” (Isa. xi. 9). The mustard-seed, from being least of all in its seed, became in its fully developed glory the greatest of all the growths of the garden, complete, magnificent, everything you could expect a garden-seed to become. These parables are strikingly significant of the great results which Jesus saw in what was then only the tiny germ of the gospel kingdom of God. (b) Although, for good reasons, Jesus gave his ministerial life to labors for the lost sheep of Israel, and although the time had not really come to say much, in the face of Jewish prejudice, of the “other sheep not of that fold,” yet he did very definitely say: “I have [such] other sheep, not of this fold: them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice, and there shall be one fold [of both Jews and Gentiles] and one Shepherd” (John x. 16), the common Redeemer of them all. (c) But when the time came to transfer from himself to his apostles not the planning, nor the supervising care, but the execution of this gospel work, and therefore the proper time to give them the true idea of its destined range and results, what did he say? As reported by Matthew (xxviii. 19): “Go ye, *disciple all the nations*,” nothing less — all the nations of the wide earth; or, as written by Mark



(xvi. 15) : "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." If any question should arise as to time-limitations of this work of the gospel age, he answers it in the most practical and comforting way possible, saying: "Lo, I am with you alway, even to the end of the world." Your work is before you, to last as long as the world stands — the work of all my faithful servants, till I shall come, and the world shall end. Geographically, my plan grasps all the earth; historically, all the ages to the end of time. What more could it do? Certainly this was laying out large work — work so vast and so far-reaching in both space and time that it would seem no intelligent disciple could have thought of its being finished within the life of a few generations, much less, within their own. (d) But finally, something ought to be learned from the manner in which Jesus taught his people to pray for the complete success and the absolute sway of his gospel kingdom among men. To see this subject in its proper light, and this argument in its legitimate force, we may remember how much Jesus labored to impress this great truth: "Ask, and *it shall be given you*" (Luke xi. 9). "If ye shall ask anything in my name, I will do it" (John xiv. 14); and how he seems to have wrought the desired impression into the soul of at least his beloved John, who said: "This is the confidence that we have in him, that if we ask anything according to his will, he heareth us" (1 John v. 14).

Now let the question be: how much does Jesus authorize us to pray for in regard to his gospel kingdom? It is given both by Matthew and Luke essentially thus: "Thy kingdom come; thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven." Luke teaches us that these words had scarcely passed the Saviour's lips when he added, "Ask, and it shall be given you"; as if he would say: this prayer, in all its breadth and richness, asks not too much for God to give; for verily I say unto you, ask for even all this, as you would beg bread of a friend at midnight to meet the calls of hospitality; "*and it shall be given you.*" *How* is the will of God done in

heaven? In filial love; with all the heart; by all the people. Shall we believe that Christ's gospel reign on earth will ever reach this standard in purity and in extent? Bearing on this point we have: (a) the definiteness of the promise, "Ask, and it shall be given you," put in the closest connection with this prayer. (b) In point of largeness and fulness, these petitions in the Lord's prayer correspond precisely to the ancient prophecies: "They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain; for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea" (Isa. xi. 9); "Thy people shall be all righteous" (Isa. lx. 21); "I will put my law in their inward part, and write it in their heart; I will be their God, and they shall be my people; for they shall all know me, from the least of them to the greatest," etc. (Jer. xxxi. 33, 34). These sayings are not the *guesses* of men, but the prophetic words of God; and hence they give us not the hopes or the calculations of the old prophets as to the geographical extension of the gospel and the sway of its moral power in the future ages of our world, but the very purpose and plan of the great God. (c) It ought to be accepted as an axiom, a ground principle in God's spiritual administration, that he never requires his people to pray for what he cannot give, and does not intend to give; for if he were to do this, and his people to know it, how could he expect to "find faith on the earth"? The things for which he requires us to pray stand therefore alongside of his prophetic words, revelations of his eternal plan in regard to the extension and success of his gospel kingdom. Jesus did authorize his disciples to grasp the conquest of the world in their faith and positive expectation, and in their sphere of Christian labor to bring it back to God. As this must be accomplished instrumentally by preaching the gospel to every creature with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven, they must have seen before them and their successors onward through the ages a vast work to be achieved before the end should truly come.

THE PHRASEOLOGY OF THE APOSTLES IN SPEAKING OF  
THIS SUBJECT.

From what Christ *taught*, we pass to what his apostles *thought*. It is surely reasonable to expect a definite correlation between his teachings and their creed. Of his unrecorded sayings, which were many (John xiv. 26; xx. 30; xxi. 25), we can take no account, nor do we need them for our present purpose. The sayings that are recorded are precisely those which made most impression on the minds of the disciples. It is manifestly safe to assume that these recorded words did make a substantial impression on their minds before they were written. After they had passed into the writings recognized as inspired, they would naturally hold and even increase their power over the current thought of the apostles and of the churches. As to their means of interpreting Christ's words correctly, it must be seen that they had, at least in some respects, the advantage over us, inasmuch as they had the attendant circumstances for the most part before them; could ask all the explanations they chose; opportunities which, as they have told us, they often improved.

We come now to the main question. What were the views of the apostles, and what the true sense of their words, in regard to the *time* of Christ's final coming? We have before our minds this special inquiry: Did they believe that *in fact* this coming was then near at hand in the sense of being probably, or even possibly, to occur within their own lifetime? Were they under this great mistake as to the actual fact? Did they think that the work of the gospel age was so nearly finished that they might look for Christ's final coming and the end of the world within one year or five or fifty? Obviously if they held this view as a point of intellectual judgment and belief, they were greatly mistaken. Are we holden by the laws of interpretation to give their words a sense which convicts them of this mistake? These questions we shall have continually in view in our consideration of their words.

All thoughtful minds will see that our construction of their words should be governed by considerations drawn from the following sources: (1) The words themselves which they use as to the time of this final coming and the end of the world. (2) Whatever qualifying, modifying expressions they may have used to define more precisely the sense of their words. (3) What they report to us as said to them by Jesus Christ on this subject. (4) What they themselves say as to the work of the gospel age, the extent of it, and therefore the time it must demand. (5) We must not fail to take into account that law of mind under which future events are made to seem very near by virtue not of their nearness in time, but of their vastness, their impressiveness, their momentous relations to our present and eternal life.

It will facilitate our examination to arrange our passages into groups: e.g. thus:

I. Those which speak of "the last time"; "last days"; "the end of the worlds" [ages].

II. Those which present the apostles and early Christians as *waiting, anticipating, ardently expecting* the coming of Christ.

III. Those which may be understood to say or imply that the present Christian life continues *until* the Lord comes.

IV. Those in which they speak of his coming and of the end of the world as *near*.

I. Those which speak of "the last time"; "last days"; "the end of the world."

In this group I place the following: Heb. i. 2, "Hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son."

1 Pet. i. 20, "Christ was manifest in these last times for you."

Acts ii. 17: "It shall come to pass *in the last days*, saith God, I will pour out my Spirit."

1 John ii. 18: "It is the last time [Greek, hour]; and as ye have heard that antichrist shall come, even now there are many antichrists, whereby we know it is the last time."

1 Tim. iv. 1: "Now the Spirit speaketh expressly that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith."

2 Tim. iii. 1: "This know that *in the last days* perilous times shall come."

Jude 17, 18: "Remember the words spoken before by the apostles . . . . how they told you there should be mockers *in the last time*."

2 Pet. iii. 3, 4: "Knowing this, that there shall come in the last days scoffers, walking after their own lusts, and saying, Where is the promise of his coming? for since the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation."

1 Cor. x. 11: "These things are written for our admonition, *upon whom the ends of the world* are come."

Heb. ix. 26: "Now once in the end of the world hath he [Christ] appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself."

In this group we have a very considerable variety of terms and phrases, yet all of substantially equivalent sense; "the last of the days"; "these last times"; "the last hour [time]"; "the latter time"; "the end of the world" [age], etc. etc. This variety of phrase shows that whatever the sense may be it was not stereotyped into any single word or phrase, but was *held as an idea*, capable, therefore, of being put in various forms. But for the special end we have in view it is far more to our purpose to note that this group becomes its own interpreter; for, beyond all question, this "last time," "last hour," these "latter days," had even then *already come*. God had already "spoken by his Son"; Jesus had already been "manifested in the flesh"; the effusions of the Spirit promised in "these last days" through the prophet Joel began even at the great Pentecost: the "many antichrists," often predicted as to come "in the last days" were already there when John wrote his first epistle and Paul his to Timothy. The people for whom, according to Paul to the Corinthians, the lessons in the Pentateuch were written, and upon whom the ends of the worlds [ages] had come, were the very men of that genera-



tion to whom he was writing. The point of time when Christ offered himself once, defined as being "in the end of the worlds [ages], had certainly passed. Consequently the apostles must have spoken of *their own times* as being the last or latter time, as the end or point of junction of the ages, i.e. the point where the former age of the world ended and the latter age begun. Therefore this phraseology fails to give us any light whatever as to their views of the *length* of this latter age of the world. They simply spoke of the time then present in its relation to the ages of the past as "*these latter days*." We, of this nineteenth century, might use the same phraseology of our times as related to the six thousand years since the creation, and yet imply nothing whatever as to our views of the period yet to intervene before the world shall end. We may therefore set aside this entire group of passages as irrelevant to our main question, for they give us not the least light on the point whether the apostles did or did not believe the final coming of Christ to be near in time. It is important to notice these passages because, to the superficial reader, they often seem to be strong, if not decisive, proof that the apostles thought their own times close upon the end of the world.

II. A second group of passages speak of "waiting for," expecting, fondly and earnestly anticipating, Christ's final coming. The following are examples :

1 Cor. i. 7, 8: "So that ye come behind in no gift, *waiting for the coming* of the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall also confirm you unto the end, that ye may be blameless in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ."

1 Thess. i. 9, 10: "Ye turned to God from idols, to serve the living and true God; and *to wait for his Son from heaven*, whom he raised from the dead, even Jesus; who delivered us from the wrath to come."

Tit. ii. 12, 13: Teaching us that . . . . we should live righteously . . . . in this present world, *looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ.*"

2 Tim. iv. 8: "There is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge shall give me in that day; and not to me only, but to all them also *that love his appearing.*"

Phil. iii. 20, 21: "Our citizenship [Greek] is in heaven; from whence also we *look for the Saviour*, the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body."

2 Pet. iii. 11, 12: "Seeing then that all these things shall be dissolved, what manner of persons ought ye to be in all holy conversation and godliness; *looking for and hasting unto* [eagerly awaiting] the coming of the day of God," etc.

Carefully studying this group of passages the reader will notice: (1) That this earnest looking to Christ's coming is regarded as one of the prominent tests of Christian character, a special characteristic of true converts to Christ. (2) That the reason why it is so is not, apparently, because that coming was thought of as near in point of time, but because it was practically so vital to the Christian life. *The Lord Jesus Christ was the very soul of primitive Christianity.* All its grand points made him their centre. Jesus Christ, the Son of God; appearing in human flesh; bearing the sins of men on his cross to deliver them from its curse; rising from the dead; ascending to the highest heavens, and seated on the throne of the universe; *coming again in like manner as he went*—then to "change our vile body" and consummate our future glory in the eternal blessedness of heaven: these were the grand themes of their gospel. Converted men were converted to these views, or rather, by their conversion their eyes were turned and fixed upon these great facts pertaining to their risen Saviour. (3) Yet more, if possible, to our purpose is the further fact, that the glorious final coming of Christ, and the blessedness of which it would be the consummation to all his people, were thought of as the great motive-power of the gospel. There lay embosomed the Christian's final and complete reward. Upon this it was felt that men's eyes must be fixed, to make them strong against the fierce

and fiery temptations of that age. Hence it must be kept in their view, pressing evermore with living force upon their souls. Let them learn to love and long for this appearing. No matter whether as to time it were near or remote. To the point of its moral force on the Christian life, its place in time is nothing; itself — Christ seen again in his glory, and transforming his people into like glory — is everything.

(4) Let it also be duly considered; this looking to the final coming of Christ, this warm and longing anticipation of it, was a thing, not of the cold intellect, but of the living heart. The blessing is for those who “*love his appearing.*” It involved no speculations as to the time when, but simply dwelt on the great fact as being sure, as most precious, a thing to be awaited with fervid hope and blest anticipation.

(5) It is in place here to suggest that this looking for, this eagerly awaiting Christ’s final coming, is what we might reasonably expect from men who had lived with him personally in the flesh, who saw him ascend into the heavens, and who heard with their own ears those words never to be forgotten: “Shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go.” They remembered those oft-repeated words, “I will not leave you orphans; I will come to you.” Words more fraught with the tenderness and sympathy of love never fell from human lips. Is it strange that such words should have sunk deep into their aching hearts, and should have been cherished through all their future years, throwing a depth of interest into that promise of his coming which we can at best but faintly conceive? The power of the heart would make such a promised coming *seem near*, whatever their real belief might be as to its actual relations to time.

(6) It is supposable that in their current thought the glory of the saints at and after Christ’s second coming would so greatly surpass the glory of the intermediate state (between death and the resurrection) that their minds rested mainly on the former as the consummation of their hopes — the fullness and perfection of their anticipated heaven. This looking at Christ’s final coming as if it opened the future heaven,

and were almost identical with it, may have been due in part to their personal relations to Jesus, and in part to the actual pre-eminence of the post-resurrection state above the intermediate. Yet it is certain that, relatively to the present life, Paul longed intensely for that heavenly state and that "being with Christ" to which death would instantly introduce him. Nothing less than this lies in his words to the Philippians (i. 21-23): "For me to live is Christ, and to die is gain. . . . For I am in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to depart and to be with Christ, which is far better." (Compare also 2 Cor. v. 8.) Their usual modes of thought and expression, however, associate the heavenly state with Christ's second coming. Under the special circumstances of the apostles this need not surprise us, nor does it prove that they really regarded this final coming as near in time.

These various considerations sufficiently account for the words and the thought in this group of texts, their earnest looking, and ardent longing for Christ's promised coming, without at all involving the doctrinal belief that this coming was actually close at hand.

III. I put into a third group certain passages which may seem to imply that the Christian life of then living saints was to *continue* until Christ's final coming, and consequently that the apostles thought this coming actually near in point of time.

Thus, in 1 Thess. v. 23, Paul prays that the brethren "may be preserved blameless *unto the coming* of our Lord Jesus Christ." The original words here are *in* the coming (*ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ*); that is, may be accounted and rewarded as blameless ones *when* that day shall open. The same words are used 1 Thess. iii. 13; "To the end he may establish your hearts unblamable in holiness before God *at* (or *in*) the coming of our Lord with all his saints." But stronger language appears in Paul to Timothy (1st Ep. vi. 14): "I charge thee keep this commandment, unrebukable *until* the appearing of our Lord." And to the Philippians (i. 6);

“Confident that he who hath begun a good work in you, will perform it *until* the day of Christ”; and (i. 10) “that ye may be sincere and without offence *until* the day of Christ.” But in this last passage, the original (*εἰς ἡμέραν*) strictly means *against* the day; i.e. sincere and without offence, so as to be in readiness for the day, and fully prepared to meet it, accepted of God and joyful of heart, whenever it shall come.

To the point now in hand the question on these passages is this: Did Paul assume that Timothy’s responsible charge of that “commandment” would continue with no interruption from death even till Christ’s appearing? And that the Philippians would need the good work of preserving grace wrought in them continuously even unto the day of Christ’s final coming? And did Paul assume that not one of the Philippian converts would die before the final day of Christ? Was this “day” in his view so very near as this; so that we must say he used these words because he saw the end of time so very near? If so, Paul was under a very great misapprehension as to the time of Christ’s final coming. Before we impute to him so grave an error of opinion, let us ask if his words demand this construction.

In his charge to Timothy, may he not have meant simply, with your eye on that final appearing; with your soul impressed by all its solemnities, never forgetting how momentous its issues will be; that you are preaching for him who will surely come again in his glory, with a crown of life for all his faithful servants? This practical sense of that appearing is quite a distinct thing from the definite belief that it was to occur actually during their lifetime, and seems to us to account adequately for the language he uses.

On this passage Ellicott very cautiously remarks: “It may perhaps be admitted that the sacred writers have used language in reference to the Lord’s return which seems to show that the longings of hope had *almost* become the convictions of belief; yet it must also be observed that (as in the present case) this language is often qualified by expressions which show that they also felt and knew that that hour



was not to be looked for immediately (2 Thess. ii. 2), but the counsels of God, yea, and the machinations of Satan, must require time for their fulfilment" (p. 110). The same points must be made upon Paul's words to the Philippians (i. 6). It is one thing to introduce the day of Christ here as the precise *terminus* of God's sanctifying work, the point to which it must be continued, and then and there be superseded by Christ's second coming; and quite another thing to introduce it as the *goal* of their Christian life, the consummation of their hopes, the reward of their conflicts and labors — the all-inspiring motive, therefore, that should lift them above every temptation and make them steadfast. The latter view is surely admissible, and is obviously in harmony with the current strain of apostolic teaching. On this passage Ellicott remarks judiciously: "It may be fairly said that Paul uses language here which has not so much a mere historic as a general and practical reference. The day of Christ, whether far off or near, is the decisive day to every individual: it is practically coincident with the day of his death," etc.

The passages which should be translated, not "until," but *against* (Phil. i. 10) or *in* (1 Thess. v. 23; iii. 13), present no particular difficulty. Let it be your prayer and your watchful concern to be accepted of Christ *on* that great day. See that ye live every day in readiness for that great day of days. But a more full view of the reasons which demand this construction of these passages, rather than that which would assume that the apostles believed Christ's coming, in fact, near, will be given under our next group of texts.

IV. Lastly, we have a group of texts which affirm, in various phrase, that "the Lord," or his "coming," or "the day," or "the Judge," or "the end of all things" is near at hand.

We propose (1) To cite these passages; (2) To adduce some reasons which forbid that construction of them which would imply that the apostles really believed the final com-

ing of Christ to be near *in time*; (3) To append some special comments upon these several texts.

1. Peter (1st Ep. iv. 7) uses this very strong language: "But the end of all things is at hand: Be ye therefore sober, and watch unto prayer." Paul (Phil. iv. 5): Let your moderation be known unto all men: the Lord is at hand." Again, (Rom. xiii. 11, 12): "And that knowing the time, that now it is high time to awake out of sleep, for now is our salvation nearer than when we believed. The night is far spent; the day is at hand." Also, (1 Cor. iv. 5): Therefore judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come who will both bring to light the hidden things of darkness and make manifest the counsels of the heart; and then shall every man have praise of God." Yet further (1 Thess. iv. 15, 17; v. 1, 2, 4.): "We who are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them which are asleep. . . . . The dead in Christ shall rise first; then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds," etc. . . . . "But of the times and the seasons, brethren, ye have no need that I write unto you. For yourselves know perfectly, that the day of the Lord so cometh as a thief in the night. . . . . But ye, brethren, are not in darkness that that day should overtake you as a thief," etc. With this should be compared (2 Thess. ii. 1-3): "We beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by our gathering together unto him, that ye be not soon shaken in mind or troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter as from us, as that the day of Christ is at hand. Let no man deceive you by any means; for that day shall not come, except there be a falling away first," etc. Several passages of the same general character appear in the Revelation of John (e.g. i. 7; iii. 11; xxii. 7, 12): "Behold, he cometh with clouds, and every eye shall see him, and they also that pierced him," etc. "Behold I come quickly; blessed is he that keepeth the sayings of the prophecy of this book." "My reward is with me to give to every man according as his work shall be." Also (Heb. x. 25, 36, 37):

“Exhorting one another, and so much the more as ye see the day approaching.” . . . “Ye have need of patience, that after ye have done the will of God ye might receive the promise. For yet a little while, and he that shall come will come, and will not tarry.” The apostle James (v. 7) thus: “Be patient, therefore, brethren, unto the coming of the Lord.” “Stablish your hearts, for the coming of the Lord draweth nigh. Grudge not one against another, brethren, lest ye be condemned. Behold the Judge standeth before the door.” Peter, again (2d Ep. iii. 3-12): “There shall come scoffers, . . . saying, Where is the promise of his coming”? “Beloved, be not ignorant of this one thing, that one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day.” “But the day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night,” etc. . . . “Seeing then that all these things shall be dissolved, what manner of persons ought ye to be, in all holy conversation and godliness; looking for and hasting unto the coming of the day of God,” etc.

2. The main question before us being this: Do these passages by a fair, legitimate construction imply that the writers believed the final coming of Christ to be then very near *in time*, it is appropriate that certain considerations of a general nature, bearing vitally upon this point, should be brought definitely before us at this stage of our investigation. It may be freely admitted that much of the language just quoted would bear the affirmative construction if there were no opposing considerations. But there are; and it behooves us to give them our attention.

(1) Peter met the scoffers of his age with a reply which manifestly provides for a very long delay of Christ's final coming. They said: “Where is the promise” of that coming which you have continually said was very near? For all things continue still as they were. To this Peter does not reply: “It *is*, nevertheless, very near, and you will soon find it to be so”; but he says the promise of his coming is nevertheless sure, though a thousand years should intervene. This reply is simply unaccountable, if Peter really believed

that the Lord's coming was to occur within a few years ; for if this had been the fact, such a reply would have misled those scoffers, perhaps fatally ; and if Peter had expected it to become the fact, how can we avoid the conclusion that he meant to mislead them, giving them reason to think that a delay of a thousand years or more was at least supposable ? His object was manifestly to impress the certainty, but not the nearness in time, of that august event.

(2) In Paul's first letter to the Thessalonians, he speaks as if himself and those to whom he wrote might remain on earth living till Christ's final coming, and then, with no intervening death, be taken up to meet the Lord in the air. He also, in the next chapter, speaks of the Lord's coming "as a thief in the night"—language which, coupled with what precedes, might imply that this event might, and probably would, break upon them suddenly at no distant day. Now, observe that the Thessalonian brethren understood him in precisely this sense, and were greatly agitated—"shaken in mind and troubled"—by his letter. He hastens to write them again, to deny this construction. He protests that they misunderstood his meaning. He assures them that great events, occupying, as the passage is commonly interpreted, many centuries, must intervene. Now, the point we make here is, that this disclaimer squarely, peremptorily, forbids their construction of Paul's words. For Paul himself testifies positively that he never meant to say or imply that the final coming of Christ was in point of time near at hand. And, even more, he testifies that it is *not* near in time. It is fortunate for us that this sense was put upon Paul's words during his life, since it gave him an opportunity to disclaim it utterly, as we see that he did. What stronger evidence could we possibly have that he never meant to give it as his belief that Christ's coming was near in time ? Olshausen holds that Paul changed his mind between the writing of his first Epistle and his second ; having been under a mistake at the writing of the first, but having become aware of his error and renounced it and

embraced the truth before the writing of the second letter — a theory which we might believe if Paul had definitely said so, but not otherwise. If Paul had confessed his previous mistake, and expressed becoming gratitude for the new light that had dawned upon his mind, it would be reasonable to accept Olshausen's theory. But this is far enough from being what he said. Obviously, he used the first person plural ("*we* who are alive and remain," etc.) as a convenient way of distinguishing the two great classes of saints at the moment of Christ's second coming, viz. the previously dead, and the living who had not tasted death. This distinction needed then to be made strongly, because the Thessalonians were in distress under the apprehension that the dead class would be at a great disadvantage in that eventful hour. This feeling of theirs Paul meets strongly, thus: Even if that glorious coming were to break upon us to-day, "the dead in Christ would rise first," before we, the living, should ascend to meet the Lord, and would therefore be at no disadvantage whatever compared with us. So, "comfort ye one another with these words."

(3) Paul had prophetic views of the work and results of the gospel age, of which he "would not have his brethren ignorant" (Rom. xi. 25, 26), which included the "coming in of the fulness" [the main body] of the Gentile world, and then "all Israel" would be saved besides — results which he certainly knew had not been realized then, and could not be for ages. As surely as the divine plan included these results in the gospel age of the world, so surely the end could not be yet. As surely as Paul saw these results by the spirit of prophecy, and would not have his brethren ignorant of them, so surely he could not have believed that the end of the world was in fact near, and with equal certainty he never intended to teach this doctrine and enforce it upon others.

(4) As we have seen already, Jesus had given all his disciples views scarcely less definite than those of the far-reaching plans of God for the extension and the complete



success of the gospel, bidding them pray that the will of God might be done on earth as in heaven, and commanding them to go and disciple all the nations for this result; assuring them, moreover, that his gospel in the world, like leaven in meal, would work till the mass was leavened. It is legitimate for us to assume that these cardinal features in his system, these truths so inspiring to their apostolic labors, were not among the last things to be brought to their remembrance and impressed into their very souls by "the Comforter," taking the things of Christ, and setting them in sunlight before their minds. Hence we must assume not only the theoretic knowledge of these great future triumphs of the gospel, but a living, practical impression thereof, of such sort as must inevitably shut off the idea that the end of this gospel age was in point of time actually near at hand.

(5) Let it be noted further that Jesus said to them, most explicitly and strongly, ye cannot know the time of that final coming. This knowledge is not for you. The Father reserves it to himself alone. These declarations should have barred off all definite estimate or theories as to the actual time. It may be presumed that they had this effect.

(6) Jesus had spoken of one future coming that was in fact near (within that generation); and had blended with this another coming, more remote, for the final resurrection and judgment of all the race. Is it strange that his manner of speaking of these future comings should reappear in the writings of his apostles? Might not they as well as he think of the former coming as both an illustration and a prelude and pledge of the latter one? If so, this law of construction may serve to explain some of the passages now before us.

(7) It is certainly supposable that as Jesus in a few passages refers to his coming to his people in the ministry of death,—a coming which was in fact near,—so the apostles may in some cases use his phraseology in the same sense.

(8) Finally we may take into account a well-known and

vastly important law of mind by which things seem to us near or remote by virtue, not of their supposed nearness in time, but of their momentous relations and of their solemn interest. Who does not know that we practically think of the eternal world as near or afar in time according as we do or do not take home to our heart the vastness of its issues and their most vital bearings upon our personal well-being? Many a sinner under pungent conviction of guilt, has really felt that hell itself was opening that instant beneath his very feet! He does not care to estimate the intervening time; he does not look at the matter in that way. Guilt and doom are so impressively connected, they seem to him almost the same thing, and guilt being awfully present he cannot but feel that doom is close upon him. The same law applies to the joyous experiences of God's children. The soul may be so fully bathed in the atmosphere of the Saviour's presence that it becomes quite unnatural and scarcely possible to conceive of him as far away. Continuous and impressive thought upon the glory of his second coming makes that coming seem sweetly near, not because it is believed to be near in time, but because the solemnity, the glory, the impressiveness of the scene have thoroughly taken possession of the heart. We may call this the *practical*, as distinguished from the purely *theoretical*, conception; the witness of the heart, and not the chronological calculation of the head. Now the apostles were of all men most sure to have these heart-conceptions of the Saviour's final coming. Had not they seen him rising bodily from earth toward heaven, till a cloud of glory enfolded and bore him from their view? And could they ever forget those words: "Ye shall yet see him come as ye have seen him go," only with glory and majesty far more grand and sublime? They were the men of all the race to cherish these words with tenderest remembrance, and to think of that final coming as near, not because they estimated it to be so in actual time, but because it lay so impressively and sweetly near to their heart. This law of our sentient nature should, therefore, have its due place and

power in our interpretation of what they said in respect to the final coming of their Lord.

3. We are now to bring under special review the several passages in the group before us.

The words of Peter "The end of all things is at hand" (1st Ep. iv. 7), we incline to refer to Christ's final coming and to the real end of this state of probation, and the more so because the context speaks of "him who holds himself in readiness to judge the living and the dead" (vs. 5). It is indeed, possible that his full meaning would be given by this limitation: "The end of all things *as to yourselves*, for death will soon shut you off utterly from all that pertains to this earthly life." But though I regard this as possibly his thought, yet I deem it altogether probable that his mind was upon the final coming. Assuming this, I account for his words on the principle last above presented, viz. that the end of all things was practically and in thought and realization *near*, not because he believed it to be so in point of time, but because it lay so solemnly and impressively upon his soul. He lived in the atmosphere of that glorious coming. He breathed the very life of that momentous truth. It was to him as a present reality. Its issues seemed too vast, momentous, pressing, to admit of its being thought of as remote. Yet that Peter did not believe Christ's final coming to be actually near *in time* is quite apparent from the manner of his reply to the scoffers; i.e. not by affirming that this coming was surely near in time, but (*a*) by calling their attention to the case of the deluge; and (*b*) by saying that a thousand years' delay would no more affect its certainty than one day's delay; which manifestly indicates that a delay of one thousand or even of several thousand years is supposable.

In the words of Paul (Phil. iv. 5), "The Lord is at hand," it may be questioned whether he thinks of nearness in time or of omnipresence in space; the former being supported by the repeated use of the kindred verb (ἐγγίζω from ἐγγύς), in the sense of nearness in time, and the latter by the following

context : " Be careful for nothing, but in everything let your requests be made known unto God," ever near to help. On this point critics differ, most of them favoring the reference to time and to the coming of the Lord Jesus. Yielding this, the passage comes under the same law as the last cited. Paul, no less than Peter, had a most impressive sense of that momentous coming, and held it near his heart in the same practical way.

In the passage (Rom. xiii. 11, 12), " Now is our salvation nearer," etc., some insist that this " salvation " is precisely the Saviour himself, coming in his personal and final glory. If this be its meaning, Paul must have deemed it very near in time, for this is a measurement on the scale of the human, earthly life of the believers addressed, nearer now than at the point of their conversion. But I see no demand whatever for this construction. We have all that the words call for when we apply them to the heavenly state reached by every Christian at his personal death, which of course is brought nearer by each succeeding day. And this harmonizes with the drift of the apostle's argument. He is urging the duty of love, and at this point enforcing it by the twofold responsibility ; (a) of the augmented light of this gospel age compared with the ignorance (" night ") that preceded ; (b) by the fact that they were rapidly nearing the consummation of their blessedness in the heavenly salvation, nearer now than when they first believed. He assumes that they are already in the " day " of gospel light ; the night of the foregoing darkness is rapidly passing away. Let them live under a just sense of these blessings ; let them bear worthily these responsibilities.

We pass to the words of Paul to the Corinthians (1st Ep. iv. 5) : " Therefore judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come," etc. The connection shows that this is the Lord's coming for the judgment of the race. To the point we have in hand the only question is, Do these words imply that Paul regarded this " coming " as near in time, i.e. within the life of those censorious brethren at Corinth, who were

presuming to sit in judgment on the great Apostle? Did he mean, "be a little patient, brethren, yet for a very short time, and the Lord will relieve you of this responsibility of judging your apostolic fathers"? Did he not rather mean to say: "Ye have put me on trial at your own bar; ye quite misapprehend your functions and responsibilities. I do not even judge myself: the Lord, he only is my Judge. I suggest, therefore, that ye judge nothing before his time; leave the responsibility to him; he will come full soon enough for your convenience; and, coming, he will bring to light all hidden things of darkness, and reveal the most secret purposes of selfish, ill-feeling hearts." Certainly here is pertinent meaning in abundance to his words without the least implication that he thought the time of that coming to be really near. Or thus: I would affirm that it matters nothing to the apostle's argument whether the time of the Lord's coming were then five years distant or five hundred thousand years; for it would be monstrous to suppose that Paul suspends the fitness and right of their sitting in judgment on himself upon the nearness or remoteness of the Lord's coming, tacitly admitting that if it were far distant, they might properly proceed to issue the case, while if it were very near, they might with propriety postpone action, and adjourn the case till his coming. No, indeed; he meant to suggest, in his own inimitable way, that no judge in the universe could fitly pass upon this case save Jesus Christ. Therefore it behooved them to judge nothing till he should come, be that coming when it might.

The related passages in Paul's two Epistles to the Thesalonians have been, perhaps, sufficiently argued already. Beyond all question Paul was understood to imply that the final coming of the Lord was near in time. Equally beyond question he disclaims this opinion, and therefore determines for us the main point we wish to reach, showing that he never meant to say that; did not believe it; but did believe that a long period must intervene before that final coming. It is of the smallest possible consequence whether this great



apostasy would postpone the Lord's coming one thousand years or ten thousand. In either case it is thrown far beyond any point which could, as to time, be legitimately expressed by the apostle in the words, "near at hand."

The passages in the Revelation of John (i. 7; iii. 11; xxii. 7, 12, 20) will be readily recalled. Their key-note is, "I come quickly." The manner of this coming is "with clouds," and seen by "every eye." The descriptive points in Rev. i. 7 identify this coming with that of Matt. xxiv. 30. The prophetic words in which Jesus depicted the impending doom of Jerusalem, at once hopelessly apostate, and persecuting the Lord of glory and his people unto death, are substantially reproduced in the first series of these apocalyptic visions, and constitute their burden. An extended and thorough comparison of these with those will show that both series of predictions treat of the same coming of the Lord Jesus, that which, at the date of John's writing, was, in fact, very near. It may be observed that his "coming quickly" is put in the closest connection of thought with the speedy fulfilment of these visions, thus (Rev. xxii. 6, 7): "The Lord God of the holy prophets sent his angel to show unto his servants the things which must shortly be done. Behold I come quickly." The fulfilling of these prophetic visions and the coming of Jesus are each done shortly: they are expressed in slightly diverse terms, but are the same thing. But this coming then, due quickly, is not the end of the world and the final judgment scene. The great facts revealed in Rev. xx. put at least a thousand years, really an immensely long, indefinite age, between this nearer coming and the final judgment.<sup>1</sup>

The passages (Heb. x. 25, 36, 37) must be put in the same class with those in the Revelation. "Exhorting one another, and so much the more as ye see the day approaching," etc. This coming is actually close at hand. The suffering breth-

<sup>1</sup> The reader is respectfully referred to my recently published Notes on the Revelation of John for a much more extended discussion of these related prophecies of Jesus (as in Matt. xxiv.) and of John.

ren needed only patience, and it would come, i.e. while yet they lived. Let it be considered these were Jewish Christians. This epistle assumes that they were severely tried, persecuted almost unto blood (xii. 4). "The day approaching" would break the power of their persecutors, and bring the persecuted ones relief. The near coming of the Lord as related to the Jews of that age was most obviously that identical coming which Jesus himself put in the foreground, and which stands in like manner in the foreground throughout the Revelation of John, and, for the same reason, in this Epistle to the Hebrews.

We have yet another passage in the same class, that from James (v. 7-9): "Be patient, therefore, brethren, unto the coming of the Lord," etc. It will be borne in mind that this apostle James was long the leading pastor of the church at Jerusalem, and that he addresses this letter to "the twelve tribes scattered abroad," i.e. to Jewish Christians. A still more definite identification of our passage with Christ's coming in judgment on Jerusalem is indicated in the context. Addressing the rich, oppressive, apostate portion of the Jews, his words are: "Ye have condemned and killed the *Just One*." The corresponding words of Peter are, "Ye denied the Holy One and the Just" (Acts iii. 12); and those of Stephen, "Ye have slain those who predicted the coming of the *Just One*, of whom ye have now been the betrayers and murderers" (Acts vii. 52). Usage, therefore, fully sustains the application of these words to Jesus considered as standing spotless before his malign accusers and by them condemned and murdered. So considered he was pre-eminently *the Just One*. Remarkably James makes a logical connection between the murder of this "Just One" and his speedy coming, i.e. for judgment on the guilty city and people who had invoked his blood upon the heads of themselves and of their children (Matt. xxvii. 25). "Ye have condemned and killed the Just One and he doth not" (i.e. doth not *yet*) "resist you." [But he will come in terrific judgments ere this generation shall pass]; "Be patient, therefore, brethren, unto the com-

ing of the Lord," "for this coming draweth nigh." Hence I find in these words a manifest allusion to the nearer coming of which Jesus himself speaks so often and so explicitly, and be it also considered, in this very same connection of thought.

Concerning the passage (2 Pet. iii. 3-12) two points, in addition to those already made, deserve attention. Peter not only provides for a very long delay in the time of the second coming, but indicates the reason for this remarkable long-suffering of the much-abused Moral Ruler of the world, viz. because he is "not willing [wishing, *βουλόμενος*] that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance." This waiting for sinners to repent is the genius and spirit of the gospel age. The Hebrew prophets first, and Jesus himself during his ministry, gave clear intimations of the extent to which this waiting must be carried, and of its purposed results. They said: "All the ends of the world shall remember and turn unto the Lord" (Ps. xxii. 27); he said: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." For these results the long-suffering of God waited then, and the final coming of the Lord was delayed. Peter had these grand purposes of the gospel age before his mind, and therefore had sufficient data bearing on the time of this coming to decide readily that it was not then near in time. Some persons receive a vague impression that the time was supposed to be very near from the words: "Looking for and *hasting unto* the coming of the day of God." It seems to them that hurrying toward the event and laboring to shorten up the intervening time (which they accept as nearly or quite the apostle's meaning) must imply that it was supposed to be near in time, almost within sight. But Peter's words include no preposition corresponding to "unto." *Earnestly awaiting*, expresses fairly the sense of his words. It is rather the bringing of the heart into warm and fervid contact with that sublime, impressive, momentous truth than hasting ourselves toward it, or hasting its occurrence to bring it nearer to us. These last-named constructions, indeed, are not to be thought of.

## CONCLUSION.

1. Some who assume that the apostles believed Christ's final coming to be even then near in time, would logically infer, that because they believed so then, we ought to believe so now. But if they held this positive belief as to the actual time of the final coming, they held one positive error; and shall it be insisted that because they held this error we ought to hold the same? Are Christian people asked to receive such logic as divine authority in reference to a point of duty? Yet further, whatever that coming of Christ was which the apostles affirmed to be actually near in time then, has long since passed, and those words cannot be used to prove that the next coming must also be near in time now. A point of time which was near to come eighteen hundred years ago cannot be, in the same chronological sense, near at hand now, for the good reason that it must have long since gone by. Those apostolic words, in their precise relations to *time*, cannot by any possibility apply to the present hour as they applied to present time when spoken eighteen centuries since. Let us not be misled by fallacies.

2. The doctrine has been put forth from influential quarters that because the apostles lived in constant waiting expectation that the Lord would come to judge the world soon, *therefore he must certainly come before the millenium*. I submit that this conclusion is based on no logical relations. For if their expectation fastened on a definite time near at hand, it was certainly without divine authority, was a mistake, and therefore, can prove nothing whatever in regard to the actual time of that second coming. If, as we have assumed and sought to show, it was a sort of expectation which simply *waited* and loved and longed for — a thing of the heart and not of intellectual time-computation, — then it would certainly admit not only of eighteen hundred years' delay (as it has already), but equally well of a thousand more, for a short millenium, or of indefinite thousands, for a long one. Our position is, that an inference *drawn ever so logically*

*from a mistake* is worthless. The inference now under consideration cannot be drawn from the true view, from the real nature, of the waiting expectation of the apostolic heart. As no time-relations entered into that waiting, so no inference in regard to *time* can be drawn out of it.

3. I trust it has been shown that the Christian mind of our age, not to say also the general public mind, may fitly relieve itself of all apprehensions that the apostles labored under any such error of belief as to the time of Christ's final coming as must damage their claims to inspiration or their credit for intelligent good sense as disciples at the feet of their Master. It certainly appears that their Master spake of his then future comings clearly, not confusedly; guardedly, not recklessly; most impressively, and never otherwise. That he should have spoken of one coming then near, and of another in the remote, undefined distance; the nearer one immensely vital to the men of his generation and to their children; inexpressively valuable, moreover, through all future generations as a development of the great principles of retribution, of the sublime idea of judgment for the sins of men; this should seem no strange thing to us; nor that he should put the remoter coming upon the great prophetic canvass so that its shadings should seem to come out from behind, or we might say, from under the nearer one, to be seen through its light, and to be illustrated from its example; this too is so far from being mysterious and inexplicable, that we may well account it a masterly policy, a thing of consummate wisdom. Now, to our present purpose let it be said, the apostles seem to have made no mistake in apprehending these prophetic fore-showings given them by their Master. They saw the nearer coming, and spake of it as their Lord had done before; they saw also the remoter coming, i.e. in its nature and relations; they saw it especially in its moral bearings of impressive, momentous interest; and for the sake of these bearings they brought it near and held it in close and living contact with their hearts. But it does not appear that they ventured to form any definite opinions



as to the *time*,—the century, the age, when this final advent should occur. They have given us no chronology on this subject. They have said nothing, therefore, which can compromise their credit as inspired men. On this point our minds may be comfortably at rest.

4. Finally, the way in which the apostles held their views of Christ's then future comings—the nearer one really near in time, and full of illustrative power; the remoter one, with the element of time eliminated, and therefore near only in the sense of being held close to the very heart, loved, longed for, appreciated proximately at its full and momentous value; this is truly a grand model of wisdom for us and for all the ages; the very consummation of practical good sense; a thing, therefore, to be studied diligently and wrought into our heart-experiences with unsparing assiduity. Success in this endeavor would make the now future coming a stupendous moral power upon the soul. It would save the Christian world from those sad effervescences and aberrations that are sure to come from admitting the element of time into our ideas of Christ's final coming. Let us be content with the divine economy: "It is not for you to know the times and the seasons which the Father hath reserved as his own prerogative." Leaving the *time when* in his sovereign disposal, let us hold the great fact of that future coming in perpetual nearness to our heart, a thing of certainty, a thing of stupendous issues, a thing of most vital bearings, a fact of unsurpassed majesty and glory.

## ARTICLE V.

CHARACTERISTICS DISTINCTIVE OF CHRIST'S KINGDOM  
AS CREATED BY REDEMPTION FROM THE WORLD, OR  
THE KINGDOM OF SATAN.

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PART I.—THE ANTAGONISM OF CHRIST'S KINGDOM TO THE WORLD OR  
THE KINGDOM OF SATAN.

CHRIST'S kingdom is created out of the world by God's action redeeming men from sin. It exists and grows by God's redeeming grace delivering sinful men from the power of darkness and translating them into the kingdom of his Son. It implies a perpetual process of transforming the world into itself.

The first thought which flows from this fundamental conception, and is now to be our subject, is this: Christ's kingdom is in antagonism to the world or the kingdom of Satan. God's redeeming grace and the kingdom which it calls into being are in perpetual conflict with the power and kingdom of evil for the deliverance of man.

This kingdom of evil is called in the Bible the power of darkness, as opposed to the kingdom of God's dear Son; the kingdom of Satan, as opposed to the kingdom of Christ; the world, as opposed to the kingdom of heaven. The last is the most frequent designation, not because the world is conterminous with the reign of evil, but because it is subject to it, and the part of it immediately in contact with the kingdom of righteousness. It is only as we understand this use of "the world," as representing the kingdom and power of darkness in its direct antagonism to Christ's kingdom, that we get the full significance of many of the sayings of Christ and his apostles. We miss their power if we suppose "the world," as they often use it, means only earthly goods.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "If ye were of the world, the world would love his own; but because ye are not of the world but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world

This antagonism appears in the opening of Genesis. Man sinless in Eden is encircled and protected by the law which prohibits him from evil. When by transgression he has overleaped the law, which encircled and protected him, into the midst of circumjacent evil, the law becomes a sword of fire shutting him out from good, himself a victim of the power of evil, and henceforth a part of it. Nor was the antagonism that of the law only, but deliverance from the curse of the law is itself to come through conflict and suffering: "it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel." Men are not represented here as each in an isolated individuality, but as related to powers of good and of evil which existed before man existed, and the scope of whose action outreaches the sphere of human life. This is in analogy with nature. A man's health does not depend altogether on his personal care of it. There are cosmic agencies under which the earth itself sickens and belches out pestilential miasmata; and the black death, the cholera, and plagues of whatever name move around the globe. And there are always invigorating cosmic influences from the sun, the air, the ocean, and the land, without which no human forethought could sustain life. So the Bible, from its very opening, represents the spiritual relations of man. The writer of Genesis knew not the earth's relation to other worlds and systems; but he knew that man's relations extended beyond the earth. The power of darkness has put its blight on man. God is seeking the lost man to bring him back to righteousness and peace. The earth is a battlefield for the soul of man between the powers of heaven and of hell.

hatheth you." "The prince of this world cometh, and hath nothing in me." "Wherein in time past ye walked according to the course of this world, according to the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience." "For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against . . . the rulers of the darkness of this world." "Love not the world, neither the things which are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him." "Whosoever is born of God overcometh the world; and this is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith." John xv. 19; xiv. 30; Eph. ii. 2; vi. 12; 1 John i. 15; v. 4.

This conflict appears throughout the Old Testament. The history of the Jews brings it vividly before the mind, and, as it were, incorporates it into human consciousness. In their history this conflict appears, first, in the separation of this people by a divine call, the promise of blessedness to all mankind through the Messiah to spring from them, and the conditioning of the continuance of God's favor to them on their fidelity to him, involving throughout their history the recognition of Paul's principle, "He is not a Jew who is one outwardly, but only he who exercises faith like Abraham's." It appears, secondly, within the chosen people in the continual preaching of the prophets against dependence on birth and outward service, and their testimony to the spirituality of God's requirements and the universality of his promise; and in the faithfulness of the few, like the seven thousand in Elijah's day, and like Simeon and Anna, who stood with the prophets in every generation in antagonism to the national Pharisaism and corruption. It appears, thirdly, in the outlook of the prophecies into the future, revealing the kingdom of the Messiah in its conquest of the world.

When Christ came he not only declared this conflict, but his own life set it forth. From the temptation in the wilderness until his death he was assailed by the powers of darkness; but before he died he saw Satan as lightning fall from heaven, — the token of victory.

It is remarkable that at the beginning of each dispensation we have this conflict set forth between chosen champions, and open to the gaze of all generations. In the beginning, Adam, type of unaided man, meets the adversary and falls. In the opening of the gospel dispensation, Jesus, the Redeemer, type of man quickened by God's grace, meets the adversary and conquers.

The conflict of Christ's kingdom against the kingdom of Satan is constantly insisted on by the apostles, and in the Apocalypse is pictured, as in a panorama, until its final triumph.

Thus the scriptures, from beginning to end, set forth this conflict in didactic expositions, in prophecy, and in history. The history of redemption is the history of this conflict. The history of this conflict is essentially the history of man.

It remains to consider some of the truths involved in this scriptural conception.

#### I. It assumes the Existence of Sin as the Essential Evil.

The theory, which is gaining currency, that sin is a necessary process in the development of a finite spirit, annihilates the significance of both sin and evil. A process necessary to the development of the being cannot be sin, because it is constitutionally necessary for the perfection of the being; it cannot be essentially evil, since it is the necessary means of the highest good. According to this theory the soul is invigorated by sin as the body is said to be sometimes by a fever. Children are born with a constitutional liability to certain diseases, which can be removed only by having them; and the parent rejoices when his child has taken one of these diseases and is well through it. So the Infinite Father rejoices as his children take and go through the disease of sin. Some have it more lightly than others, but all come out at last freed from the liability to have it again; all alike, even by way of the brothel or the gallows, are passing on through the necessary stages of growth to their full perfection. On this theory, there is neither sin nor evil in the universe, and there can be no antagonism to them. Rather God and man will desire every one to pass through the necessary amount of sin as rapidly as possible. This theory, in annihilating the significance of sin and evil, annihilates the significance of Christianity, which is redemption from sin. Nor is the theory tenable on any consistent doctrine of rationalism. It belongs to sheer naturalism, and is tenable only on the supposition that man is merely a germ or force of nature necessarily developed under the action of cosmic agencies.



II. Love, whether in God or Man, must be in irreconcilable Antagonism and Warfare against Sin, and cannot consent that any Being should be Blessed in it.

1. This is evident *from the nature of sin as transgression of law.*

Law is not the fiat of will, not even of God's will ; but is the truth of reason. Reason necessarily knows itself as authoritative and law-giving ; and every rational being knows himself under obligation to obey reason, that is, to act in harmony with rationality. Will, as the power of choice and volition, will as the basis of character, is subject to law, and incapable of creating law. Even when enforcing law in government, it is only as authorized and required so to do by the superior law of reason to which it is subject. Any other enforcement by will of its own behests is not the reign of law, but of caprice. It is subjugation by force to a despotic will. It is the reign of force : "might makes right." God's will originates no law, but obeys the eternal principles of the divine reason, and in obedience to them enforces them as law throughout the universe. That which is highest in the universe is not power nor will ; it is reason.

When Positivism argues that the order of nature proves the absence of will, the argument is irrelevant ; for law is not of will, but of reason. Every conception of the universe as a cosmos, an orderly and beautiful whole, implies that reason is supreme in it, that it is pervaded by rationality, is expressive of rational principles, and subject to them as laws. This is implied in the arrangement of all individuals in scientific classes and systems, and the reduction of all forces under scientific laws. It is the basis of induction ; it is the fundamental postulate, inadequately expressed in the principle of the uniformity of nature, on which all induction rests. Without it induction reaches no conclusion, observation only accumulates facts signifying nothing, the difference between the rational and the absurd is annihilated, rationality is extruded from the universe, and science itself becomes impossible.

As the thoughts or principles of the supreme reason, the law of nature and the moral law are alike. When in the action both of molecules and of masses we discover mathematical laws, when we discover that natural objects are all arranged in scientific classes and systems, we do but discover the principles of the divine reason expressed in the works of God, and may adopt as literal truth the exclamation of the rapt Kepler, "O God, I think thy thoughts after thee." In like manner moral law is the eternal thoughts of God, the principles of reason, the constituent elements of rationality respecting the conduct and character of rational beings, which every such being by virtue of his rationality must recognize as a law to himself.

The laws of nature, so far as now known, are many. The law of rational agents is one; its real principle is expressed in the one word — LOVE. Love, then must present itself first as law. This law must be absolute, supreme, unchangeable. If law were the fiat of will, a beginning, a change, an abrogation would be conceivable. But law, as the truth of reason, is necessarily eternal and unchangeable; for to change it would be to change rationality itself, to annihilate the difference between the rational and the absurd, to make reason itself irrational.

It follows that sin is an attempt on the part of a rational being to realize an absurdity. It is a fight against reason. And in this, the transgression of the law of love is analagous to the transgression of the laws of nature. The will may refuse submission to the reason, and work in antagonism to it, but it cannot exalt itself so as to nullify or abrogate the law. Thus in the sphere of nature a man may spend his life in trying to produce in mechanism perpetual motion; but in spending his life thus, he expends, wastes, loses it; the effort to realize an absurdity must be in vain. So a sinner spends, wastes, loses himself in a vain effort to realize an absurdity. The divine law is: "Love God and man." The principle which sin aims to realize is that self is supreme, and God and all creatures should serve it; more monstrous

than the old astronomy, that the earth is the centre around which all planets and suns revolve daily. The result must be the waste and perdition of the soul. In the Bible, therefore, the sinner is called indiscriminately a sinner or a fool. It is impossible for any man to miss losing himself or being a castaway when he consumes his energies in antagonism to eternal reason, and to all the laws which rule the universe, and to the cosmic agencies which act in harmony therewith, and thus takes the essential evil into his own character and constitutes of it his own life.

Observe, here, that the selfish character is itself the essential evil. When you put your finger in the fire, the evil is not the pain suffered, but the destruction of the finger. The pain is a good; it evinces the continuance of life in the finger resisting the fire that destroys it and warning you to withdraw it. The evil is complete when the calcined bone lies insensible, consuming in the fire. So the evil of sin is not the suffering which it causes, but the bosom pleasure which it gives. The suffering is a good, evincing the continuance of moral sensibility and warning of the evil. The evil is the heart's joy in sin, when the soul is happy in sin, insensible in the fire that consumes it; when the soul chooses the evil, prefers it to the good, accepts it with joy as the good. The full significance of this preference is given in the words of Milton's Satan:

"All good to me is lost;  
Evil, be thou my good."

Sin, as the transgression of law, being essential evil, love cannot consent that any rational being be blessed in it; love itself must visit it with penalty. Therefore reason, as supreme law, demands love on pain of perdition. Thus is declared the absolute antagonism of love, as supreme, inexorable, eternal law, to sin as the essential evil. The eternal perdition of the ungodly signifies that, under the law of supreme and universal reason, which is the law of love, sin has no tolerance now or hereafter, here or in any place; that in all places in his boundless domain, in all ages of his

reign forever, God meets sin only with antagonism. If this is not so, sin is not essential, but only incidental evil; no conceivable doctrine of immutable right is possible; reason ceases to be contrary to the irrational, and rationality itself ceases to have significance; the powers of the universe, no longer expressing the perfect law of love, are in truce with absurdity and wrong; and evil extinguishes itself by an apotheosis into good.

“ If this fail,  
The pillared firmament is rottenness,  
And earth's base built on stubble.”

2. The same is evident *from the nature of love, as the real principle of law.*

As we have seen, the law which reason imposes on rational beings is the law of love. Love, in itself considered, is the choice of universal being as the supreme end in preference to self. In other words, it is universal good-will. But because universal goodwill is required of every rational being by reason, it is the real principle of a law. Thus the exercise of love is also obedience to law, and involves the harmony of the will with the reason, and its consent and allegiance to the law which reason imposes. Therefore there is necessarily a duality in love; it contains two elements; or rather presents itself in two aspects. Considered in itself, as universal good-will, we call it good-will or benevolence. Considered as the harmony of the will with the reason, the consent or allegiance of the will to law, we call it righteousness. If we had corresponding words of Latin derivation, we should call the former *bene-volence*, the latter *recte-volence*; the former having regard to universal well-being, the latter to universal right, or to the supremacy and universal reign of law.

The duality of reason and will is inherent in the conception of a rational being. The duality of love, as the abiding preference of the will choosing universal well-being as the supreme end, and its harmony therein with reason and obedience to its law, is a necessary consequent. We are thus

able to supply a defect in Edwards's doctrine of virtue, finding for righteousness not merely a place by tolerance, but a necessity for it in the philosophical exposition of the facts.

But, as the duality of reason and will is in unity, they being names of the mind itself in different aspects, the duality of love is also in unity. Since universal good-will is what reason commands as law, the exercise of it is in itself the harmony of the will with the reason, the consent or allegiance of the will to law. It is thus the harmony of the mind with itself in its two inseparable aspects of rationality and freedom. In God is the same duality in unity—a will that is almighty in eternal harmony with a reason that is absolute; so that the word which is the life-giving gospel, “God is love,” is also the true and deepest philosophy of his being. In the love which the gospel requires, the human mind not only comes into harmony with itself, but also with God and with the laws of the entire universe. Ethical philosophers continually omit from their systems one or the other of these two aspects of love; they make virtue to consist either in universal good-will with no recognition of law, or else in obedience to law with no recognition of its real principle of universal love. In the former case, the universe is resolved into a joint-stock company, in which each person has weight according to his number of shares; God himself is of more account than man only because he is greater in quantity; and the idea of a supreme law is lost. Then the appropriate prayer would be that which the Maid of Orleans is said to have extorted from Lahyre: “O Jehovah, I pray thee do as much for Lahyre in this time of his distress, as he would do for thee, if he were Jehovah and thou wert Lahyre”; or that attributed to Richard Coeur de Lion, in the chronicles of his crusade: “How unwilling should I be to forsake thee in so forlorn and dreadful a condition if I were thy Lord and Advocate as thou art mine.” This is the appropriate liturgy of the Benthamites. In the latter case, the theory of virtue comes round into itself in a circle; virtue is choosing the right for its own sake; it is obedience to duty; it is a regard



to worthiness, without defining what is worthy. Thus the law has no real principle, but consists only of the empty requirement of obedience to itself.

Love is thus duplex and yet one; like the sun's ray of light and of heat; like electricity acting at opposite poles with seemingly antagonistic phenomena, yet one force; like all the bipolar forces of nature, two and yet one — two in order to be one.

As such, love must react in antagonism to sin; and the intensity of the reaction must be proportioned to the intensity of the love. The love, which in its essential nature is consent and allegiance to the law, must be as essentially antagonism to transgression. It is as impossible to conceive of love without reaction against sin, as to conceive of light which casts no shadow when obstructed, or of mechanical action without reaction. That comfortable tolerance of wrong, which is mistaken for Christian charity, is proof of the sluggishness of the moral life — sluggishness such that the vitals of virtue may be stabbed and the soul not wince, as the jelly-fish may be torn in pieces and give no sign of pain or offence.

3. The same is evident *from the nature of love considered as to the object loved.*

We are to love God and our neighbor; that is, all beings, or "universal being." But all rational beings are subjects both of character and happiness. No chemistry of thought can identify these two. Love, therefore, must have respect both to the character and the happiness of the being that is loved. Here appears again the duality in unity of love. As love insists on a right character it is righteousness; as it seeks the blessedness of its object in a right character, it is benevolence.

We may present the same thought in another light. Love seeks universal well-being. But the universal well-being or *summum bonum*, which love seeks, is not happiness or enjoyment. It is primarily right character, the perfection and harmony of the being, and secondarily, the happiness or joy

incidental to it. This is blessedness. The only blessedness is the blessedness of the righteous. Happiness or joy is an incident of ill-being as really as of well-being. A drunken man is very happy, but we pity and despise him for his maudlin joy. The very wretchedness of the sinner is his joy in his sin; joy that is unworthy of him; joy in that in which a right-hearted man is capable only of shame and sorrow; joy which makes the subject of it incapable of the blessedness of the righteous; joy which is the heat of the fire that is consuming him. Reason rejects as absurd the doctrine of Bentham, that virtue is the art of maximising happiness — all happiness the same in kind to be measured only by quantity — the happiness of Paul glorying in tribulation and heroic sacrifice and toil for the salvation of men the same in kind with the joy of the sensualist, to be measured by the pailful, like the swill which satisfies a swinish appetite. The joys incident to gratified desires are inseparable from sensitivity, and therefore remain to the sinner. But these joys intensify the eagerness and increase the swiftness with which he rushes to ruin. By them his steps take hold on hell; in them he reaches out his eager hands to perdition, stooping downwards as he runs. And while with progress in sin the desires and passions grow more powerful to stimulate, the attendant joys become less satisfying, and are transformed into ghastliness; like the greed which rusts and consumes the miser's soul, and the reeking heats in which the soul of the sensualist ferments and rots.

Well-being comprising the two elements of character and happiness, we find again the two elements of righteousness and benevolence in the love which seeks universal well-being. And since the only worthy happiness is incidental to a right character, benevolence desires for men no other happiness, and thus is in unity with righteousness, seeking universal well-being only in harmony with the supreme law, only in the blessedness of the righteous.

Therefore without righteousness benevolence cannot realize its own ends; it deteriorates into a maudlin fondness, and

rejoices in evil as good, until, transformed into the very opposite of itself, all its sweetness is fermented into acidity and corruption. Take away from love the element of righteousness, and you take away its self-consistency, its authority, its god-like majesty, and its power to bless. The benevolence which is left is a mere amiableness, a desire to please everybody, a jelly of good nature yielding to every pressure. The wicked man comes trampling into the presence of this amiable person, defrauding the ignorant, grinding the poor, crushing the weak, rising to office by intrigue, bribery, or oppression, and this amiable man only desires that this Nimrod be very happy, would have him indulged, humored, satisfied. Oh fond amiableness! oh vain benevolence!—benevolence defeating itself, desiring to make everybody happy, and thereby helping to make the ungodly more wicked and his wickedness more destructive.

What is thus obvious in the case of an individual is true of the universe at large. The universe being the expression of the law of reason, the *summum bonum* can be found only in conformity with that law. To attempt to realize the greatest good without righteousness would be an attempt to subvert the supreme reason, to break down the eternal laws of the universe, the “*flammanitia moenia mundi*,” which protect the rights and enforce the obligations of all rational beings, and make peace and blessedness possible throughout the worlds.

Therefore love cannot prompt even a desire that a sinner should be happy in his sin. On the contrary it meets him with indignant antagonism; an indignant antagonism, the absence of which is the absence of moral strength and grandeur of character, and marks the man as a sneak; an indignant antagonism justified by all that justifies the supremacy of reason, and the absence of which is the weak consent of the soul to unreason and misrule.

And this antagonism is essential in the very nature of love. Love is righteousness because it is love. It fills the world with blessing; yet it does so by virtue of its persist-

ence in maintaining its own authority as law in antagonism to sin ; does so, therefore, because in the last resort it utters itself in judgment and condemnation. Electricity commonly works quietly, diffusing blessings through all nature ; but when its equilibrium is disturbed, and its silent and life-giving flow interrupted, then it is a thunder-bolt. And its power to bless arises from this very quality of its nature, which makes it, when disturbed, a thunder-bolt. If it could not smite in the red lightning it would be also powerless for good. The sun's light ministers to all life and growth, and sustains the forces of nature. But it could not do so were it not in its nature to burn ; were it not, when disturbed in its diffusion, obstructed, accumulated, a consuming fire. So it is with love. The Scripture says, "God is a consuming fire." It does not mean that God consumes in his wrath all who approach him. He diffuses his love through all the universe to bless it, as the sun diffuses his light. But when that love is concentrated on a transgressor, the love itself is found to be a consuming fire. If this were not so, love would be unable to diffuse its benign influence, quickening life and joy throughout the universe.

4. *This antagonism is accordant with the common moral sentiment of mankind.*

Dr. Channing says : "We must not mistake Christian benevolence as if it had but one voice, that of soft entreaty. It can speak in piercing and awful tones. There is constantly going on in our world a conflict between good and evil. . . . That deep feeling of evils which is necessary to effectual conflict with them and which marks God's most powerful messengers to mankind, cannot breathe itself in soft and tender accents. The deeply-moved soul will speak strongly, and ought to speak so as to move and shake the nations."<sup>1</sup>

Nor should we wonder that faithful men, working and suffering for the kingdom of righteousness and seeing its progress opposed and hindered by the wicked, should pray sometimes for the intervention of eternal justice which

<sup>1</sup> Works, Vol. i. pp. 24, 25.

guards the world from crime, and pray with language so impassioned as to startle us in our peaceful time and our unsacrificing and genteel efforts to advance Christ's kingdom. Such prayers are wrung from the hearts of Christians when they see wickedness armed and in power, violating truth and justice, destitute of mercy, resisting human progress, crushing the defenders of righteousness, undoing the work of generations in behalf of truth, and thrusting society back into the darkness of the past. However in times of peace and indifference, men may think themselves more charitable than the participators in the conflict and suffering of former ages, whose piercing outcry against the powers of wickedness they commiserate as the illiberality and hardness of an unchristianized age, yet, when a similar conflict comes on them, in their anguish they find the need of similar expressions.

In this the sentiments of mankind concur. Children always rejoice at the overthrow of Pharaoh and the punishment of Haman. The savages at Melita believed that the viper on Paul's hand was God's messenger to punish murder. Epics, lyrics, and tragedy, philosophy and religion in all ages teach the punishment of sin. The source of perplexity and scepticism in all ages has been the fact that in the actual courses of human life God apparently does not punish sin; the wicked prosper and the good are depressed. From the days of Job until now the anxious question has been, "Wherefore do the wicked live, become old, yea, are mighty in power?" And always relief has been found in the same answer, "God will award them just retribution." What a grand chorus of the ages is here, the voices of children and savages, of poets and philosophers, of prophets and apostles, — all generations standing with hands uplifted to God, crying that wickedness may not go on with impunity: "For the crying of the needy, for the oppression of the poor, for the sighing of the prisoner arise, O Lord, and render into the bosom of the wicked the reproach wherewith they have reproached thee." And from the holy and blessed heaven opened to John issues the voice of the martyrs slain by



triumphant wickedness: "How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth"? How grand a chorus! How august a company! But here comes a solitary form, pale offspring of modern sentimentality, its consumptive frame nursed on what John Randolph called the ass's milk of human kindness, and lifts alone her contrary hands and voice: "To me the perplexity is that God does punish the wicked. Oh for a God that never smites the transgressor! Oh for a God of exceeding amiableness, who leaves wickedness unscathed in its triumph, and gives it without discrimination equal reward with the righteous."

### III. Love must carry with it and express in Redemption the Element of Righteousness and its Essential Antagonism to Sin.

Otherwise love in redemption would cease to be love; for whenever righteousness is eliminated from love, love loses its essential nature and ceases to be love.

Otherwise sin would be not essential but only incidental evil, which under certain conditions love may approach with no expression of antagonism. Redemption is redemption from sin; thus the very act of redemption is the recognition of sin itself as the essential evil, from which the whole action of redemption seeks to deliver the sinner, and to which the essential antagonism of love must be exercised and expressed in the very act of redemption.

Hence in redemption the divine love must make atonement for sin. In redeeming the sinner the divine love cannot divest itself of its character as law. It must secure the sinner's redemption in such way as to maintain the authority of law, and to exercise, express, and satisfy the eternal righteousness of God; so that the essential antagonism of love to sin and the nature of sin as essential evil appear even in the act of redeeming the sinner. This law of love being a constituent element of rationality, being eternal in the divine reason and the constituting principle

of the universe, must be equally a law in redemption; and the righteousness, which is the consent of the will to the law and without which love ceases to be love, must be exercised, expressed, and satisfied in redemption. And since redemption is wrought by God for the sinner, and not by the sinner for himself, this exercise, expression, and satisfaction of righteousness in redemption is made by God for the sinner, and not by the sinner for himself. It is therefore vicarious. And since this exercise, expression, and satisfaction have been historically made through the incarnation, in the humiliation, suffering, and death of Christ, it follows that these are historically the vicarious and atoning action of God for the sinner, wherein in redeeming the sinner God both *is* righteous and *declares* his righteousness.<sup>1</sup>

A vicarious atonement is, therefore, inherent in the idea of redemption from sin. Without it the history of the incarnation and the humiliation, sufferings, and death of Christ loses its distinctive significance. Without it, in the redemption of men from sin, love loses the element of righteousness and ceases to be love; law loses its supremacy; and any doctrine of eternal and immutable right becomes impossible.

It must be added, that in all action, subsequent to Christ's atoning sacrifice, to extend the benefits of redemption through the world, love must show the same antagonism to sin. Redemption, as it is carried onwards to its consummation, is always a conflict. The love, which carries the glad tidings of redemption through the world, can never divest itself of its authority and severity as law. The hand which it extends to the lost is a holy and a sovereign hand, the blessing which it offers is pardoning mercy, its invitation to the sinner is to faith in the Redeemer, to repentance, humiliation, and self-surrender, and its approach to the sinner to save him is always with a commanding majesty, revealing "how awful goodness is."

The historical character of redemption makes it necessary that the conflict between Christ's kingdom and Satan's turn

<sup>1</sup> Rom. iii. 25, 26.

on the acceptance or rejection of Christ as Redeemer and King. Religious truths and moral precepts are a common heritage of man, and under various forms are to be traced in all history. If Christianity consisted essentially of doctrines or precepts, it would be one of the religions of the world, and on the same plane with them, and would lose all its distinctive characteristics. But Christianity is not primarily doctrine and precept, but history; God in Christ reconciling the world unto himself. Hence it must be exclusive. It must proclaim: "Neither is there salvation in any other." Therefore the conflict between Christ's kingdom and the world turns on the acceptance or rejection of Christ as Redeemer and Lord. So it is represented in the New Testament: "Whosoever denieth the Son, the same hath not the Father; but he that acknowledgeth the Son hath the Father also. Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is of God; and every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is not of God. And this is that spirit of antichrist, whereof ye have heard that it should come, and even now already is it in the world. Whatsoever is born of God overcometh the world; and this is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith. Who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God?"

The thought which we have now been considering is the one thought of the wonderful epistle from which these quotations have been made. That epistle is not an argument; it makes no progress. It is rather a lyric, reiterating in varied forms the thought that redeeming love and all that grows out of it are in warfare against sin. In Christ the word of God, the eternal life entered into humanity as a life-giving power, and was manifested among men. All who participate in it come into union with the Father, who is its source, and with the Son, who has made it a saving energy in humanity. Every one who thus is brought into fellowship with the Father and the Son is light, for God is light, and cannot participate in darkness; he is love, for God is love,

and cannot participate in selfishness or hate ; he is God's offspring and cannot sin ; he is of God's kingdom and therefore in conflict with the world and overcoming it. Herein are the children of God distinguished from the children of the devil ; for this very purpose Christ came, to destroy the works of the devil.

IV. The Antagonism of Christ's Kingdom to the World is, as to its Quality, the Antagonism of Love and not of Hate.

God loves the world, and in redemption his love goes out to save the lost. Sin cannot stop its efflux nor change its nature, though it may exclude its life-giving efficacy from the sinner's heart. But God's love still rolls on, filling every creature according to its capacity and disposition with the fulness of God, and flooding with its glory even the heart that shuts itself against it. God's love, converging on the sinner, must act like the sunshine on the seed, and, failing to quicken it, hastens its corruption. But the love remains pure love. All the sin in the universe is powerless to check its out-flow, to lessen its fulness and extent, to vitiate its divine purity and sweetness, or to infect it with any taint of malignity or ill-will. When the Bible speaks of God's hatred of sinners, it only declares in popular language the righteousness which is essential in love as the real principle of law, and which is in unchangeable antagonism to selfishness and sin. When President Edwards says of lost sinners, " God never loved them, . . . . but he hates them, and they will be forever hated of God ; you will see nothing in God, and receive nothing from him but perfect hatred,"<sup>1</sup> he uses language seemingly denying that God loves the world, and dropping out from love its essential element of good-will. Christ weeping over Jerusalem expresses, under human limitations, the heart of God in condemning the wicked ; the tears declaring his inextinguishable good-will, while the declaration of the inevitable doom declares his righteousness. His whole

<sup>1</sup> The End of the Wicked Contemplated.

action in redemption is action in antagonism to sin; this redemption itself implies; but his whole action is the expression of love: "God so loved the world."

The same must be true of all human antagonism to sin. It is necessary to the possibility of antagonism that there be some similarity of nature in the antagonists. A cannon-ball cannot be turned aside by argument or an appeal to compassion; an argument cannot be shattered by a bomb-shell, nor a conclusion overturned with a lever. The only possible antagonist of error is truth, and the only possible antagonist of selfishness is love. Love, then, is in Christ's kingdom the only fighting principle against sin. No other is legitimate or effective. The law of the kingdom is: "Overcome evil with good."

In the Christian character opposition to sin is not primary, but secondary. It is not the action, but the reaction of the love. Religion does not consist primarily in hating the devil, but in loving God and man. The opposition to sin, being a reaction of love, must be in its essence love. And love in every manifestation, whether by God or man, must absolutely exclude selfishness, ill-will, and hate, as light excludes darkness. While in approaching sinners it can never divest itself of its majesty as the real principle of God's law, it is still love.

And love in its conflict with sin, and seeking to save sinners is the highest and most truly divine love. Love to sinners is love in its furthest reach and greatest power; love which even vileness and defiant malignity cannot repel; love embracing sinners as the sunshine cherishes the reeking mould, in its own absolute purity incapable of defilement by the contact, and quickening life in the corruption. Love to sinners is the highest type of love; it is the love of Christ submerged in humanity and bearing the sins of men to save them, yet revealing the indefectible purity of love; declaring the majesty of the law, yet dying to redeem sinners from its curse. Love to sinners is love most distinctively imperishable and unconquerable; the vilest unable by his greatest



sins to restrain the forthcoming of that love, or to check it as it goes on in its divine course of suffering and sorrow, or to prevent its opening wide to the sinner the golden gates of mercy, and proclaiming with infinite tenderness, "Whosoever will, let him come." Like Christ's is every Christian's love. It is love to sinners. However wicked a sinner may become, he has no power to quench Christian love to him, or to suppress it as, imperishable, like the love of Christ, it breathes in prayer, it prompts to efforts, to suffering, and sacrifice, to save the sinner from his sins.

Love is spiritual life. Its processes in its antagonism to sin are analagous to those of life. Life subdues foreign matter by transforming it into its own organization. When an acorn falls into the ground it may be said to enter into conflict with all around it. Yet the conflict is not the primary idea, but secondary, and incident to the life. And the living seed is continually conquering in the conflict, not by destroying its opponents, but by transforming them into its own organization. Thus the slender germ shoots into the upper air, and lifts itself in victory over gravitation, and builds its great trunk and boughs, and crowns itself with leaves, transforming the soil, the air, and the rain into organic strength and beauty. Such is the kingdom of God; a mustard-seed growing into a tree, a vital power from God transforming the world into a kingdom of righteousness.

And in this its strength lies. The earth which lies heavy on a seed cannot suppress its pale and tender shoot rising with the force of life into the air. So it is with the growth of the kingdom of God. However ancient and solid any institution of evil, it cannot suppress the vital force of love quickening any seed of truth. Any reformation, which is thus the bursting into growth of this vital force, will prove itself irresistible.

When a vital organ is invaded by a foreign substance which it cannot transform or expel, its resistance is uncompromising and persistent unto death. When a speck of dust enters the eye, the eye resists and expels it with weeping;

and will itself perish, resisting and weeping, if it cannot expel the intruder. So prompt, uncompromising, and persistent is the resistance of love to sin, resistance with weeping and suffering, and, if it does not prevail, persistent unto death.

V. The greater the Energy with which Christian Love acts, the more energetic will be the Antagonism against it.

Christ's word is always a fan winnowing the wheat from the chaff. The power of redemption is necessarily a power of separation. It must separate that which it renews and vitalizes from that which it cannot assimilate. The Saviour's voice calls out into a separate flock the sheep that know it and follow him. The mustard-seed separates from the soil the matter which it transforms into itself and by which it grows. The kingdom of heaven is a net gathering of every kind, the good preserved, the bad cast away. It is the wheat mixed with the tares, distinct already in nature, and to be separated in the harvest. Jesus said: "God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved." He also said: "For judgment I am come into this world." There is no contradiction here. Christ's work is primarily redemption; but because it is redemption, it must be judgment (*κρίσις*), primarily, separation, — the separation of all that come to him from all who reject him — ultimately, judgment, the condemnation of those who reject him. Therefore Jesus declares that the work of the Holy Spirit, renewing human hearts and transforming the world into the kingdom of Christ, is a perpetual judgment of the prince of this world. The final *κρίσις*, separation, or judgment, will only declare the separation of which redemption had already been the occasion; the sentence, "Depart," will only declare as irrevocable that departure from Christ and his salvation which the sinner has already made a fact by refusing him.

This separation being incidental to redemption, the more energetic the action of Christian love the more rapid must be the process of separation, and the more marked the

antagonism of the kingdom of light and the kingdom of darkness.

In times of indifference truth and error may slumber side by side. But Christianity has always the power of revival; God breathes into the slumbering community a new power; men become sensitive to the difference between sin and holiness; truth is spoken with explicitness; God's law is proclaimed in its breadth, its purity, and its particularity. Thereby evil is both discerned and aroused. Thus the more vigorous the action of Christian love, the more marked the antagonism to it of sin. The great epochs of history are said to be times that try men's souls. Every period when Christian love acts with energy is a time that tries men's souls; it puts men to the test; it discerns between the righteous and the wicked; it compels an answer to the question: "Who is on the Lord's side?"

Hence the great epochs of human progress are often epochs of great darkness. They often seem for the time to be epochs of the triumph of evil. When Christ was on earth demons thronged the scene of action in numbers never seen before or since. When he was about to offer the great sacrifice of redemption, he exclaimed, "This is your hour and the power of darkness." The hour of the world's redemption was emphatically the hour of the power of darkness. So that it may be considered as a law in the progress of Christ's kingdom that every epoch of its advancement is also an epoch of Satanic achievement. Of every such epoch we may say, not only, "Rejoice, ye heavens, and ye that dwell in them," but also, "Wo to the inhabitants of the earth! for the devil is come down unto you having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time."

## VI. Every Christian life is a Battle against the Powers of Darkness.

In the long course of education preparatory to the Christian ministry, a young man is in danger of forgetting this aspect of life. Living for years in a literary atmosphere and

occupied in intellectual pursuits, he may come to regard intellectual attainments as the great object of life and the ministry as a profession subordinate to this end. In preparing sermons his chief aim may be to produce a finished and able oration, and his highest ambition may be satisfied with the admiration of the more cultivated of his hearers; thus he makes his sermon an end not a means, and his ministry degenerates into a contemptible dilettanteism. This is not the warfare against Satan's kingdom.

Nor is the battle merely against inward corruption, the ghastly conflicts of the cloister and the desert. Religion is not a dream, but an action. It is not meditation, nor excitement, nor emotion, nor worship terminating in itself. It is a fight with the falsehoods and sins of human life. Every Christian is a Hercules slaying monsters.

As Jesus put himself into actual contact with humanity, entered into it, so as to be in quick sympathy with its life and "touched with the feeling of our infirmities," as he bore its sorrows and its sins, and virtue was always going out of him to save, so every Christian, and especially every Christian minister, with whatever knowledge, culture, spiritual power, lives in immediate contact with humanity, *touched* with the feeling of its infirmities, in sympathy with its sorrows and its joys, meeting its wants, its errors and its sins, and constantly with virtue going out of him to help and save.

The battle is against the kingdom of darkness, not in the abstract, but in the actual sophistries, temptations, and sins, the actual evil opinions, customs, and institutions, by which the powers of darkness are deceiving and destroying men.

It is important to be sure that our warfare is in reality, and not in name only, against the kingdom of darkness. In addressing an assembly of students for the ministry it may not be amiss to say that ministers have usually been sufficiently given to controversy and warfare; but it is often internecine, for differences in philosophy and forms, against faithful servants of Christ; so that there needs to be a moral

parallelogram of forces to determine what small resultant bears on the object to be moved. It has even been urged, to their discredit, that exhausting their strength in these feuds they have exerted no earnest and effectual influences against the rapacity, dishonesty, and oppression, which are corrupting society. It must be added that in the present unsettling of thought and confusion and conflict of opinion respecting reform and progress, when the advocacy of the pope's infallibility and temporal power goes on side by side with the advocacy of woman's suffrage and of agrarian rights for working-men, it demands spiritual discernment to know the truth and to escape being found fighting against God. The security is, that the soul be in fresh and living sympathy with the living Saviour rather than with the *hortus siccus* of creeds and systems, and in living sympathy with humanity in its actual life. The Saviour says: "My sheep hear my voice." It is only as we are in sympathy with him, receiving through the Spirit his thought and life into our own, and in sympathy like him with man, that we shall know his voice amid the babel of voices in this age: "I understand more than the ancients because I *keep* thy precepts." Spiritual discernment and far-sightedness come from keeping God's precepts. When statesmen, having no affinity for the law of God and the spiritual life of love, recommend measures for the welfare of the state which assume that selfishness is the only power to be considered in human affairs, and so fatally mistake the drift and movement of human thought and miss the measures needed for the welfare of society, the spiritual mind discerns the spiritual forces which the carnal mind knows not, and proclaims with prophetic far-sightedness the principles of justice in which alone safety can be found. This is the "poor wise man" who delivers the city.

The fact that life is a battle demands of every Christian the spirit of martyrdom. There cannot be a Christian life without it. He who has not learned to value duty, fidelity, the kingdom of Christ, more than property, reputation, or life, has not learned the first lesson of Christian living. He



whose end in life is only to attain ease, comfort, fame, culture, the gratification of taste ; he who does not accept life as a warfare, demanding the endurance of hardness for Christ, has not yet accepted the Christian idea of life. But if any Christian sacrifices his ease, or suffers persecution or reproach for Christ, Christ with his own hand writes his name in the glorious catalogue of the martyrs, saying of him : " So persecuted they the prophets." Thus the most common-place soul becomes luminous with heavenly glory, as a lump of coal at the touch of fire bursts into flame, and is glorified with brightness while it is consumed.

Paul animates the suffering Christians of his day by pointing to those who had been faithful to God in preceding ages, who now, a great cloud of witnesses, look down as in an amphitheatre on them in their conflicts. In that assembly of spectators Paul himself and the apostles and innumerable faithful ones in the ages since, have already taken their places. They have transmitted the great conflict to us to hold and extend their victories. In their presence we are fighting the good fight of faith. Their plaudits do not break the silence of eternity and fall on mortal ears ; but " there is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth." In times of declension when Christ's kingdom is overborne by the world, the ear of faith can hear the cry of the martyrs wailing the triumph of wickedness : " How long, O Lord, faithful and true " ? And the great cloud of witnesses exult in the grand and solemn joy of eternity for every instance of fidelity, for every heroic achievement of love, and send to the combatant their words of cheer : " Be thou faithful unto death, and thou shalt receive the crown of life."

## PART II.

THE PECULIARITY OF CHRISTIAN VIRTUE INVOLVED IN THE FACT  
THAT IT ORIGINATES IN REDEMPTION.

AT the banquet in Boston to the Chinese embassy, a distinguished literary man quoted the maxim of Confucius: "Do not to others what you would not that they should do to you." On that remarkable occasion when heathenism and Christianity were confronted before the world, he evidently intended to intimate that the morality taught by heathen philosophy is the same with that taught by Christ. This represents a type of thought which has acquired currency as an argument against Christianity. The argument is, that all the more profound philosophies and religions of the world recognize with more or less distinctness the same principles of morality; that therefore Christianity is merely one of the religions of the world and has no pre-eminent claim to a divine origin.

The first reply is that the New Testament explicitly teaches that conscience gives all men a knowledge of moral law, so that they are without excuse for sin.<sup>1</sup> Without this, Christianity would have no basis; a universal religion, and even a universal community of moral sentiment, would be impossible. The defenders of Christianity have been earnest to vindicate this against sceptics, who have endeavored to establish atheism by denying man's moral nature and the universality of moral principles. Christian apologists have cited the common moral sentiments of different literatures; and have met the objection, founded on the conflicting judgments of different peoples respecting the moral character of outward actions, by showing that they all appeal to the same

<sup>1</sup> Rom. i. 18-32; ii. 12-16.

principles in justification of these diverse actions. The heathen woman who religiously throws her child into the Ganges, the slaveholder, the despot, if they attempt to justify their actions, appeal to the same principles to which we appeal in condemning them. We welcome the concession of this point by Comte, Buckle, and writers of their school, and rejoice in the research which has established the Christian doctrine beyond further controversy.

A second reply is, that Jesus was not distinctively a teacher of philosophy or of ethics, nor even a lawgiver; but he was the Redeemer of the world. He assumes that God's law is already known and already transgressed. He comes to redeem men from sin and guilt of which they are already conscious. He presupposes and takes up into his teaching the religious and moral truths acknowledged in the religions and philosophies of the world; but he himself is the Redeemer, bringing God's love into human history as an energy of redeeming grace, making propitiation for sin, and quickening sinners into the life of faith and love. He speaks the word of promise and of hope to man, quickens in sinful humanity the germinant forces of a new and spiritual life, establishes his kingdom of righteousness, and sets humanity forth in a progress to realize the ideals of moral and spiritual perfection both in the life of the individual and the civilization of society. To whatever extent it may be possible consistently with historical facts to demonstrate an agreement between Christianity and the religions and philosophies of the world, the demonstration has no force against the distinctive claim of Christianity to divine origin and authority.

The English writers of the last century on the Evidences of Christianity, in urging the superior morality of the New Testament, sometimes wrote as if they regarded Christianity as simply a system of ethics. They thus unwittingly admitted rationalism into the very defences of Christianity, and betrayed their position to their adversaries; they invited the objection under consideration and others of a similar character, which have no force against Christianity as an historical redemption.

But, for the very reason that Christianity is distinctively redemption, Christian virtue must have certain distinctive peculiarities; the Christian conception of virtue must be distinct from and superior to the conception of virtue in the mind of one who is ignorant of redemption, and knows only the moral law. This is our present subject: The Peculiarity and Superiority of Christian Virtue involved in the fact that it originates in Redemption from Sin.

I. Christian Virtue springs from the Consciousness of Sin through Consciousness of Justification or of Reconciliation with God.

Christianity does not create the sense of sin and guilt. It has been powerful in all religions. We look with awe on the human race, bound and writhing through all history in the sense of guilt, like the Laocoon in the embrace of the serpents, the marble anguish unchanging through all the ages.

The consciousness of guilt is not ennobling, but the contrary. It involves a certain abjectness. In its nature it is the consciousness of failure, of unworthiness, of ill-desert. It compels the substitution of self-loathing and self-condemnation for self-respect. It is the consciousness of having no claim to the approval of either God or man. It depresses with fear; it overshadows with superstition; it crushes in despair. It makes life a dread of the future, a despair of the present, a lament for the past. The whole consciousness becomes concentrated in the one daily and doleful cry: "We are all poor creatures."

Both the ethnic religions and the ethnic philosophies fail in the presence of this terrific fact — the consciousness of sin. Neither can evoke a life of virtue from it. Their failures, however, are in opposite directions.

All religions necessarily intensify the sense of sin. They quicken the moral nature; they bring God and the unseen world and retribution close to the soul. The first effect is depressing. The greatness of God overpowers, and his

holiness terrifies. The presence of an unseen, mysterious, everywhere-present Being, whom no cunning can deceive, no art elude, no speed evade, and no power resist, paralyzes the soul; his burning inquisition for sin scorches it. It is only as God is known in his redeeming love that his presence inspires and quickens. The defect of all ethnic religions is, that while they bring God near to the soul, they bring only the depressing influences of his presence; while intensifying the sense of guilt, they leave the soul scorching in its fiery heat. The service to which they impel is sacrifice and penance to appease the divine wrath, not the life of love which ennobles the man. The service itself is a superstition which abases. We cannot respect the man whose life is a prolonged abjectness and terror in the sense of guilt, a continued suppression of the joyousness and freedom of the spirit, whose loftiest meditations are on a skull and cross-bones, and whose greatest deeds are the infliction of torture on himself or compelling his sons to go through the fire to Moloch. Hence in heathen civilization the highest nobleness of character has not ordinarily been the outgrowth of the popular religion.

Philosophy, on the contrary, turning away from religion, refuses to take notice of sin. It develops virtue from self-respect. It develops a right character, not from the sense of sin, but from the pride of virtue. Such was stoicism, the best type of Greek philosophy. At the first glance heathen philosophy seems to have taken the better side of human nature, and to have realized a higher result than the heathen religions. But philosophy reaches only a few. Even with the few whom it reaches, it is as one-sided as the religions. It gets rid of the sense of sin only by ignoring it. But it can ignore sin only by ignoring God. Man cannot know God without the consciousness of sin. But when the consciousness of sin is awakened, self-respect ceases and a virtue founded on self-respect is no longer possible. Heathen philosophy, therefore, leads away from God; or, if the idea of God is retained, it is so abstract, so difficult to be grasped,



so impersonal, as to be divested of moral power. Thus excluding God and the sense of sin, self-respect, which philosophy presents as the essence of virtue, becomes pride or self-sufficiency, which is the essence of sin. Philosophy preaches the very gospel which the serpent preached in paradise: "Ye shall be as gods"; it inculcates the very self-sufficiency which was the original germ of human sinfulness, and which is declared by Paul to be also its culmination in the anti-Christ, "who, as God, sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God." Besides, the sense of sin springs from the facts of human history and character; philosophy ignores it, but does not remove nor heal it. Therefore, in spite of philosophy, it perpetually re-asserts itself.

Christianity, more than any other religion, by its clearer revelation of God and of his law, declares his holiness and justice, and intensifies the sense of sin and guilt. At the same time, by its revelation in Christ of God's redeeming love to sinners, it takes from the divine presence its power to terrify and paralyze, and makes it the source of inspiration and hope; the sinner looks in God's face and sees a Father hastening to the returning prodigal to fall on his neck and kiss him. It takes from the sense of sin its power to depress and abase, frees from the abjectness of self-contempt, terror, and despair; and creating instead the consciousness of justification and of sonship with God, quickens a new life of free, joyous, and loving service. Thus quenching the consuming fire of conscious guilt, and transforming the sense of sin into dewy and refreshing penitence, it calls forth virtue from the consciousness of sin, life out from death. The religious life is no longer a life of penance and sacrifice to appease God's wrath, but it is the budding and blossoming and fruiting of the soul in faith and love beneath the outpouring of God's love, like the opening life of spring beneath the returning sun. Christianity thus combines the otherwise separate and incompatible ideas of religion and philosophy; and in a Christian excellence distinctively religious and

growing out of the sense of sin, realizes the nobleness of character which philosophy abortively attempts to develop from the pride of virtue.

This origin of Christian virtue gives it the following peculiarities. The sense of sin is deepened by the thought that the sin is against God's love. Thus is brought into it an element of tenderness and penitence, as if God's love had melted the sense of sin and guilt into its own nature as love. Hence is also developed in Christian virtue a peculiar delicacy of spiritual sensibility to the difference between right and wrong; the soul is sensitive to sin, as the eye to a speck of dust. Another characteristic is aspiration. The sense of sin, healed through God's redeeming grace, issues in the most intense aspiration to be free from sin and to be like God. The aspiration is lofty as well as intense. God in Christ is not only the Redeemer of man, but his ideal. He dares to aspire both to live in intimacy with him and to be like him. His whole life becomes an aspiration, a prayer to be morally perfect as God is; to live and love like Christ. Here the Christian character takes up into itself all the virtues which cluster around self-respect and constitute nobleness, no longer as philosophy presented them, as pride and self-sufficiency, but transfigured by the knowledge of redemption, of intimacy and sonship with God, and of the promise of being like him. The incitement to a noble life now is, "See that ye walk worthy of your high calling, that ye walk worthy of God."<sup>1</sup> Also the Christian's belief that the Holy Spirit dwells in him — so much above the inspiration by which Socrates thought himself restrained from evil — gives courage to attempt great things and joyous confidence in the realization of the highest ends. And, further, on account of his own deep sense of sin, a Christian, in doing good, will seek first, and as indispensable to blessedness, the deliverance of men from sin by bringing them, through the consciousness of sin, into reconciliation with God by faith in his redeeming

<sup>1</sup> J. S. Mill is singularly at fault when he suggests the perfecting of ethical science by the recognition of *Nobleness* as a new constituent.

love. He stands, therefore, in uncompromising antagonism to sin. No fondness for the sinner can beguile him into consent to the sinner's transgression. A Christian must indeed be meek and forgiving. But a man can forgive only personal offences. Sin is not a personal offence against the Christian; it is an offence against reason, against the universe, against God. "Who is this that forgiveth sins also? Who can forgive sins but God only?" At the same time his own consciousness of sin takes away from his uncompromising antagonism to sin, all ill-will, arrogance, and self-righteousness, and creates the tenderest compassion for sinners and Christ-like earnestness to save them from their sins.

Since Christianity, more than any other religion, intensifies the sense of sin, while bringing with it justification and deliverance through God's redeeming grace, it is not surprising that the Christian experience often moves the soul to its depths, passing from profound sorrow and darkness, through many fears and struggles, to the joy of forgiveness and the enthusiasm of faith and love. Such was the experience of Paul, Augustine, Luther, Wesley, Edwards. Such an experience has been familiar in all ages. This type of experience, and the sense of sin out of which it grows, are less noticeable now than in some former ages. This does not necessarily prove a decay of religion. One may grow up with faith in God's redeeming grace healing the sense of sin, and so the whole life may pass peacefully beneath the sunshine of God's love. This type of the Christian life has never been wanting. As Christianity shall prevail this will be more and more the prevalent type. On the other hand, the infrequency of this type of experience may indicate the decay of religion. The placidity may not be the peacefulness of faith and hope joined with earnestness and energy of love; it may be the placidity of indifference. If your soul has never been moved to its depths in an experience like that of Paul and Augustine, you have no reason to look down on them as from the superior heights of a serenity above the storms. Your placidity may indicate the superficialness of your life. You

may never have sounded the depths of your own being, nor known the grandeur of its relations, obligations, and possibilities. It is a fatal exchange to escape the consciousness of sin by losing the consciousness of God.

We ought to look with suspicion on speculations which tend to destroy the consciousness of sin and to stigmatize as fanaticism and superstition the deeper emotions, the more severe inward struggles and the more extatic joys of religious experience. Such is the rationalism now gaining some currency, which regards Christianity as one of the religions of the world, in the same plane with the heathen religions, and, like them, partial, imperfect, and destined to pass away, and which offers itself as containing the essential truths of all religions and worthy to supersede them all. This rationalism starts from the pride of virtue, and ignores the sense of sin. It is a philosophy, not a religion. We see in it, what has been often seen in former ages, philosophy striving to thrust out religion and to usurp its place.

For the antagonism of the ancient philosophers to religion an apology is possible. Even in that antagonism the philosophy commands respect as a legitimate outgrowth of human thought. When religion intensified the sense of sin only to abase the soul in terror, when the religious service was itself a superstition, it is not wonderful that the best minds should reclaim the nobler elements of humanity, even at the expense of religion. But now that Christ has come, reconciling man to God, and quickening the noblest growth of humanity out of the sense of sin, there is no longer an apology for philosophy in maintaining its antagonistic position. And this modern rationalism has no right to disown its own parentage and family, and to baptize itself as a religion. It has no right to teach as its own the love of God to man, seeking to bring man into friendly relations to himself, the right of man to loving intimacy with God, the divine promise of the progress and renovation of society, and the human hope of its realization through the energy of God's love acting as a life-giving and renovating power in

human history, nor the privilege and duty of man to be a worker with God for this end, as Jesus was, and with love as all-embracing and as self-sacrificing as his. For these are truths for which the world is indebted distinctively to Christ. It is a historical fact that, aside from Christ, religion has been too great for sinful man, and has crushed him by its greatness; the approach of God to the sinful soul has terrified and paralyzed it. Christ alone has brought God in his majesty, the law in its purity and supremacy, eternity in its grandeur and glories close to the human soul as a power of inspiration and of life. When modern rationalism appropriates to itself Christian ideas, christens itself religion, and offers itself to supersede Christianity, it is still only a philosophy disguised in what it has appropriated from Christianity.

## II. Christian Virtue springs from Faith in God.

Philosophy fails to recognize this, or positively denies it. Thus Cicero makes Cotta urge, as an indisputable maxim, that men do not look to God for help in leading a virtuous life: "All men regard outward advantages, fruitful harvests, and the comforts of a prosperous life as received from the gods; but no man ever referred his own virtue to God as a divine gift. And this is right; for we ourselves are justly praised for our own virtue, and properly glory in it; which could not be, if virtue were a gift from God. But when we obtain honor or wealth, or escape calamity, then we give thanks to the gods, and take no credit to ourselves. Who ever gave thanks to the gods for being a good man? We give thanks only that we are rich, honored, in health; and for these things we pray to Jupiter optimus maximus, but never that he would make us just, temperate, or wise."<sup>1</sup> The ethical philosophy of the stoics involved in its fundamental principle the sufficiency of man for himself in a life of virtue.

Since, as has been already said, the heathen religions

<sup>1</sup> De Natura Deorum, Lib. iii. cap. 36.



present God as a power to menace and alarm, since the sentiment which they awaken is superstitious fear, and the service to which they impel is sacrifice and penance to appease the divine wrath, they neither present God as the object of faith, nor make that faith an inspiration to a life of virtue.

Christianity teaches, on the contrary, that virtue springs from faith in God. The doctrine of justification by faith does not mean, as it is often misrepresented, and sometimes by Christians themselves misunderstood, that God is induced to pardon a sinner on account of an act of faith which the sinner performed one day. This misconception makes faith an isolated act, and not the inspiration of a life; and implies that its efficacy consists in its persuasiveness with God, not in quickening and inspiring the man. Even the sense of pardon thus viewed is not ennobling; for it is only the criminal's gladness that he has escaped penalty, not the consciousness of sonship towards God. Religion thus becomes a hope of heaven, instead of a divine life on earth, and the religious life is sundered from the secular. The gospel is distinctively God in Christ reconciling the world unto himself. God loves the sinner, and seeks him in his sins to bring him back to himself, as the shepherd seeks the lost sheep. He encompasses the sinner with his love, as the sunshine encompasses every earthly thing with its quickening and invigorating beams, grace sufficient for him in every need and every emergency of his life. Faith is the sinner's trust in God as thus revealed in Christ, the Redeemer of men from sin. Faith does not make God a Redeemer, nor induce him thus to love and seek the sinner; it simply trusts God as being thus the Redeemer of sinners, and revealed as such in Christ. Christian faith is distinctively faith in Christ, because, while without Christ God is known as a holy God, as a Lawgiver, a Judge, a God who inflicts just retribution on sin, it is only in Christ that God is clearly known as loving even sinners, and extending to them grace always freely offered and always sufficient for

them. Faith is the sinner's confidence in this divine love. The life of faith in God is, therefore, a life of filial trust, of loving service, of confidential intimacy. Faith thus becomes an inspiration, at every moment quickening to a life of love.

This origin of Christian virtue causes in it certain peculiarities.

It brings into virtue the element of personal love to God. Christian faith is not primarily the intellect's belief of a truth; but it is the heart's trust in a person. Trench says: "There is a natural gravitation of souls, which attracts them to mighty personalities—an instinct in man which tells him that he is never so great as when looking up to one greater than himself, that he is made for this looking upward, to find, and finding to rejoice and to be ennobled in, a nobler than himself." In the emergencies of life men feel the need of a wisdom, a goodness, a power superior to their own. When they find, or think they find, the possessor of these superior endowments, they trust him; and him whom they trust they follow. In a village, a college, a political party, in every association of men are leaders who thus draw to themselves a following. The man who thus trusts a leader surrenders himself to him, thinks his thoughts, adopts his policy, is his man. When, in addition to superior endowments the follower sees in his leader intense love to him, attested by disinterested and self-sacrificing services, and when he has thus received from him the most signal benefits, the self-surrender of the follower glows with enthusiastic loyalty to the leader. Such is the nature of Christian faith. When we feel our ignorance, weakness, and sin, and then discover both God's greatness and his love in Christ, we are drawn to him, we trust him, we surrender ourselves to him, we think his thoughts, we do his bidding, we are his men. Thus there enters into Christian virtue the element of personal trust, affection, and loyalty. We respond to the call of Jesus: "Do it for my sake." For his sake Christians attempt the great things of Christian heroism, and patiently do the little things of a righteous and loving

life. Thus a Christian life is lifted up, not merely to obey an abstract command, but to please the loving God, the Redeemer.

This personal element inspires Christian virtue with a peculiar enthusiasm. Christianity goes even beyond philosophy in teaching the eternity and immutability of right, the supremacy of law, and the sternness of duty. Even more than philosophy it clarifies and quickens the conscience and makes its voice terrible. But in quickening trust in God's redeeming grace, it warms and vitalizes duty with the enthusiasm of personal affection and loyalty. It tints the cold precepts of reason with the glow of sentiment. Thus it combines the two mightiest principles of human action, the clear truths of reason, and the inflexible commands of conscience with the glow, enthusiasm, and passion of personal confidence and love.

Thus the moral element acquires a prominence and power in the life of the individual and the civilization of Christian nations which neither philosophy nor any heathen religion has been able to give. The life of the individual becomes an aspiration and a prayer for moral perfection ; and society concentrates its thought and action on the removal of moral wrongs and the realization of moral ideals.

Since virtue originates in faith, the converse is also true, that faith unfolds into virtue. "Faith worketh by love." Thus morality and religion are brought into unity. Virtue grows out of religion, and religion unfolds into virtue. Thus the secular life is no longer separated from the religious, but is lifted into the religious, and ennobled as being itself a service of God. So long as religion is conceived of only as an action of man to propitiate the offended God, men offer their sacrifices, perform their penances, and commit their crimes. It is only when Christianity reveals God in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, and proclaims : "There remaineth no more sacrifice for sin," that religious service ceases to be sacrifice and penance, and becomes a service of universal love. Then its very garment is light.

It is a remarkable fact in history that wherever Christianity has not come in its purity, an impassable gulf has separated the secular thought and life from the religious. In the sphere of thought philosophy and religion remain irreconcilable. Philosophy either turns away from religion, as a sphere with which it has no concern, and constructs some fine theory of virtue without God; or it turns against it in avowed scepticism. Religion either turns away from philosophy as a sphere of thought so alien that its truths cannot be antagonistic to religious doctrine, as two bodies moving on different parallels cannot meet, as the university of Paris is said to have decided that a certain proposition was true in philosophy but false in theology; or religion assails philosophy as infidel and usurps the whole domain of thought.

The same antagonism appears in practical life. Religion either abandons the secular life as essentially worldliness, and withdraws to the desert or the cloister; or it attempts to crush the native instincts, and to occupy life with a saintliness which is ascetic, dehumanizing, and ghastly; or else taking up both spheres into one life, it gives us the Pharisee, making long prayers in his religious life and devouring widows' houses in his secular life, tithing mint and anise to the Lord but driving hard bargains with men, lengthening his own face in sanctimoniousness while grinding the faces of the poor.

But when the gospel of salvation by faith in God is received, this antagonism disappears. Philosophy acknowledges God; morality finds its root and vitality in faith; the whole action of life goes on religiously in filial trust and loving service towards God and confidential intimacy with him. Thus while scope is given to the loftiest enthusiasm and heroism of Christian love in the service of man, the humblest life and the most petty duties are ennobled as a service of God—lifted and luminous in the divine love, like a speck of dust floating and shining in the sunshine.

III. The Christian Law of Love is distinguished by superior Clearness and Comprehensiveness in the Enunciation both of the Principle and its Applications.

In comparing the moral teachings of heathen philosophy with those of Christ, it is necessary to suggest the caution that some recent writers overstate the merits of the former, and depreciate, and sometimes even misrepresent, the latter. In their obvious partiality to heathenism they become its eulogists rather than its critics. If they find a fine moral sentiment they expand and display it, as the optician expands a ray of light in all the colors of the rainbow. From their own knowledge of Christianity they interpret into an isolated sentence of a heathen author a meaning which the connection does not warrant, and which the author did not design to express. They gather fragmentary truths scattered through the heathen literature of all ages to obtain material to compare with the teachings of Christ. They give niggardly recognition of the beauty and completeness of his teachings. One recent writer has even put forth the gross misrepresentation that the morality of the New Testament is entirely negative or prohibitory, and disparages it as such in contrast with the positive requirements of heathen ethics. Others misrepresent it as in its tendencies wholly antimundane and ascetic. Therefore, while admitting a universal moral law cognizable by human reason, truth still requires the assertion that the law of love, as declared and applied in the New Testament, is superior to any heathen exposition of that law and its applications. To exemplify this thought the following distinctive peculiarities of Christian love may be mentioned.

The enunciation of the law is more clear and comprehensive. Especially is this apparent when we know that the sacrificial love of Christ in his humiliation, sufferings, and death to redeem man from sin, is itself the expression of the true nature of love in God, and the type and measure of all love in man.

Since Christian love grows out of faith, it involves the unity of religion and virtue. Christianity implies communion



with God not less than service to man. The communion with God gives quickening, guidance, purity, and efficacy to the service of man. Worship does not terminate on itself; is not a self-friction to induce a glow of emotion; it is the soul coming to God for his help in doing the work of a Christian life. In this particular, also, Christian love has a superior comprehensiveness and completeness. While it manifests itself in the two opposite poles of faith and love, it completes the electric circuit of the Christian character.

In its applications it becomes philanthropy. It manifests itself in reverence for man, a sacred regard to his rights, a zeal for his highest welfare. And this love to man becomes universal, as opposed to all clannishness and all enmities of race.

It also inspires hope for the future of society and quickens the progress of man.

It is not necessary, however, to delay on the question whether, in the enunciation of moral principles, Jesus declared anything absolutely new. The grand distinction of Christianity is that it has made its ethical principles powers of life and of civilization. When we pass from heathen literature to Christian, the change in the tone of thought and feeling is like a change of climate. And a similar change affects us in the transition from the study of heathen life and civilization. The Christian church in the outset conquered the world by Christ-like love. When in the Decian persecution the plague desolated Alexandria, and the heathen in terror abandoned their sick and dead, the Christians formed themselves into classes, and devoted their personal services and contributed of their property to the care of the sick and the burial of the dead of their persecutors. The same was their action in the plague at Antioch and elsewhere. And in the progress of Christ's kingdom the law of love is slowly but irresistibly gaining for itself assertion and realization, not only in the enthusiasm and heroism of individuals, but in the constitutions and laws of states, and the customs and civilization of society. Lecky, alluding to the reconstruction

of society after the dissolution of the Roman Empire, says : that after making the fullest allowance for other influences, it remains "an undoubted fact that the reconstruction of society was mainly the work of Christianity. . . . . It did this in three ways ; it abolished slavery, it created charity, it inculcated self-sacrifice."<sup>1</sup> The reverence for man, the regard to his rights and welfare, the broad philanthropy characterizing modern civilization, are the outgrowth of Christianity, of the life and love of Christ penetrating the life of humanity.

#### IV. A Distinctive peculiarity of Christian Virtue is Spiritual Freedom.

From the ancient Pythagoreans, who defined virtue as "a habit of duty," to Reid, who defines it as consisting "in a fixed purpose or resolution to act according to our sense of duty," ethical philosophy has recognized no principle of virtue higher or more effective than the sense of duty. This is, indeed, a grand principle ; and its presentation by some philosophers rises to the sublime.<sup>2</sup> Christianity does not reject it. Christianity broadens and spiritualizes the

<sup>1</sup> History of Rationalism, Vol. ii. pp. 227-229.

<sup>2</sup> "Duty ! thou great, sublime name ! thou dost not insinuate thyself by offering the pleasing and the popular, but thou requirest obedience ; although to move the will thou dost not threaten and terrify, but simply settest forth a law, which of itself finds entrance to the mind, which, even though against the will, wins approval and reverence, if not obedience, before which the passions are silent, even though they work secretly against it. What origin is worthy of thee, and where is the root of thy noble pedigree, which proudly disowns all relationship with the passions, and descent from which is the indispensable condition of that worth which alone man can of himself confer on himself ? It can be nothing less than that which lifts man above himself as part of the world of sense, which unites him to an order of things which the understanding can only think, and which subjects to itself the entire world of sense, and the empirically determined existence of man in time. It is nothing less than personality ; that is, freedom from and independence of all the mechanism of nature, which implies the subjection of the person considered as belonging to the world of sense, to his own personality so far as he belongs to the world of intelligence. No wonder, then, that man, belonging to both worlds, in regard to his highest destiny, must regard his own being with reverence and its laws with the highest veneration." — *Kant, Kritik der Praktischen Vernunft*, p. 214.

law, and emphasizes its authority, its immutability, and its sanctions. It quickens the conscience, and adds to the delicacy of its discernment and the authority of its commands. It makes the voice of duty to be nothing less than the voice of God. But the voice of duty is the voice of God proclaiming his law; it is in its nature regulative, not impulsive; it carries in it the constraint and restraint of authority, not inspiration; it is like the balance-wheel in machinery, regulating, but not originating, the motion. Christianity makes virtue consist in love inspired by faith in God's redeeming grace. Love outstrips the sense of duty; it moves with the quickness of the lightning, which the thunder of the law follows, but cannot overtake. Before conscience can utter its "categoric imperative," the willing work of love is done. A virtue driven only by the sense of duty, and never quickened by love, is imperfect. "Though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not love, it profiteth me nothing." In ethical philosophy moral power is presented as regulative and restrictive; in Christianity, as motive, inspiration, life. The former gives us only law and government; the latter gives us also gospel and redemption.

Therefore freedom, spontaneousness, joyousness, are distinctively and pre-eminently characteristic of Christian virtue. It is a new life — faith working by love, and spontaneously unfolding in all the beauty and fruitfulness of a Christian life. It is an entire misapprehension and misrepresentation of Christianity to say that it restrains the freedom and development of humanity, and suppresses the spontaneousness and joyousness of life. There may be a propriety in bringing this charge against ethical philosophy which presents nothing higher than the restraints and constraints of the sense of duty; and still more against the ethnic religions, which make the fear of the divine wrath for past transgressions more urgent than the sense of duty commanding to obedience. But the contrary is true of Christianity. It reveals to the sinner God's redeeming love in Christ; and

faith in God the Redeemer becomes the inspiration of a new life. It is precisely this Christian faith which creates in man the true consciousness of his own greatness and worth, quickens irrepressible aspirations to realize the highest possibilities of his being, delivers him from the bondage of passion and desire, quickens him to obey the lofty commands of reason, and to aim to realize the ideals of truth, right, and perfection, makes his obedience spontaneous, and gives him in obedience the consciousness of freedom. This is the service of filial love, as distinguished from the servile spirit of bondage. It is the freedom wherewith Christ maketh free.

## ARTICLE VI.

THE THREE FUNDAMENTAL METHODS OF PREACHING.—  
THE WRITING OF SERMONS.

BY EDWARDS A. PARK.

## § 1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

I. Definition of terms. — We speak familiarly, sometimes awkwardly, of “reading sermons,” “delivering them from a manuscript,” “preaching from notes,” “the written method.” A man is said to adopt this method when he writes his sermons, and then reads what he has written. He may have penned them with or without a previous study of his theme, plan, and language; he may be a painstaking or an extemporaneous writer. If he commits his sermons to memory, and recites them as thus committed, he adopts the method variously called “preaching memoriter,” the “memoriter method.” He may first write what he afterwards learns by heart, or he may arrange his thoughts and words in his mind, and in the process of arranging them may impress them on his memory without writing a syllable. The penning of the sermon is no more essential to the preaching of it memoriter, than the antecedent study of it is essential to the writing. When a preacher delivers his discourses without having previously written them or designedly committed them to memory, he adopts what is variously called the “extemporaneous,” “extemporary,” or “extempore method.” As the man who reads his sermons, and the man who recites them memoriter may adopt various modes of preparing them, so the man who preaches extempore may elaborate them in a greater or smaller degree. He may arrange his thoughts precisely as if he were to write them, and then, instead of



writing them or constructing his sentences so that he can commit them to memory, he may deliver them to his congregation in words which do not suggest themselves to his mind until he is ready to utter them. On the other hand, he may rise to speak without having previously arranged his thoughts or formed any plan of discourse, or perhaps without having selected any subject. The extemporaneous method does not necessarily presuppose any degree of meditation before speaking, nor does it necessarily exclude any degree. It does, however, exclude certain *kinds* of previous labor. So far forth as it is extemporaneous it excludes the intellectual formation of sentences which the author designs to repeat as he has formed them, and still more the penning of sentences which he designs to read or recite before his audience.<sup>1</sup> That sermon is not *extemporaneous* which is designedly delivered the second time *verbatim et literatim* as it had been delivered the first time, or even mentally repeated in private. The extemporaneous preacher may go into the pulpit with the same amount of antecedent study which the writer has performed before he constructs his sentences for his paper. The difference between the two may be simply this: the one begins to speak in the same state in which the other begins to write; the one has meditated and begins to use his tongue when the other has meditated and begins to use his pen.

## II. The intermingling of the three fundamental methods. —

<sup>1</sup> When the British orator made the remark: "I think the gentleman is indebted to his memory for his wit and to his imagination for his facts," he was supposed to have spoken extempore; but on inspecting his manuscripts the substance of his remark was found written and re-written, altered and re-altered, each revision being more pointed and terse than the preceding, until the idea took the concentrated form which has now become a classical satire. When Mr. Webster uttered his felicitous words on the drum-beat of England, it seemed as if they had just occurred to his mind; but he is said to have elaborated them long before, while he was witnessing the drill of a British regiment. The most splendid paragraph in his reply to Hayne had been treasured up in his memory for several months before he uttered it in the Senate. He declared to a friend that the majority of those sentences which were most admired by the public, and were delivered as if they had suddenly occurred to him, had been in fact carefully studied, written, and committed to memory.

In point of fact there is a fourth method, which consists in a commingling of the three already named. One man who is called a reader of sermons commits to memory some of his more important sentences, introduces extemporaneous remarks, or even paragraphs, and preserves himself in what may be called an extemporizing state of mind, holds himself ready at any time to deviate from his written manuscript. The man who preaches from memory sometimes refers to his manuscript, and, so far forth, adopts the written method; sometimes deviates from what he has written, and preserves in his mind such a readiness to deviate at any time as forms a distinctive element of extemporary discourse. The extemporaneous preacher often writes a part of his sermon, and either reads the part which he has written, or else commits to memory those sentences which are the most important or critical or delicate. Sometimes his memory is so impressible, at once quick and retentive, that after meditating on his discourse he recalls, and means to recall, in the pulpit the identical words which he had selected in his private meditation. Those words were written only on the tablets of his mind, and although termed extemporaneous are in fact remembered just as if they were written with ink. Robert Hall is called an extemporaneous preacher, but Dr. Gregory says, in a passage which will be referred to more than once hereafter :

The grand divisions of thought, the heads of a sermon " he would trace out with the most prominent lines of demarcation; and these for some years supplied all the hints that he needed in the pulpit, except on extraordinary occasions. To these grand divisions he referred, and upon them suspended all the subordinate trains of thought. The latter, again, appear to have been of two classes altogether distinct: outlined trains of thought, and trains into which much of the detail was interwoven. In the outlined train the whole plan was carried out and completed as to the argument; in that of detail, the illustrations, images, and subordinate proofs were selected and classified; and in those instances where the force of an argument, or the probable success of a general application, would mainly depend upon the language, even that was selected and appropriated, sometimes to the precise collocation of the words. Of some sermons, no portions whatever were wrought out thus minutely; the

language employed in preaching being that which spontaneously occurred at the time; of others, this minute attention was paid to the verbal structure of nearly half; of *a few*, the entire train of preparation, almost from the beginning to the end, extended to the very sentences. Yet the marked peculiarity consisted in this, that the process, even when thus directed to minutiae in his more elaborate efforts, did not require the use of the pen, at least at the time to which these remarks principally apply. [Mr. Hall, doubtless, varied his manner of preparation in different periods. For three or four years after his settlement at Leicester he wrote down nearly a third of the sermon, and left all the rest to flow from the outlying plan while he was preaching. But for some years afterward he seldom allowed his notes to exceed two pages, and is thought to have indulged himself more than at any other period of his life in entirely extemporaneous eloquence. At that time his sermons were especially distinguished by simplicity and pathos.] For Mr. Hall had a singular faculty for continuous mental composition, apart from the aid which writing supplies. Words were so disciplined to his use, that the more he thought on any subject the more closely were the topics of thought associated with appropriate terms and phrases; and it was manifest that he had carefully disciplined his mind to this as an independent exercise, probably to avoid the pain and fatigue which always attended the process of writing. Whenever he pleased he could thus pursue the consecution to a great extent, in sentences many of them perfectly formed and elaborately finished, as he went along, and easily called up again by memory as occasion required; not, however, in their separate character, as elements of language, but because of their being fully worked into the substance of thought. It hence happened that the excellence which other persons often attain as to style, from the use of the pen, in written, visible composition (employing the eye upon words, instead of fixing the memory upon substantial mental product and, it may be, diminishing the intellectual power by substituting for one of its faculties a mechanical result), he more successfully and uniformly obtained by a purely meditative process. And I am persuaded that if he could have *instantly* impressed his trains of thought upon paper, with the incorporated words, and with the living spirit in which they were conceived, hundreds, if not thousands, of passages would have been preserved, as chaste and polished in diction, as elastic and energetic in tone, as can be selected from any part of his works."<sup>1</sup>

III. Which of the three fundamental methods is the preferable one?

1. To this question no answer can be given which is *universally* true. There is a small class of preachers who

<sup>1</sup> The Works (Memoir) of the Rev. Robert Hall (Am. ed.), Vol. iii. pp. 39, 40.

will be more useful if they read their sermons. The majority of these men *might have had* the power to speak extempore, but they *have* never gained this power. They might gain it now, but the time and labor spent in acquiring it might be more profitably spent in other modes for which nature has more distinctly qualified them. A few clergymen have the temperament of the Catholic priest, Lamennais, who, while eminent for rapidity of thought and intensity of feeling, was unable to command his voice and control his mental action in an extemporaneous address. Some clergymen have an excitability like that of Rousseau, which does not prevent them from writing extempore in private, but does prevent them from speaking extempore in public. There is a second class of preachers who are signalized by a ready and retentive memory, and seem thus predestined to speak memoriter. If they premeditate what they are to say, they must say it memoriter, or else make an artificial effort not to do so. A third and still larger class should form the habit of preaching extempore. There are some audiences before whom it is advisable to read a sermon; other audiences, before whom it is advisable to speak from memory; others, who demand the extemporaneous method. So there are different occasions and likewise different subjects requiring, one the first, another the second, another the third of the three modes. Robert Hall is not known to have committed, with a formal and deliberate purpose, more than one entire sermon to memory. He preached his "Reflections on War," to a congregation of differing political partisans, and at a critical conjuncture tempting him to make remarks which might give needless offence, and, therefore, he did not allow himself to utter a word which he had not antecedently selected. There are, moreover, different parts of the same sermon, one of which may require to be written and read, another to be spoken as remembered, another to be spoken extempore.

2. But although no universal rule can be given, yet two general rules may be. The first of them is, that the three fundamental methods be intermingled. The change from



one method to another gives to the preacher elasticity and completeness, and relieves his pulpit from a most deadening evil — monotony. Various methods of commingling the three are suggested in Section 2 of this Article. The second of these general rules is, that a majority of a man's sermons be preached extempore. This rule is expressed so that it may not seem to require that every preacher should generally adopt the extemporaneous method, nor that any preacher should adopt it on every occasion or in every part of his discourse, nor that any preacher should spend the greater part of his time in directly preparing extemporaneous sermons. On the contrary this rule admits, although it does not require, that every preacher intermingle the three methods, and that he spend the greater part of his time in directly preparing his written sermons, while he preaches the greater number of his sermons extempore. This rule implies that, in the majority of instances, the main effort of a pulpit orator should be to educate himself for the extemporaneous method. He should practise the other two methods with the hope and the aim to acquire the greater precision and power in preaching extempore. By the various discipline of writing he prepares himself to put the proper words in the proper places when he speaks without writing. By committing to memory some of his more exact, terse, pungent, or impassioned sentences he improves his vocabulary. On the other hand, by speaking extempore he will improve his style of writing, and sometimes he will write the better if he expects to learn by heart what he has written.

The foregoing remarks are designed to make an impression more or less favorable to each of the three fundamental methods of preaching. As the writing of sermons is connected with each of these three methods; remotely implied in the most successful extemporary discourse; more directly and commonly implied in the memoriter discourse, and always in the discourse which is read, it may here be insulated from its connections, and considered apart by itself, as essential, or more or less auxiliary to the reading, reciting, and extemporaneous uttering of the preacher's words.



## § 2. THE WRITING OF SERMONS.

I. Different methods of writing. — We will consider three different modes of conducting this exercise of writing. The first is that of writing the entire sermon in the author's most elaborate style; the second is that of writing portions of the sermon in that style; the third is that of easy writing, which may be either unpremeditated or else intermediate between the extemporaneous and the author's most carefully studied composition.

1. The whole sermon may be written in the preacher's most elaborate style. This implies that, first of all, he study the subject of his discourse in its various relations until he obtain, so far as his mental limitations allow, the mastery of it. It is a rule of secular rhetoric that an author should not write *up* to his subject, it being above him; but he should master it so thoroughly that he can write *down* upon it. He can never write *down* on a sacred theme; but he can obtain such a familiarity with it as to give him spirit and confidence in writing upon it. This elaborate plan of writing implies, as the second but most important requisite, that the author meditate on his subject until he become saturated with the moral influences of it. He must often exert himself in order to catch the spirit of his theme, as it differs from the spirit of every other. He cannot write well unless his heart be fully absorbed with what his intellect has clearly apprehended. *Pectus est quod disertum facit.* This plan implies, thirdly, that among the various methods of treating his theme he search for the best; arranging his various topics, like soldiers for the battle, each in the position where it can be most effective.<sup>1</sup> Fourthly, the plan implies that after he has written his discourse he minutely criticise its language, and that among the different modes of constructing his sentences he select those which he judges to be most apposite. This rule does not mean that he labor to introduce

<sup>1</sup> "Haec est velut imperatoria virtus copias suas partientis." — Quintilian. Inst. ii.

jingling words, sonorous phrases — he should labor to get such terms *out* rather than *in*; — but it does mean that he should labor to introduce such words as will most exactly express his thoughts, and above all most effectively call forth the appropriate feelings. No man was further removed from prudery of style than Dr. Emmons, yet he says: “I have often spent a whole day in selecting the right phrase for a good thought.” Another divine who has been called a “prince of pulpit orators,” and whose style is rough rather than smooth, spent a fortnight on a single paragraph of one of his published sermons. The time was spent not in balancing his phrases in order that they might sound well, but in so adjusting them that they should unfold his thoughts fully, precisely, effectively. In the fifth place, this plan of writing implies that the preacher work on his sermon until it is “about finished” in distinction from its being ended. Michael Angelo spent twenty months in painting the ceiling of the Sistine chapel, and to the Pope, Julius II, urging him to hasten the frescoes and impatiently asking “when will you finish your work?” the faithful artist replied, “When I can.”

To finish a sermon in this manner requires time. Let the minister take the time. He may as profitably spend it in writing well as in afterward repenting that he has written ill. But what shall he do for his pulpit before his elaborate sermon is finished? Occasionally he may gratify his people by an exchange of pulpits with a clerical neighbor; sometimes he may avail himself of his former preparations; but more commonly he may compose new extemporaneous sermons. His one elaborate composition will suggest not only the subjects, but also the plans of several correlated, but distinct homilies, and will inspirit him to deliver them. It was the rule (varied according to his exigencies) of one pastor to spend the morning study-hours of a week on his written composition, the afternoon and evening study-hours on his extemporary sermons; to preach his written discourse on the next Sabbath, if he had “about finished” it; to preach

his extemporaneous sermons, if he had not "about satisfied" himself with his writing; to pursue the same course during the second week, the third, if need be; and to preach his elaborate sermon (often a double sermon) when it was done, and not before. It was a rule (followed, of course, with varied modifications) of another pastor to spend the first days of the week in writing, or preparing to write, his labored discourse; and, if he foresaw that he could not preach it on the next Sabbath, to suspend his studies on that discourse in season to prepare two extemporaneous sermons for that day; to persevere, during the first days of the succeeding week in the studies pertaining to his elaborate discourse; to preach it on the next Sabbath, if he was "about ready," if not, not; and to labor on it until he deemed it "about fit" to be delivered, or until it had ceased to inspire him with fresh thoughts for new extemporary sermons. Other preachers have adopted still different courses in pursuing the same general plan. The plan itself produces many good effects, and is attended with some evils.

A. Good results of the plan.

a. It gives a useful discipline to the preacher's intellect. He permanently enlarges it by expanding it on one great doctrine of the Bible. John Howe in writing his sermon on "The Vanity of Man as Mortal," Robert Hall in writing his sermon on "Modern Infidelity," invigorated their mental powers by tasking them to the utmost. A preacher is stimulated to fresh enterprises by striving for a few hours every day to make the most of himself as a thinker. He who aims high reaches a higher mark than he who aims low. A man does not know himself unless he labor sometimes to make "full proof" of his faculties.<sup>1</sup> The laziness of a good man consists in making moderate exertion. The great artists of the world have "laid themselves out" on some of their works. Michael Angelo devoted sixteen months to the

<sup>1</sup> In some branches of mechanical work, in which there is need of special accuracy, it is found that the journeymen are the more successful if they are required to perform operations which, while not surpassing their power, tax it to the utmost.

statue of Pope Julius II. Leonardo de Vinci spent four years in painting his Mona Lisa, and was then dissatisfied with it. Ghiberti spent forty years on the two gates of the Baptistery at Florence—the same which Michael Angelo said were worthy to be the gates of Paradise. The artist executed numerous other works while he was engaged on these two gates; but from his labor on these he derived inspiration, and also a standard for his other performances. While a man is striving to do one thing as well as he can, he will do other things better than he would have done but for that striving.

*b.* This plan of composition gives an admirable discipline to the preacher's heart. There is a superficial piety, which is fostered by cursory glances at a religious truth; there is a profound piety, which is cultivated by a profound search and research into it. The truth is high, broad, deep; its moral power is felt by that man, and that man only, who clambers up these heights, down these depths, and stretches his powers in a degree commensurate with these breadths. This is not the work of a few hours. John Howe must have lingered a long time among the truths filling his sermon on the "Redeemer's Tears," or he would not have expressed such exquisite sensibility in view of them; and Robert Hall, who admired that sermon, must have spent many days in meditating on its truths, or he would never have said: "I could think of the word 'tear,' sir, till I wept." A man who brings his own heart into intense sympathy with one great doctrine prepares himself to preach a score of extemporaneous sermons on different relations of that doctrine. "I light my candle at the sun," was the motto of a great author who kept himself familiar with the Homeric poems while he was preparing his works for the press; and every minister, while preparing his discourses for the pulpit, should light his candle at some bright truth which he is carefully examining in the Bible.

*c.* This plan of elaborate writing stimulates and disciplines the preacher to obtain large and accurate views of truth,

and aids his congregation in obtaining similar views. The general fact is, that, unless he put his statements upon paper, compare them as thus visible, let his eye assist his mind, he will not make his statements definite nor self-consistent; he will not carefully analyze his subject, designate its various parts in apposite language, recombine them into a whole, present that whole in its appropriate moral aspect. He may be called to state and refute objections, like those of Colenso, to certain passages of the Bible. Some men can, but very few can, and still fewer *will*, accurately state and clearly refute what the objector has urged, unless the statements and the refutations be looked at on paper. Exceptions apart, the preacher's mind will wander, will apprehend the subject indefinitely, will fail in precision of treatment, if he let his thoughts float on his mind without seizing them and fixing them in a permanent form.<sup>1</sup> The very anticipation of writing down one's meditations is a stimulus to definite thinking. More than once a man who has been an objector to a truth has undertaken to write an essay against it, and has been convinced of the truth by his writing. Hence, as it is a rule: *Lege cum calamo*, so it is a rule: *Cogita cum calamo*. Hence, as history proves that the exercise of writing tends to make the preacher systematic and correct, so history proves that the congregations which have listened to a certain proportion of written discourses have been more systematically instructed than those which have heard none but extemporary sermons.

d. This plan of accurate writing tends to promote the literary, as well as religious education of the people. The

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps it is the general, it is certainly a common fact, that when a man is earnestly engaged in thinking, he will be making some peculiar physical movement. Neander, twirling his pen in the lecture-room, is a representative of many a scholar who drums with his hand or foot, or whistles, or shakes or nods his head while he is busy in thought. Now, that physical movement which is appropriate to a thinker is the movement of his hand in writing. If he must be doing something while he thinks, let him write. It is said of Rufus Choate that "he was rarely idle for a moment," "rarely without book and pen in hand," "rarely sitting down with book alone." The very act of holding the ready pen serves to keep the mind ready to furnish new ideas for the pen to note.



style of the pulpit has an influence on the style of popular conversation. If the pulpit sanction improper forms of speech, the hearers will adopt them. A carefully written sermon chastens the language of those who attend to it, helps to regulate their choice of books and of company, and by raising their intellectual and aesthetic tone raises also their moral character. In our land, where so many speak extempore before lyceums and political assemblages, it is pre-eminently desirable that the pulpit should have an influence in regulating the style of these speakers. The pulpit, however, will not have this regulative power, unless the preacher be careful in arranging and expressing his own thoughts. He will not be as careful as he should be, unless he commit his words to paper, and be mindful that

“ True ease in writing comes from art, not chance,  
As those move easiest who have learned to dance.”

e. This plan of writing gives authority to the preacher. In the style of the Bible, he is a “ ruler ” of his church ; too often, in the style of the present day, he is an “ employé.” Once he was called “ father,” now he is called “ brother ” ; once a “ shepherd,” now a member of the flock. A single sermon containing sound thought expressed by good words in their right places has an influence on the strong minds of his auditors ; and these minds control the weaker. Not only does that sermon inspire him to preach several extemporaneous sermons, which are in their substance connected, and in their spirit homogeneous with it, but it also lends to them an influence which no one of them by itself would obtain. The position of a thing affects its worth. The right hand digit in the numeration line adds tenfold to the value of the digits at the left hand. An eminent jurist, who when a law-student at Litchfield was accustomed to hear Dr. Lyman Beecher’s discourses, has remarked that if the larger part of them were criticised, each by itself, they would not secure an uncommon degree of reverence for him as a thinker ; but when they were preached they borrowed force from some elaborate sermon which had preceded them ;

they were intimately associated with it, and stood by its help. If men venerate their pastor as "apt to teach," as an "able minister of the New Testament," they will derive instruction from identically the same words which falling from the lips of an inferior man would not even invite attention. A single Sabbath sermon which proves that its author has given "attendance to reading" will command respect for the homeliest evening lectures which he may utter in the district school-house. It will lessen the propriety of the definition which Walker in his Dictionary gives to the word "preacher" — "One who is apt to harangue tediously in discourse."<sup>1</sup> On a blank leaf of one of Dr. Griffin's manuscripts it appeared that his discourse had been preached ninety times. It had been reviewed and recomposed, touched and retouched, until, as far as the author's power availed, it became a finished sermon. This one discourse gave him an authority wherever he preached it, and thus gave to his other discourses an influence which they would not have gained if they were isolated from their connection with this.

*f.* This plan imparts variety to the preacher's ministrations. He will not preach at all on certain subjects unless he write upon them. They are too intricate or too critical; a careless remark upon them will mislead the hearer, perhaps work lasting injury. Hence the writer of sermons has a more copious assortment of themes than extemporaneous preachers have. Some of his hearers will be the more interested in his elaborate sermon, because it breaks up the monotony of his extemporaneous efforts. Others will be the more interested in his extemporary sermon, because it gives them rest from his more labored discussions. By writing carefully on one text he unfolds its peculiar meaning, the distinctive

<sup>1</sup> Walker has been unjustly condemned for this definition. His duty was to state the meanings assigned by usage to this word. This, unfortunately, has been one of the meanings, as is illustrated in Charles Lamb's celebrated criticism on Coleridge's conversation; also in the phrases: "Do not fear that I am going to preach to you"; "prosy as the pulpit." Another and different definition is given in Perry's and Johnson's Dictionaries: "Preacher, one who inculcates with earnestness and vehemence."

shading of a truth or a duty to which it points. By writing with equal care on another text he discloses another peculiar meaning, exhibits another distinctive shading of a truth or duty. His two sermons are unlike each other in their substance, method, and practical bearing. Without a careful elaboration of them he would insensibly have let both of them flow in the same channel. When that channel is worn, sermons flow too easily in it. Multitudes of discourses are in their general drift indistinguishable one from the other, while each of them might have been unique, and each have contributed to the freshness and variety of the pastor's ministrations. The monotony of the pulpit results from the fact that some preachers do not form the habit of detecting the idiosyncrasies of themes, and of varying their methods of treatment according to the particular lights and shadows of the subject treated. They may form this habit by painstaking in their composition. A man will soon become weary of repeating himself with care, when his manuscripts present ocular proof of his having written the same things in the same way over and over.

*g.* This plan of writing prepares the minister for exigencies. His health or his mental condition on some days disqualifies him for preaching extempore; he may then preach his elaborate sermons; and his more scholarly hearers will be submissive to the providence which interfered with his freer speech. He is called to preach in times of high political excitement; his every word will be watched; his careless phrases may produce a baleful effect; if he write with care he may guard himself against exerting a mischievous influence, may perhaps qualify himself for exerting a benign influence, in what is called a semi-political discourse. During the rebellion of 1861-65 many hurtful, because careless, sermons were preached from the texts, Deut xii. 8; Judges xvii. 6; xxi. 25; and on the other hand many preachers who wrote their discourses with painstaking were able to give visible proof that they did not express the demoralizing sentiments which heated partizans imputed to them. The editor of

Massillon's Lent Sermons, regards it as a prodigy that he finished a discourse in so short a time as ten or twelve days. This eminent preacher sometimes re-wrote a single sermon, fifteen or even twenty times. This finished discourse was designed for some rare occasion, when the words uttered must be "apples of gold in pictures of silver." In order to produce a good effect upon an intelligent community hostile to the evangelical faith, an American divine spent a fortnight on a single paragraph of one sermon, and three months on another sermon which has already accomplished more good than the four thousand discourses which were written by another of our pastors, at the rate of two a week. When a minister has reason to expect that his sermon will be controverted it may be necessary for him to state certain propositions with precision and grace, for they will be quoted and re-quoted until they become household words. In preparing such a sermon a theological preacher spent, in connection with a literary friend, two entire days on as many sentences. That sermon has gained a world-wide usefulness. In his extreme old age many a preacher has commanded the reverential attention of his auditors to discourses which he had elaborated in his youth.<sup>1</sup>

*h.* This plan of writing qualifies and inspirits a man to preach extempore. The iron in a white heat sends out sparks as bright as itself. While a writer is thoroughly investigating a truth for his more elaborate sermon, he feels a fire in his bones forcing him to utter many related truths in discourses which he is not cool enough to draw out on paper. But for that well-studied sermon he would never have detected certain relations of his theme which now shine out so that he cannot help seeing them. In writing that sermon he has learned the precise words, the accurate statements, the germinal phrases, the balance and proportion of thoughts, their phases and dependences, which will afterward chasten and regulate his extemporaneous discourses. The substance of different parts of that sermon will be

<sup>1</sup> Memoir of Dr. Emmons, pp. 282, 283.

repeated in varied measures throughout his ministry. It has been said of Daniel Webster that he never delivered more than twelve or twenty speeches, each part of one of those speeches being put into different combinations, presented with variations of form, in several less important addresses. One carefully prepared sermon is written on the text: "God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." The sermon compresses exact statements on, 1. the grace of the Father *originating* the atonement; 2. the sufferings and death of the Son *constituting* the atonement; 3. the nature and duty of faith, forming the *condition* on which the atonement finally blesses men; 4. everlasting life, the gracious *reward* for accepting the atonement; 5. eternal pain, the *punishment* for rejecting the atonement. These five topics may be expanded, illustrated, and enforced in five extemporaneous sermons, may be treated in a style so unlike the style of the elaborate discourse that a candid hearer would not recognize, still less criticise, any repetition. Indeed there need be no repetition in the form, proportions, relations of the theme. The exact, condensed, and therefore powerful phraseology of the written discourse corrects and strengthens the style of the extemporaneous sermons which are more diffuse, exciting, popular. "If you hit upon a good subject," says President Wayland,<sup>1</sup> "it will last for several weeks; "for instance, Growth in Grace, the nature of it, exhortations to it, means for accomplishing it, etc., have furnished me with several sermons." These extemporaneous sermons may present the same substance of thought which had been presented in the written discourse; but men who have admired a landscape in the radiance of the morning sun will love to gaze at it when the sun goes down, and in the evening twilight. Reiterations of things are not only useful but needful. It is the repetition of forms which wearies the hearer. *Non nova sed nové* is the old motto of the preacher.

<sup>1</sup> Memoir, Vol. i. p. 156.



i. This plan of writing tends to perpetuate the minister's influence. The merely extemporaneous preacher is in peril of losing his power. He forms careless habits which ultimately incapacitate him for effective ministrations in the pulpit. Political and juridical science as well as general literature would have been far more advanced than they now are, if the great speeches of statesmen and jurists had not vanished with the breath that uttered them. The logical argument and the cogent words of many illustrious senators and lawyers were never repeated, because never written. In hundreds of pulpits there have been bursts of genuine eloquence of which we can now obtain only a faint tradition. Extemporaneous addresses are like time itself, evanescent; but *scripta litera manet*. Thousands of men have been and will be quickened by the sermon of Robert Hall on Modern Infidelity. The history of that sermon illustrates the present topic and also the author's union of the different methods of preaching as stated in § 1, II. above. He had delivered the discourse in the same style twice without having written a sentence of it. He was at length persuaded to let the world enjoy what his hearers had enjoyed. Dr. Gregory, who promised to superintend the work of printing the sermon, says:

"At first I obtained from him eight pages, and took them to the printer; after a few days four pages more; then two or three pages; then a more violent attack of his distressing pain in the back compelled him to write two or three pages while *lying on the floor*; and soon afterward a still more violent paroxysm occasioned a longer suspension of his labor. After an interval of a week, the work was renewed at the joint entreaty of myself and other friends. It was pursued in the same manner, two or three pages being obtained for the printer at one time, a similar portion after a day or two, until, at the end of seven weeks, the task was completed. During the whole time of the composition, thus conducted, Mr. Hall never saw a single page of the printer's work. When I applied for more 'copy' he asked what it was that he had written last, and then proceeded. Very often, after he had given me a small portion, he would inquire if he had written it nearly in the words which he had employed in delivering the sermon orally. After he had written down the striking apostrophe which occurs at about page seventy-six of most of the editions—

'Eternal God! on what are thine enemies intent! what are those enterprizes of guilt and horror that, for the safety of their performers, require to be enveloped in a darkness which the eye of heaven must not *penetrate*' — he asked, 'did I say *penetrate*, sir, when I preached it?' 'Yes.' 'Do you think, sir, I may venture to alter it? for no man who considered the force of the English language would use a word of three syllables there, but from absolute necessity.' 'You are, doubtless, at liberty to alter it if you think well.' 'Then be so good, sir, to take your pencil, and for *penetrate* put *pierce*; *pierce* is the word, sir, and the only word to be used there.' I have now the evidence of this before me, in the entire manuscript, which I carefully preserve among my richest literary treasures. At the end of seven weeks Mr. Hall's labor, thus conducted, being, greatly to his delight, brought to a close, I presented him with a complete copy of his printed sermon, not one word of which he had seen in its progress."<sup>1</sup>

It is true that the stenographic and phonographic arts have superseded in some instances and some degree the task of writing what a man has previously uttered without notes.<sup>2</sup> Still, the sermons that were preached while unwritten demand, as we saw in the preceding quotation, a careful revisal. It is also true that many a pastor cannot expect to retain his apparent influence long after his death. He is not inspired to say: *Pingo in æternum*. His descendants may read and prize his written sermons; his church may publish some of them a century or two after they were preached;<sup>3</sup> an antiquarian in future ages may print some of them as illustrations of the past; but in the general their influence will be absorbed in the character of the parish whose forefathers heard them. Still his written sermons may perpetuate his power while he lives. He can fall back on them when he is too old or too ill to extemporize. He can refresh his mind with them when he is too weary to re-investigate a difficult theme. The carefully-chosen phrases will be mementos of former trains of thought. He would

<sup>1</sup> Halls Works, Vol. i. p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Many of the speeches delivered by the orators of Greece and Rome, as well as many of the homilies preached by the church-fathers, were never written out by them, but were reported by the shorthand penmen, whose art is now in great measure unknown to us.

<sup>3</sup> See, for instance, such volumes as "The Worcester Pulpit," "The Dedham Pulpit," and "The Ministry of Taunton."

have forgotten those thoughts had they not been suggested by these critical phrases ; such phrases will renew his youth or strength. "How forcible are right words !" They are instinct with a power which we cannot analyze. They may have been long forgotten by the writer, but when re-perused they stir his former energies, awaken fresh sympathies, call up exciting and instructive associations. An old man derives a strange impulse and a peculiar kind of instruction from his early writings. What an apothegmatic volume<sup>1</sup> describes in reference to the ear of the hearer is in some degree true in reference to the mind of the author : "I suppose that even when they are good a man's words seem poor to himself ; for the workman is too familiar with the wrong side of all his workmanship. Moreover, much must always lie in the ear of the hearer. We say enough to set alight the hidden trains of thought, which abide in the recesses of men's hearts, unknown to them, and they are startled into thinking for themselves. After all, it is not often so requisite for a writer to make things logically clear to men, as to put them into the mood he wishes to have them in. I suppose the snake-charmer and the horse-whisperer have some such scheme."

B. Evil results of the plan.

α. There is danger that a minister will repress the life, elasticity, energy of his sermons by minute criticism on the words of it. The phrases which occur to him in his extemporaneous discourses are more natural and vivid than those which he works upon in his study with the aid of grammars and lexicons. Dr. Gregory says of Robert Hall :

"He had formed for himself, as a writer, an ideal standard of excellence which could not be reached ; his perception of beauty in composition was so delicate and refined, that in regard to his own productions it engendered, perhaps, a fastidious taste ; and deep and prevailing as was his humility, he was not insensible to the value of a high reputation, and therefore cautiously guarded against the risk of diminishing his usefulness among certain classes of readers, by consigning any production to the world that had not been thoroughly subjected to the *labor limae*. Hence the extreme slowness with which he composed for the press ; writing, improving,

<sup>1</sup> "Companions of my Solitude," pp. 114, 115.

rejecting the improvement, seeking another, rejecting it, recasting whole sentences and pages, often recurring precisely to the original phraseology, and still oftener repenting when it was too late that he had not done so. All this he lamented as a serious defect, declaring that he gave, in his own view, to his written compositions an air of stiffness and formality which deprived him of all complacency in them. And I cannot but think that notwithstanding the exquisite harmony and beauty which characterize everything that he has published, they were even, in point of felicity of diction and the majestic current and force of language, inferior to the 'winged words' that escaped from his lips, when his 'soul was enlarged' in the discharge of ministerial duty."<sup>1</sup>

While we admit the danger of injuring a discourse by excessive elaboration, we should remember that a writer may sometimes improve *himself* while he does not improve the particular work on which he expends his strength. A man may become a good mechanic by laboring on a machine which he spoils. But if a minister adopt, as he may, the habit of extemporizing the majority of his sermons, he will thus foster such principles of taste as will indispose him to carry the labor of correcting beyond the line of improving his written discourse. Still he must be on his guard. He must retain his good sense. He must take especial pains to avoid that morbid appetency for perfection which will polish away all positive excellence, and refine into nothing every natural beauty. We have read of an Italian author who would whet and whet his knife till there was no steel left to make an edge. "Indeed," says Carlyle, "in all things, writing or other, which a man engages in, there is the indispensablest beauty in knowing *how to get done*. A man frets himself to no purpose, he has not the sleight of the trade, he is not a craftsman but an unfortunate borer and bungler, if he know not when to have done. Perfection is unattainable; no carpenter ever made a mathematically accurate right-angle in the world; yet all carpenters know when it is right enough, and do not botch it and lose their wages by making it too right. Too much painstaking speaks disease in one's mind, as well as too little. The adroit, sound-

<sup>1</sup> Hall's Works (American ed.), Vol. iii. p. 40.

mind man will endeavor to spend on each business approximately what of pains it deserves; and with a conscience void of remorse will dismiss it then.”<sup>1</sup> It is for this reason that the writer of a sermon is advised to cease from his work when it is “about done” (§ 2. I. 1).

b. There is danger that a minister will debilitate and belittle himself by excessive labor on a single discourse. To this objection, as to the preceding, we reply, the minister must avoid the danger. First, he must labor on the thought more than on the expression of it. Secondly, he must labor on the expression as the correlate of the thought. He must make the words things. He must make his study of the words a study in scientific philology, and this does not emasculate the mind. Scientific philologists and rhetoricians, aiming to illustrate their principles, quote the words of eminent writers; but these words would not have been worthy of citation had they not been elaborated with care. When we read the finished lines of Virgil, we must remember that the poet wrote his *Georgics* at the rate of one line per day. We find him “dictating a number of verses in the morning, spending the day in revising, correcting, and reducing them, and comparing himself, as Aulus Gellius mentions, to a she-bear licking her misshapen offspring into shape. We see Petrarch returning day after day to his sonnets, to alter some single word, or make some trifling change in the arrangement of a line. The manuscripts of Ariosto, whose style appears the very perfection of ease and an almost spontaneous emanation, still exist at Ferrara, and show that many of the favorite passages in the *Orlando* were written eight times over. Scarcely less attention was bestowed upon the stanzas of the *Gierusalemme* of Tasso.”<sup>2</sup> The comparison between the first draught and the last draught of Pope’s *Iliad* is a literary curiosity. The writings of Bossuet which were prepared for the press by himself, are as dissimilar in finish of style to those which were prepared by his Benedictine editors, as are the productions of two

<sup>1</sup> Westminster Review, Vol. xxviii. p. 338.

<sup>2</sup> Encyclopædia Britannica.



different men. In writing his *Reflections on the French Revolution*, Edmund Burke had sometimes more than twelve proofs worked off and destroyed before he could satisfy himself.<sup>1</sup> Rousseau says that his own blots, emendations, and transcriptions, before printing and after it, were numberless.

We have no doubt that John Foster carried his minute criticism on his works to an excess. His criticism, however, was not confined to the rhythmic qualities of his style, but was mainly directed to the connection between words and thoughts. After he had written his celebrated *Essay* (originally a sermon) on the Evils of Popular Ignorance he thus describes his process of rewriting it for the press.

"I have been confounded to find how much absolutely *must* be altered in almost every page; partly to make the general drift direct and obvious, partly in making the sentences individually clear and intelligible, partly in making the relation and junctures of the thoughts more correct and strict, partly in compressing the language, and I might say, partly many things more. All these matters of process I have found on my hands at once, in paragraph after paragraph, with only here and there, very rarely, a bit of clear ground of the extent of two or three sentences. I have fretted and wondered, but this was of no use; there was nothing for it but to *work*. It would not do to say, It shall even go as it is. I knew the captiousness of readers, and the spite of critics too well for that. And for the thing itself, independently of these considerations, it was desirable not to let anything go defective and wrong, if it were possible to set it right; which I never despair of being able to effect in the long run, though at first I cannot at all see or guess how."<sup>2</sup>

He describes his method of preparing the *Essay* for the second edition thus: "My principle of proceeding was to treat no page, sentence, or word, with the smallest ceremony; but to hack, split, twist, prune, pull up by the roots, or practise any other severity on whatever I did not like. The consequence has been alterations to the amount very likely of several thousands.—It is a sweet luxury, this book-making; for I dare say I

<sup>1</sup> In a short time after its publication thirty thousand copies of this work were sold, and in answer to it at least thirty-eight pamphlets and books, besides thousands of newspaper essays, were published. Such men as Thomas Paine, Sir James Mackintosh, Dr. Priestley, and Dr. Price, who were the prominent antagonists of Mr. Burke, might have more nearly equalled him in impressing the public mind, if they had more nearly equalled him in the pains-taking of their composition.

<sup>2</sup> *Life and Correspondence of John Foster*, Vol. ii. p. 33.

could point out scores of sentences *each* one of which has cost me *several hours* of the utmost exertion of my mind to put it in the state in which it now stands, after putting it in several other forms, to each one of which I saw some precise objection, which I could, at the time, have very distinctly assigned. And in truth, there are hundreds of them to which I could make objections as they *now* stand, but I did not know how to hammer them into a better form.”<sup>1</sup>

c. There is danger that this plan will encourage ambition and an effort to compose great sermons. From the earliest period of the church men who preached well have been accused of an undue desire of fame; and men who preached ill have been tempted to make the envious accusation. If a man becomes popular by his fervid spirit, by his manifestations of Christian joy or faith, there will be men whose popularity is eclipsed by him, and who will charge him with a love of display. A man may strive after excellence without any undue love of praise. We know the fact that one person is inclined to ambition, another to envy, and a third to envy and indolence united. There is a tendency to regard the desire of distinction as the greater sin, and laziness as the smaller. But what mortal can measure the sins of his fellow mortals? It is an evil thing to aim at the writing of great sermons; and is there no harm in being willing to write small ones? When President Kirkland was asked why he awarded college honors to his pupils, he answered: “I employ the devil of ambition to drive out the devil of laziness.” We need not attempt, however, to make Satan cast out Satan. A man who is fit to be a minister will try to avoid both evils. He will aim to write a sermon which is as worthy of the theme as he can well make it, and he will be humbled in detecting the inferiority of his performance to his standard.<sup>2</sup> Pride is a weed that often grows, like other

<sup>1</sup> Life and Correspondence of John Foster, Vol. ii. pp. 13, 14.

<sup>2</sup> ¶ In all the liberal and ingenious arts, in painting, in poetry, in music, in eloquence, in philosophy, the great artist feels always the real imperfection of his own best works, and is more sensible than any man how much they fall short of that ideal perfection of which he has formed some conception, which he imitates as well as he can, but which he despairs of ever equalling. It is the inferior artist only who is ever perfectly satisfied with his own perform-

weeds, in the poorest soil. The most careless preacher may be the proudest. The most painstaking writer has too high an ideal to feel flattered by any of his performances. Sounding brass often attracts more attention than solid gold. Speaking of his sermon on the Discouragements and Supports of the Christian Minister, Robert Hall says: "The reason of the sermon not appearing sooner has been, principally, an almost uninterrupted struggle of painful discouragement arising from its appearing so contemptible under my hand. The truth is, I am tormented with the desire of writing better than I can, and as this is an obstacle not easily overcome, I am afraid it will never be in my power to write much."<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hall did not leave *many* works, but, in the language of the fable, what he did leave were lions. We do not blame the minister who, addressing the ignorant, goes out of his way to find plain and homely language for them. Why should we condemn him, then, for selecting choice language for the learned and refined? Is not the truth noble enough to allow a noble style of treating it, or beautiful enough to warrant a graceful style?

*d.* There is danger that a man will spend in writing sermons the time which he may more usefully spend in writing different essays for the press. Matthew Henry, Thomas Scott, Albert Barnes, may gain in composing commentaries a better discipline than they could secure in writing sermons. Few preachers, however, come up to the standard of these men. Besides, there is a unique advantage derivable from the composition of sermons. Their style is not abstract, like the style of an academic text-book; and not crisp and curt, like the style of many newspapers. If a preacher do not

ances. Boileau used to say that no great man was ever completely satisfied with his own works. His acquaintance, Santeuil (a writer of Latin verses and who, on account of that schoolboy accomplishment, had the weakness to fancy himself a poet), assured him that he himself was always completely satisfied with *his* own. Boileau replied, with perhaps an arch ambiguity, that he certainly was the only great man that ever was so."—Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, Part vi. Sect. iii.

<sup>1</sup> Works, iii. p. 240.

study the methods of thought and expression peculiar to the pulpit, and if his discipline in writing be limited to philosophical or historical essays, or fictitious tales for the press, he may contract certain faults which will vitiate the style of his sermons. A celebrated clergyman in one of his most impressive volumes, says: "As every man finds that the hardest knots he has to chop through are those which have been waiting in his own wood-shed while easier work was done, so it proved now, that the very hardest jobs of all were in some of the home-stations, in breaking up hard-pan which we had been for generations trampling down." The style of this passage is very proper for the volume which it enlivens, but would be far from sustaining the dignity and sobriety of a sermon on the fact that the rejection of truth and resistance of right motives tend to harden the heart.

e. There is danger that a minister writing on this plan will neglect his extemporaneous sermons. The plan admits that he should, in the main, be an extemporaneous preacher, and yet requires him to spend so many of his best hours in writing sermons that he will spend too little of his time in preparing those which are unwritten. The plan, however, is not so self-contradictory as it may at first appear. It does not allow that in writing a minister ceases to prepare himself for extemporizing. The labor on the written discourse gives to the writer both the spirit and the strength, suggests to him themes and plans, for extemporaneous discourses. All his working on that sermon is, in fact, working on sermons which he never writes. A preacher may say of an unwritten sermon, "I have spent a year upon it"; for it may be the result of writing a dozen or a score of other sermons. As that man is most willing to perform new services who has multifarious duties already, so that man may be best fitted to prepare an extemporaneous sermon who is most energetic in elaborating a written one. On *any* plan a minister is commonly disposed to work too little on his unwritten discourses. He will commonly work less if he do not, than if he do keep up the discipline of writing. It is possible, however, that he may labor

too much on his extemporary sermons. Their chief excellence consists in the fact that their words, and many of their illustrations, are suggested in the presence of their hearers, and in the fervor of addressing them. A preacher may devote so much time to what he calls an extemporaneous discourse, that he will impress on his memory not only the thoughts but also the words of it, and will, in fact, preach memoriter, while he pretends to speak extempore.

*f.* There is danger that the elaborate sermon will fail to make a good impression on the people. A minister should aim not to compose a discourse but to benefit men. The discourse must not be the end to which he looks; that end must be the moral improvement of his hearers. Men who preach memoriter are tempted to think more of their sermon than of their auditors. Men who preach extempore have sometimes more solicitude about the succeeding topic, or the possibilities of their peroration, than about the immortal beings who are affected well or ill by the words uttered. Men who write their sermons are exposed to the same peril: their thoughts may terminate upon the paper before them. But this is one of the reasons for a man's writing elaborately, when he writes at all. He must eradicate the habit of confining his attention to his composition; he must inure himself to the habit of thinking in the ideal presence of his congregation. His labor must be to present his best thoughts in the style best adapted to the sympathies of those who are to hear him.

The style of a writer may be too much that of the books, and too little that of men; too much condensed, too abstract, or too learned. John Edwards says: We read "in the Roman legends that St. Francis preached to beasts and birds, and we are told that he made a great reformation among them; but *we* do not pretend to deal with such creatures, but with those only that are reasonable." "Reason and argument must be made use of, and the more of these the better. The closer this powder is rammed, the greater execution it will do. The sum of this head is this, that a



preacher is to take care that he always speaks good sense and argues closely.”<sup>1</sup>

But if a preacher condense his thoughts for a sermon, as he may wisely do for a scientific treatise, he will not make himself intelligible to his hearers, of course not impressive. While admitting the existence of this danger, we may yet see some mitigations of it when we reflect that the process of elaborating a discourse involves a special effort to be perspicuous, and to produce a good moral impression. In point of fact there are more unintelligible trains of thought in extemporaneous than in written sermons. There are apt to be more difficult and obscure words. Mr. Zincke<sup>2</sup> informs us of a preacher whose theme was the “Children of Light,” and who intended “to convey the idea that they are the recipients of light. With this in view he said: ‘Brethren, to use a philosophic’ (he meant a scientific) ‘term, you are photogenic.’ The word was taken from the walls of a lucifer-match manufactory in Mile End, which is seen from the Great Eastern railway; where, however, whether correctly or not, it means exactly the reverse of what the preacher supposed, being applied there to the production, not the reception, of light.” A careful writer of sermons would exclude such obscure and pedantic expressions. “We need all our learning,” says Usher, “to make things plain.” Another fact must be remembered. If the elaborate sermon fail to exert a good influence on the more ignorant, it may be the very sermon needed for the more controlling minds of the congregation. They, as well as the poor, must have their “word in season.” Still further, a discourse often appears to produce no effect when it does produce a great one. There is one influence of “a rushing, mighty wind,” and an equal influence of a “still, small voice.” The labored sermon clears the field of rocks and stumps, ploughs the ground and harrows it, and thus fits it for the seed which otherwise

<sup>1</sup> Works, Vol. i. pp. 216, 217.

<sup>2</sup> Treatise on Extempore Preaching (American ed.), p. 84.

would have fallen on unfruitful soil.<sup>1</sup> In the fourteenth chapter of Dr. Edward Payson's Memoir, he says: "Once in the course of my ministry I made an analysis of all the sermons which I had preached to my people for six months, and embodied it in one sermon, and preached it to them. They were astonished, and I was astonished, at the amount of truth which had been presented to them, and, to human appearance, with very little effect." In the very same chapter he says: "Since the failure of my health, I preach but three sermons in a week — two on the Sabbath and one on Thursday evening. On that evening and on Sabbath morning, I preach without notes, but generally form a skeleton of my sermon. I should like to write more but my health will not permit; and I find that when any good is done it is my extempore sermons which do it." This is not certain. The discourses uttered extempore may have been the occasion, while those which were elaborated with previous thought and prayer, may have been the cause, of the good done. The extemporary sermon may have been the last blow, but would have been unavailing without the ninety-nine preceding blows upon the rock. One preacher during his lengthened pastorate may have delivered many thoughtful discourses the effects of which were too still to attract the notice of the noisy crowd; but his successor flourishes in comparatively superficial sermons which are attended with an unquestioned good result. This result would not have followed the weaker discourses, if they had not been preceded by the stronger.

2. There is another method of writing, which is a modification of the method just described: Not the whole but portions of a sermon may be written in a preacher's most elaborate style. For some men and some themes this modification may have very peculiar advantages. Certain parts of the sermon may not need to be carefully elaborated.

<sup>1</sup> The most useful of Dr. Wayland's sermons has probably been that on "The Moral Dignity of the Missionary Enterprise;" but of this sermon when first preached he remarked (being misled by appearances): "It was a complete failure. It fell perfectly dead." — Wayland's Memoir, Vol. i. p. 165.

They may be more effective, if the language in which they are clothed be suggested by the visible presence of a congregation. A preacher, therefore, often writes carefully the expositions of his text; the propositions of his discourse, and the arguments for them; the objections and the answers to them; those parts of his practical appeal in which he may be exposed to a charge of personalities or of self-contradictions. It has been a favorite method of New England divines to preach on the same Sabbath a double sermon, to read in the morning what they called the "body of the discourse," and to deliver extempore in the afternoon what they called the "improvement." By their interest in the written discussion of the morning they were animated for the unwritten appeal of the afternoon. In many instances these practical remarks were committed to paper after they had been delivered extempore, and were at last, given to the public press.

To the method of intermingling written and extemporaneous remarks in the same discourse the following objection has been often made, and is here stated in the language of Dr. James W. Alexander: "The whole train of operations is different in reading or reciting a discourse and in pronouncing it extempore. If I may borrow a figure from engines, the mind is *geared differently*. No man goes from one track to the other without a painful jog at the 'switch.' And this is, I suppose, the reason why Dr. Chalmers, in a passage which I reserve for you, cautions his students against every attempt to mingle reading with free speaking. It is not unlike trying to speak in two languages, which reminds me of what a learned friend once observed to me in Paris concerning the Cardinal Mezzofanti; that this wonderful linguist, when he left one of his innumerable tongues to speak in another, always made a little pause and wet his lips, as if to make ready for going over all at once. It requires the practice of years to dovetail an extemporaneous paragraph gracefully into a written sermon."<sup>1</sup> What is lost, however, in grace is gained in variety. The transition from written

<sup>1</sup> Thoughts on Preaching, p. 142.

to free speech may startle by its abruptness, but it may startle some from somnolence. Many writers introduce extemporaneous remarks for no other reason than to arouse their hearers from that state of listlessness or reverie, which has been encouraged by the uninterrupted flow of "graceful paragraphs."

3. Another method of preparing a discourse is the method of what is called easy writing; the committing of one's thoughts to paper without any or without much premeditation. The writing may be strictly extemporaneous, or it may be intermediate between the extemporaneous and the elaborate composition. When we speak here of elaborate composition, we include not merely the mental exercise which the author goes through in penning his discourse, but also the hard work which precedes his use of the pen. He may have so carefully arranged his thoughts and selected his words that when he commits them to paper he may work easily and rapidly. When the poet Wordsworth had inwardly digested as many lines as his memory could carry he committed them to paper by the hands of an amanuensis. He cannot be said, therefore, to have written extempore nor easily; rather, he wrote memoriter and after careful thought.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wherever this poet went he seems to have been preparing himself for his literary labors: "He had taken the Allfoxden House, near Stowey, for one year (during the minority of the heir), and the reason why he was refused a continuance, by the ignorant man who had the letting of it, arose (as Mr. Coleridge informed me) from a whimsical cause, or rather a series of causes. The wiseacres of the village had, it seemed, made Mr. Wordsworth the subject of their serious conversation. One said that 'he had seen him wander about by night, and look rather strangely at the moon! and then he roamed over the hills like a partridge.' Another said: 'He had heard him mutter, as he walked, in some outlandish brogue that nobody could understand.' Another said: 'It's useless to talk, Thomas, I think he is what people call a wise man (a conjurer).'  
Another said: 'You are every one of you wrong; I know what he is: we have all met him tramping away toward the sea; would any man in his senses take all that trouble to look at a parcel of water? I think he carries on a snug business in the smuggling line, and in these journeys is on the lookout for some *wet* cargo.' Another very significantly said: 'I know that he has got a private still in his cellar, for I once passed his house, at a little better than a hundred yards distance, and I could smell the spirits, as plain as an ashen fagot at Christmas.' Another said: 'However that was, he is surely a desperd French Jacobin for he



But what men technically denominate easy writing is that which excludes the severe preliminary study, and is either extemporaneous writing, or some degree of approximation toward it. On this method we may remark :

A. In the general, the more nearly a writer approaches to the elaborate method, so much the more fully does he gain the advantages and expose himself to the evils of it ; and the further he recedes from this method, so much the less of its advantages does he gain and so much the more does he escape from some of its evils.

B. The easier the writing is, so much the less useful and the more hurtful it may be to the writer. The less useful ; for if he can write extempore, he can (exceptions aside) learn to speak extempore, and by speaking extempore he can avoid the waste of his time and health in bending over his writing-desk, and can devote himself to such reading as will be more profitable than his easy writing. The more hurtful ; for by this extemporary penmanship he encourages that species of mental indolence which consists in combining a semblance of activity with an abstinence from hard work.

C. The easier the writing is, so much the less useful it may be to those who persevere in listening to it. It has damped the ardor of the man who speaks ; for he utters words which have lost their first glow, he utters them with a languor, like that in which he penned them ; he wrote them when he was thinking of his pen and ink rather than of his parishioners ; and as Sheridan profanely said that “ easy writing makes hard reading,” so it may be emphatically said that easy writing makes hard hearing and facile sleeping. Dr. Wayland remarks : “ Men seem to suppose that what is written must, of course, be sound sense. I confess I have not always found it so ; and I have been sometimes tempted to ask : would a preacher be willing to look his audience in

is so silent and dark that nobody ever heard him say one word about politics.’ And thus these ignoramuses drove from their village a greater ornament than will ever again be found amongst them.” — Cottle’s *Recollections of S. T. Coleridge*, Vol. I. pp. 319, 320.



the face and utter such common-place truisms as he delivers from a manuscript, looking on his paper"?<sup>1</sup>

The habit of easy writing is thus characterized by Thomas Carlyle:

"In the way of writing no great thing was ever, or will ever be, done with ease, but with difficulty! Let ready writers with any faculty in them lay this to heart. Is it with ease, or not with ease, that a man shall *do his best* in any shape; above all, in this shape, justly named, of 'soul's travail,' working in the deep places of thought, embodying the true out of the obscure and possible, environed on all sides with the uncreated false? Not so, now or at any time. The experience of all men belies it; the nature of things contradicts it. Virgil and Tacitus, were they ready writers? — Shakespeare, we may fancy, wrote with rapidity, but not till he had thought with intensity. Long and sore had this man thought, as the seeing eye may discern well, and had dwelt and wrestled amid dark pains and throes; though his great soul is silent about all that. It was for him to write rapidly at fit intervals, being ready to do it. And herein truly lies the secret of the matter: such swiftness of mere writing, after due energy of preparation, is doubtless the right method; the hot furnace having long worked and simmered, let the pure gold flow out at one gush. It was Shakespeare's plan — no easy writer he, or he had never been a Shakespeare. Neither was Milton one of the mob of gentlemen that write with ease; he did not attain Shakespeare's faculty, one perceives, of even writing fast *after* long preparation, but struggled while he wrote. Goethe, also, tells us he 'had nothing sent him in his sleep'; no page of his but he knew well how it came there. It is reckoned to be the best prose, accordingly, that has been written by any modern. Schiller, as an unfortunate, unhealthy man, 'könnte nie fertig werden, never could get done.' The noble genius of him struggled not wisely, but too well, and wore his life itself heroically out. Or did Petrarch write easily? Dante sees himself growing grey over his Divine Comedy, in stern, solitary death-wrestle with it, to prevail over it, and do it, if his uttermost faculty may; hence too it is done and prevailed over, and the fiery life of it endures forevermore among men. No; creation, one would think, cannot be easy. Your Jove has severe pains and fire-flames in the head out of which an armed Pallas is struggling! As for manufacture, that is a different matter, and may become easy or not easy, according as it is taken up. Yet of manufacture, too, the general truth is that, given the manufacturer, it will be worthy in direct proportion to the pains bestowed on it, and worthless always, or nearly so, with no pains. Cease, therefore, O ready writer, to brag openly of thy rapidity and facility; to thee (if thou be in the manufacturing line), it is a benefit, an increase of wages; but to me it

<sup>1</sup> The Ministry of the Gospel, v. 12.

is sheer loss, worsening of my pennyworth. Why wilt thou brag of it to me? Write easily, by steam, if thou canst contrive it, and canst sell it; but hide it like virtue."<sup>1</sup>

We do not deny that there are exceptional cases, in which a man may be justified in writing easily what but for some economical reason ought to be spoken extempore. Dean Stanley says of Dr. Arnold's sermons: "However much they may have occupied his previous thoughts, they were written almost invariably between the morning and afternoon service; and, though often under such stress of time that the ink of the last sentence was hardly dry when the chapel-bell ceased to sound, they contain hardly a single erasure, and the manuscript volumes remain as accessible a treasure to their possessors as if they were printed."<sup>2</sup> Powerful as these sermons were when read, they would have been more powerful, if the man who could write them so rapidly had been able to deliver them without his notes; and, useful as they now are, a smaller number of them would probably be more useful, if the labor which was extended over the many had been concentrated on the few. Some aged clergymen have left at their death five or six thousand manuscript sermons, all faithfully written out. If all the care expended on the thousands had been devoted to as many hundreds of sermons, they might now be of some use.

One of the formidable arguments against written sermons has originated from this fatal facility of composition. "A written preparation is a lazy substitute for that severe mental effort which would be necessary for extemporizing." "The habit of constant writing without much of any excitement" tends "to produce tameness of thought."<sup>3</sup> This objection is removed by the plan of elaborate composition as described in § 2. I. 1. An argument for that plan, is that it combines the excitement of extemporaneous with the accuracy of written discourse.

<sup>1</sup> Westminster Review, Vol. xxviii. pp. 338, 339.

<sup>2</sup> Memoir of Arnold, chap. iii.

<sup>3</sup> Quarterly Christian Spectator, Vol. v. p. 535.

## ARTICLE VII.

## NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

## PUBLICATIONS OF REV. ALEXANDER B. GROSART.

Some of our readers may be pleased to see the titles of works (constituting the Fuller Worthies' Library) edited by Rev. A. B. Grosart, pastor of St. George's United Presbyterian church, Blackburn, Lancashire, England. Mr. Grosart is a genuine lover of books, and especially of old books. The larger part of the works which he has edited are not published, but merely printed. Of the books printed on large sheets there were, originally, only one hundred and six copies; of the books printed on small sheets, only one hundred and fifty-six copies. They are edited with great care and skill, and some of them superbly printed. Mr. Grosart is yet engaged on his enterprise, and is preparing editions of other works which promise to be highly interesting. Of the volumes which he has already printed the following, in addition to the Selections from the Writings of Jonathan Edwards noticed on pages 191-193, are now before us :

The Poems of Thomas Washbourne, D.D. 8vo. pp. 236. — Mr. Grosart's Memorial, Introduction, and Notes occupy 43 pages. — The antiquarian will be interested in the minutiae of this and the other Introductions of the "Library."

The Poems of Sir John Beaumont, Bart. 8vo. pp. 397. — The strong religious feeling of Sir John is expressed in such lines as the following, in his poem on Sin :

"The sinner will destroy God, if he can;  
Oh, what hath God deserved of thee, poor man,  
That thou should'st boldly strive to pull him down  
From his high throne, and take away his crown." — p. 91.

The Works in Verse and Prose of Sir John Davies. — The volume of his poems is the only one yet received by us. 8vo. pp. 477.

The Poems of Giles Fletcher, B.D. 8vo. pp. 243. — To these poems are prefixed Mr. Grosart's Memorial, Introduction, and Notes. pp. 86.

The Poems of Joseph Fletcher, M.A., Rector of Wilby, Suffolk. 8vo. pp. 258.

The Poems of Phineas Fletcher, B.D., Rector of Hilgay, Norfolk, in four large octavo volumes. — The first volume contains Mr. Grosart's Memoir of the Fletchers; an Essay on their Poetry; an Essay on the

question: Who wrote Brittain's *Ida*? Then follows the poem, Brittain's *Ida*.

The Works in Verse and Prose complete of the Right Honorable Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, in four large octavo volumes.—We have seen only two of these volumes, and do not know that the others have been printed. The first volume contains a Memorial, Introduction, etc., of 100 pages.

A Duodecimo Volume, containing (1) "What we must do to be saved. By Richard Baxter." pp. 48; (2) "Annotated List of the Writings of Richard Baxter, made from Copies of the Books and Tractates themselves." pp. 56. —Mr. Grosart says that Mr. Baxter's writings amount to about 200 "distinct publications." He quotes Dr. Barrow as saying: Baxter's "practical writings were never mended, and his controversial ones seldom refuted."

The Works of Michael Bruce. With Memoir and Notes. 12mo. pp. 383. —The Memoir and Notes occupy one hundred and twenty of these pages. Some of the stanzas of Michael Bruce are as familiar as household words. Thus the stanza generally ascribed to Logan really belongs to Bruce:

"The beam that shines from Zion's hill  
Shall lighten every land;  
The King who reigns in Salem's towers  
Shall all the world command."

The Poems and Translations in Verse (including fifty-nine hitherto unpublished epigrams) of Thomas Fuller, D.D., and his much-wished Form of Prayer. For the first time collected and edited, with Introduction and Notes. 12mo. pp. 244.

Lord Bacon not the Author of "The Christian Paradoxes"; being a reprint of "Memorials of Godliness and Christianity." By Herbert Palmer, B.D. With Introduction, Memoir, and Notes. 8vo. pp. 126. —These Paradoxes continue to be published as Lord Bacon's. Many of them appear in a work published in 1862, entitled "Thoughts on Holy Scripture. By Francis Bacon, Lord Chancellor of England. Compiled by John G. Hall, Pastor of the Reformed Dutch Church, Fort Plain, New York." The historian Ritter regarded them as the genuine writings of Bacon. They are clearly not Bacon's, but Palmer's.

Mr. Grosart has not only edited the works of many old writers, but has also published several original volumes. The following lie on our table:

The Lambs all Safe; or, the Salvation of Children. Third edition, with considerable additions. 18mo. Cloth antique.

Drowned: a Sermon in Memorial of the Death by Drowning in Lochleven of Mr. John Douglas. Third edition. 8vo.

Joining the Church; or, Materials for Conversations between a Minister and Intending Communicants. Second edition. 18mo. Cloth antique.

The Blind Beggar by the Wayside. pp. 47.

Hymns.

Nisi Dominus Frustra. A Sermon. pp. 37.

"Drowned." "What if it had been me?" A Sermon. pp. 16.

The Prince of Light and the Prince of Darkness in conflict; or, the Temptation of Christ. Newly translated, explained, illustrated, and applied. 12mo. pp. 360.

The Key-bearer. The Crucified. Two Sermons. The latter by the Rev. William M. Kerrow, D.D., Manchester; the former by the Rev. A. B. Grosart. 12mo. pp. 124.

A CRITICAL EXPOSITION OF THE THIRD CHAPTER OF PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS. A Monograph. By James Morison, D.D. 8vo. pp. 422. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co.; Glasgow: T. D. Morison. 1866.

This is an elaborate interpretation of the chapter which Martin Luther characterises as "the central and most important passage of the epistle, and indeed of the entire scriptures." John Calvin says: "There is probably no passage in the whole Bible of greater significance as regards the justifying righteousness of God." Dr. Morison examines the different clauses and "clausules" of this third chapter with apparent candor and with sound judgment. He devotes twenty-four pages to the word *ἱλαστήριον*, which he regards as "an adjective, retaining its primary adjectival import and force," and he translates the first clause of the twenty-fifth verse thus: "Whom God set (publicly) forth (as) propitiatory (available) through faith in his blood" (see pp. xv. and 303). He closes his interesting discussion of this word with the following remarks: "Propitiation assumes, indeed, that the Great Moral Governor — considered personally, and as distinct from his abstract moral government — has been displeased. It assumes that he has been greatly offended. And greatly offended God has really been — offended at rebellion and with rebels. His infinite heart has been stirred. His infinite conscience has been aroused. His holy indignation has sprung up and gone forth. But other feelings and other principles were at work all the time, and thence arose the idea and the scheme of propitiation. In the accepted propitiation the divine anger has been so turned away that God is now willing, and ready, and eager to forgive the guiltiest of the guilty, treating them for eternity as if they had never sinned. He is willing, ready, and eager, in consideration of the propitiation, to render them who had madly made themselves liable to everlasting death the heirs of everlasting life. The propitiatory work of Christ is thus that great unique fact in the divine moral government in consideration of which God, as the great moral governor, is willing and ready to forgive. Such is its essential nature.



But let it ever be borne in mind that it was in virtue of a self-originated desire in the divine heart — a desire to be willing to forgive — that God himself devised the scheme of propitiation" (p. 305).

A large part of the volume is devoted to a criticism on the opinions of other expositors. Some of these opinions are worthy of refutation; others are a burlesque on exegesis. In his comment on the fourth verse, the meaning of which is: "Be sure that God is true, even though every man should prove to be a liar," Dr. Morison says: "Hence we need not start the question, with Origen, Whether, if every man be a liar, Paul and the Psalmist themselves were not liars; and liars, too, when they said that *every man is a liar*. Neither need we try to answer this question, with the hyper-ingenuity of Origen, by appealing to John x. 34, 35, 'Jesus answered them, Is it not written in your law, I said, *Ye are gods*? If he called them *gods*, unto whom the word of God came, and the scripture cannot be broken,' etc. 'The word of God,' says Origen, 'came to David and Paul;' and therefore 'they were *not men, but gods*,' (*sine dubio non erant homines, sed dei*); and thus they were not liars when they said that *every man is a liar*. Nor need we start Augustine's question. The martyrs, he said, were called martyrs because they died for the witness which they bore to the truth. But how, he asks, can we be warranted to regard them as having borne witness to the truth, if the scripture itself be true, which says that *every man is a liar*. If the martyrs, he argues, were not liars, we seem to make the scripture to lie; and if they were liars, then they were not witnesses for the truth. He tells us that he will labor (*laborabimus*) to solve the difficulty. And, after ringing abundant changes upon escaping from a lie on the right hand, or a lie on the left, he finds an end to his labor, and a key to the mystery, in the words of our Lord: 'When they deliver you up, take no thought how or what ye shall speak, for it shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall speak; for it is not ye that speak, but the spirit of your Father, which speaketh in you.' Lo, here, exclaims the delighted casuist, is the reason why the martyrs were not liars in their testimony, — *it was not they who spake, it was the Holy Spirit*. (*Ecce quare veraces fuerunt; quia non ipsi loquebantur, sed Spiritus Domini*. — Sermo, 328, in *Natali Martyrum*.) But the difficulty, though thus adroitly and edifyingly got rid of, in the particular case of the martyrs, went forth at large, and roamed far and wide through the ages. It met Abelard in a peculiar way: Since, says he, it is true that *every man is a liar*, what are we to think of the man Christ Jesus? Was it possible for him to lie? He was too reverent to ask, Was he a liar? On such a subject the subtle Doctor had to pick his steps with carefulness; for the cry of heresy might have burst out on the right hand or on the left. So he made, in true schoolman-style, a *distinction*, and determined that the manhood of Christ, considered *simpliciter*, labored under no impossibility of lying or otherwise sinning, else he would have been destitute of free-

will (*libero videtur privatus arbitrio, et necessitate potius quam voluntate peccatum cavere*); but when we think of the natures of Christ in their union, or *compliciter* as we might say, we must come, he admits, to the conclusion that he was absolutely impeccable. Jerome took a different way of getting out of the difficulty — the way of a grammarian. The words *all* and *every*, he says, do not always denote absolute universality (*non ad universitatem referunt*), and the real meaning of the declaration, ‘Every man is a liar,’ is, he thinks, ‘*a great part of men are liars.*’ (*Omnes sic accipiendi sunt, quod magna pars hominum mentiatur.* — *Com. in Eph. i. 22, 23.*) Pelagius agreed with Jerome. The word ‘every,’ he says, is used for ‘the greater part,’ (*hic omnes pro maxima parte dicit*). But all these exegetical expedients, from Origen’s onward, are merely ingenious efforts to cook, for our digestion, theological chickens which have never been hatched, and which have not even existed in embryo within the egg” (pp. 37–39).

The style of this volume is not so pure as we could wish. The author devotes himself to “a somewhat thorough and fundamental *expiscation* of the apostle’s teachings” (p. ix). Still it is a work of great and undoubted ability.

#### THE DOCTRINE OF HOLY SCRIPTURE RESPECTING THE ATONEMENT.

By Thomas J. Crawford, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh. 8vo. pp. 508. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1871.

Much learning and also much acumen are manifested in this treatise. The author denies the distinction between distributive and rectoral justice, and he states that the atonement satisfies the justice (of course the distributive, as well as rectoral) of God. Still, he defines the statement thus: “The sufferings of Christ, although they were not the very penalty which God was entitled to demand from the transgressors of his law, have yet been appointed and accepted by him in the place of it” (p. 179). The statement as thus defined would be accepted by such divines as Dr. Wardlaw. Professor Crawford teaches that the sufferings of Christ were penal, but seems to regard it as immaterial whether they were the penalty which we had incurred, or an equivalent for it — an *idem* or a *tantundem* (p. 185). What Christ suffered (the professor teaches) would have been called a punishment if it had been suffered by the sinners in whose place he stood, and was therefore an adequate equivalent for that punishment. But may not the *chastisement* of Christ be an equivalent for the *punishment* of sinners? It is said that Christ’s sufferings were penal, because they were inflicted judicially. But the word “judicial” is here used with the same ambiguity which attends the word “penal.” Judgments are inflicted in this world on the most faithful Christian. They are termed just judgments of God. They are said to be inflicted judicially. Yet the phrase

"just judgments" are said to be "chastisements," and the word "judicially" is explained as denoting the fact that God inflicts them as tokens of his displeasure at sin. Thus we are confident that a large part of the controversy between the advocates of the "legal," and the advocates of the "governmental" theory of the atonement is a controversy about words, rather than things.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE ATONEMENT, AS TAUGHT BY THE APOSTLES ; or, the Sayings of the Apostles Exegetically Expounded, with Historical Appendix. By Rev. George Smeaton, D.D., Professor of Exegetical Theology, New College, Edinburgh. 8vo. pp. 548. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark; New York: Scribner, Welford, and Co. 1870.

The design of this volume is to explain the sayings of the apostles, as the design of a previous volume of Dr. Smeaton was to explain the sayings of Christ, in regard to the atonement. It forms one section of biblical theology, as distinguished from dogmatic theology. The distinction, however, is in Dr. Smeaton's volumes one of form and proportion, rather than of substance. Dogmatic discussions are introduced into his volumes, while the biblical explanations are the more numerous and conspicuous. In a dogmatic treatise the same biblical interpretations might be introduced, while the logical formulæ and divisions would be the more apparent. We welcome the present and the preceding volume of Dr. Smeaton as valuable contributions to the literature of the doctrine of the atonement. We think, however, that his style is not always perspicuous, his representations of other authors are not always accurate, and his theories of the atonement are not always sustained by the scriptures. In the main, however, the present, as the preceding, volume will exert a good influence.

CULTURE AND RELIGION IN SOME OF THEIR RELATIONS. By J. C. Shairp, Principal of the United College of St. Salvator and St. Leonard, St. Andrews. [Reprinted from the Edinburgh edition.] 16mo. pp. 197. New York: Hurd and Houghton; Cambridge: Riverside Press. 1871.

Few volumes contain so many wise lessons so gracefully expressed. The thoughts of Principal Shairp are generally sound, often deep; the tone of the whole volume is eminently healthful and Christian.

BIBLICAL THEOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. By Christian Friedrich Schmid, D.D., late Professor of Theology, Tübingen. Translated from the Fourth German Edition, edited by C. Weizäcker, D.D., by G. H. Venables. 8vo. pp. 558. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark; New York: Charles Scribner and Co. 1870.

Biblical theology is a topical arrangement of Biblical commentary. It is a classification of scriptural statements, not according to the place in

which they are made, but according to the ideas which they respectively convey. It does not introduce the scientific theories which have been associated by dogmatic theologians with these statements, but explains the statements, and leaves them to be scientifically arranged, if they can be, by logical thinkers. It distinguishes between the shading of truths as it is given by Paul, and the shading of the same truths as given by John, between the form which a truth received at one period and the form which it received at another period of the apostolic era. Dr. Schmid has made, in the volume before us, various discriminations which are important. We welcome the translation and republication of his volume, as affording valuable aid to English and American theologians who have not thus far devoted special attention to this form of theology.

**COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.** By Franz Delitzsch, D.D., Professor of Theology, Leipsig. Translated from the German By Thomas L. Kingsbury, M.A. Vol. II. 8vo. pp. 494. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark; London: Hamilton and Co; Dublin: John Robertson and Co.; New York: Scribner, Welford, and Co.

The learning of Dr. Delitzsch, especially in Jewish literature, well qualifies him to write on the Epistle to the Hebrews. His Commentary on this Epistle will be long regarded as a standard work. Where we do not agree with him we derive information from him. The two dissertations and appendices at the close of the volume have a special value.

**SCIENCE AND THE GOSPEL; or, The Church and the Nations.** A Series of Essays on great Catholic Questions. 16mo. pp. 603. London: Macmillan and Co., and Anglican and International Christian Moral Science Association. 1870.

We have been able to read only the third Essay in this volume, that is, the Essay entitled: "What is Christian Moral Science? or, The Nature and Province of Christian Ethics defined and determined" (pp. 243-449). It is a learned and profound treatise, written by Rev. Dr. Clark, an English minister now residing in Germany.

**CYCLOPAEDIA OF BIBLICAL, THEOLOGICAL, AND ECCLESIASTICAL LITERATURE.** Prepared by Rev. John M'Clintock, D.D., and James Strong, LL.D. 8vo. Vol. II., C, D, pp. 941; Vol. III. E, F, G, pp. 1050. New York; Harper and Brothers.

We have already expressed our high appreciation of the first volume of this Cyclopaedia. The present volumes fulfil the promise of the first. The articles evince candor and discrimination. Many of them are the results of extensive learning. The editors of the work have not been influenced by denominational partialities. The views of different parties and schools are represented by their different advocates. The work may therefore be recommended to clergymen of different sects.



ENGLISH, PAST AND PRESENT. Eight Lectures by Richard Chenevix Trench, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. Seventh edition; revised and improved. 12mo. pp. 360. New York: Charles Scribner and Co. 1870.

We are glad to see a new and revised edition of this well-known and important volume.

LIBRARY OF OLD ENGLISH DIVINES. — South's Sermons. Vols. IV. and V. New York: Published by Hurd and Houghton. Cambridge: Riverside Press. 1871.

These volumes complete the excellent edition of South's Sermons, edited by Professor Shedd. Robert South was born in the village of Hackney, near London, in 1633. He died on the 8th of July, 1716, at the great age of 83. His life covered a very important and exciting period of English history. He was educated at Westminster — then under the care of Dr. Busby — and at Christ Church, Oxford. In 1660 he was chosen public orator of the University, his classical attainments and mental superiority being already acknowledged. In 1661 he was appointed chaplain to Lord Clarendon, and in 1663 became prebendary of Westminster. He afterwards became chaplain to the Duke of York, and in 1670 was made canon of Christ Church, Oxford. He is said to have refused repeated offers of a bishopric, and, though a staunch and vehement defender of the royal prerogatives, evidently held his opinions uninfluenced by hopes of emoluments, or fears of personal loss.

Dr. South will not be read for his theology, nor for his piety; not because he will stimulate the religious affections, or reclaim the erring. But he will be read for his strength and directness, his wit and sarcasm, his sound sense and vigorous language, and a certain masculine freedom and power. His writings offer one of the best antidotes to a weak and sentimental style of composition, and have a certain vitality which stimulates even dullness itself.

In this day of Darwinism it is pleasant, at least, to read his assertion of man's primal dignity when he says, speaking of the creation of man in God's image: "An Aristotle was but the rubbish of an Adam, and Athens but the rudiments of Paradise." On the fall and degradation of man he says, in the same discourse: "What prodigious, monstrous, misshapen births has the reason of fallen man produced! It is now almost six thousand years, that far the greatest part of the world has had no other religion but idolatry; and idolatry certainly is the first-born of folly, the great and leading paradox; nay, the very abridgment and sum total of all absurdities. For, is it not strange that a rational man should worship an ox; nay, the image of an ox? that he should fawn upon his dog? bow himself before a cat; adore leeks and garlic, and shed penitential tears at the smell of a deified onion? Yet so did the Egyptians, once the famed masters of all arts and learning; and, to go a little further, we have yet a



stranger instance in Isaiah xlv. : *A man hews him down a tree in the wood, and part of it he burns ; with the residue thereof he maketh a god. With one part he furnishes his chimney, with the other his chapel. A strange thing that the fire must first consume this part, and then burn incense to that ; as if there was more divinity in one end of the stick than in the other ; or, as if it could be graved and painted omnipotent, or the nails and hammer could give it an apotheosis."*

Dr. South was, undoubtedly, one of the most influential preachers and ecclesiastics of his day, and his sermons, apart from their intrinsic merits, have also historic importance.

THE LIFE OF NATHANIEL GREENE, MAJOR-GENERAL IN THE ARMY OF THE REVOLUTION. By George Washington Greene, author of "Historical View of the American Revolution," "Historical Studies," etc. In three vols. 8vo. pp. 607, 523, 582. New York: Hurd and Houghton; Cambridge: Riverside Press. 1871.

No one can form a right estimate of the Revolutionary War as a whole, without consulting these volumes. The personal character of General Greene is a good specimen of the fibre which characterized our early heroes and statesmen. Many passages in this rich Memoir are beautifully written, the last not least. We have been particularly interested in glimpses which the Memoir affords us into the private life of Greene, his study of Locke's Essay and of Watts's Logic ; his early, but brief interviews with Judge David Howell, Dr. Ezra Stiles, Lindley Murray ; his feelings in view of being "read out of meeting," etc., etc. The religious associations of our revolutionary fathers are finely illustrated in the account of the "Thursday lecture" in the "old brick meeting-house" in Boston. These, however, are but incidents in the narrative ; the main design of which is to illustrate the relation of General Greene to our country and to the other eminent men who labored for our national independence. This design is faithfully executed.

ILLUSTRATED LIBRARY OF WONDERS. New York: Charles Scribner and Co.

This series of volumes is well fitted to interest and instruct, not only the young, but a class of adults who cannot find the time for extended scientific treatises. We have no doubt that a similar series of works might be prepared for our Sabbath-schools, and might take the place of that fictitious literature which now threatens to emasculate the religious community. The enterprising publishers of this series deserve the thanks of the literary, and above all the religious, public for so many volumes combining rich entertainment with solid profit. Whether such books be remunerative or not to the publishers, they are eminently conducive to the intellectual and moral elevation of the community. We have received

the following volumes of the series: *Wonders of Bodily Strength and Skill*. Translated and enlarged from the French of Guillaume Depping by Charles Russell. — *The Phenomena and Laws of Heat*. By Achille Cazin. Translated and edited by Elihu Rich. — *Thunder and Lightning*. By W. DeFonville. Translated from the French and edited by T. L. Phipson. — *Wonderful Escapes*. Revised from the French of F. Bernhard, and original chapters added by Richard Whiteing — *Wonderful Balloon Ascents*. From the French of F. Marion. — *The Wonders of Engraving*. By Georges Duplessis. — *The Wonders of the Heavens*. By Camille Flammarion. From the French, by Mrs. Norman Lockyer — *The Wonders of Optics*. By F. Marion. Translated from the French and edited by Charles W. Quin. — *Wonders of European Art*. By Louis Viadort.

In addition to the volumes noticed above from the press of Hurd and Houghton, we have received the following: *JOURNAL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE*; containing the Transactions of the American Association. Number III. 8vo. pp. 246. 1871. Very valuable papers are contained in this volume. Especially interesting are those on "Art Education in America"; "Representation of Minorities"; "Minority Representation in Europe"; and "Houses in the Country for Working Men." — *THE CHILDREN'S CRUSADE*; an Episode of the Thirteenth Century. By George Zabriskie Gray. 16mo. pp. 238. An interesting and instructive volume, prepared with scholarly caution; well characterized as a "unique chapter in history," "an episode of the thirteenth century." — *SIX BOYS: A Mother's Story*, as told in Extracts from her Journal. 12mo. pp. 339. Boston: American Tract Society. — *BIBLE SKETCHES AND THEIR TEACHINGS*. For Young People. By Samuel G. Green, B.A. Third Series. *The Life of Christ upon Earth*. 16mo. pp. 296. Boston: American Tract Society. — *STORIES AND TALES*. By Hans Christian Andersen, author of "Wonder Stories told for Children." Illustrated by M. L. Stone and V. Pedersen. Author's edition. 16mo. pp. 551. — *THE STORY OF MY LIFE*. By Hans Christian Andersen, author of "The Improvisatore," "Wonder Stories told for Children," etc. Now first translated into English. Author's edition. 16mo. pp. 581. — It is needless to say that these two volumes of Andersen hold a preëminent rank in the species of literature to which they belong.

THE  
BIBLIOTHECA SACRA.

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ARTICLE I.

PREHISTORIC LITERATURE.

BY PROF. W. A. STEVENS, M.A., DENISON UNIVERSITY, GRANVILLE, OHIO.

LATE years have done much in the way of research and criticism to throw light on the literary beginnings of nations. Despite the demands of modern literature and science our age is busy as never before with the products of primitive thought. There is a vast reading public with the *Iliad* in its hands in the noble English of Bryant and of Derby; there are repeated versions of the Scandinavian Sagas, of the German Lay of the Nibelungs; Müller is toiling to render accessible to us the songs of the remote Hindu Rig-vêda; Tennyson interprets anew the Celtic legends of Arthur; the Occident and Orient, the steppes of Russia and the wilds of Tartary are explored for such poetic relics as they may have preserved. We design in the following pages to bring together, and appropriate to use, some results of comparatively recent criticism in the field of prehistoric literature. The discussion may prove of incidental value to the student of early English poetry; it will deal directly and especially with the question concerning the literary character of the Homeric poems; it will assist to apprehend more clearly the real nature of a favorite rationalistic theory of biblical interpretation.

Such a discussion can hardly avoid reference to the poems of Homer at the outset. For it is to Homeric studies that we are chiefly indebted for the most influential movement in literary and historical criticism of the present century. That the result and positive value of this movement are still sufficiently far from being recognized, we need not look far for proof. Mr. Gladstone's *Juventus Mundi* is a confirmatory instance. Commend itself as it may to our acceptance as Homeric fruit from modern soil with modern methods, it is yet in its spirit an exponent of an old school of thought, and in so far, is a century behind its time. It shows in this respect little improvement on the earlier and larger work of which it is an abridged revision. There are some considerations on the date and origin of the Homeric poems, which, although not demonstrated facts, have a generally admitted value, that Mr. Gladstone has omitted to recognize. Several of the more important conclusions at which he arrives are seriously vitiated by this defect of view. It must be admitted, however, he has re-wrought old mines to good purpose, striking new veins, and smelting over ancient slag-heaps, with a considerable product of solid ingots. The *Juventus Mundi* rightly treats of Homer as "historic song." Homer "has probably told us more about the world and its inhabitants at his own epoch than any historian that ever lived." Gladstone's work accordingly becomes a valuable common-place book of fact and inference bearing on the worship, social life, and culture of the heroic age of Hellas. Such materials are invested with additional value in a time like the present, when history with new constructive facilities is flinging its pontoons far towards the other margin of a prehistoric past.

But the history of the poems themselves has an interest, even deeper and requires profounder research. The genesis of such extraordinary phenomena of human thought would seem to have a deeper significance to the philosophic inquirer than could any collection of the external incidents of history. That epic impulse, which, striking on the Grecian mind, has passed down through all the western world with

ceaseless energy and widening influence, where did it originate, and what forces dominated at its birth? Critical research in this direction started the intellectual agitation which dates from the issue of Wolf's "*Prølegomena ad Homerum*" in 1795. By virtue of this movement the Homeric poems hold a relation to the thinking of the nineteenth century different from any preceding one; they have indirectly rendered effective assistance in the "intellectual deliverance," if we may use Matthew Arnold's phrase, of this century, and inaugurated a permanent advance along the whole line of critical science.

Professor Blackie several years ago wrote: "The name of Wolf in connection with Greek literature, and of Niebuhr in reference to Roman history, wear a significance that extends far beyond the particular spheres where their gigantic critical excavations were conducted. If the Wolfian theory with regard to the origin and composition of the Homeric poems be looked at beyond the surface, it will be found to underlie a great number of the most important literary, historical, and theological questions that stir the mind of England at the present hour."<sup>1</sup> These remarks are suggestive as coming from one who does not accept the theory. The year 1795 is as much an epoch in the history of critical thought, as is 1789 in political history. The revolution then begun is beyond doubt the most suggestive phenomenon connected with the development of classical studies since their revival in the Middle Ages.

Of Wolf himself, and his one book, both possessing a career of singular interest, we should be glad to speak further. But we hasten from this historic reference to consider the subject of early popular literature, particularly epic poetry, as illustrated and brought into prominence by the advancing investigations of comparative criticism.

It has puzzled many a critic and many a thoughtful reader to analyze the felt difference between such poems as, for instance, the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid*, a difference similar to

<sup>1</sup> *Homer and the Iliad* (Edinburgh, 1866), Dissertation vi.



that recognized between the earliest ballads of Chevy-Chace, and one of Walter Scott's border lays. Without attempting to enumerate specific diversities, one production is like a wild forest, the other like a planted grove. In one an artificial, reflective element is far more conspicuous than in the other. One is nature and one art to a degree which an intervening distance of time or of progressive culture does not wholly account for. In reality they belong to two distinct classes of poetry, generically alike, but with marked specific differences. One of these classes criticism recognizes as an individual or personal product, the other as peculiarly collective or, so to speak, impersonal in its origin. In epic poetry, to which we wish to devote special attention, we have what the Germans call the *Kunstepos* and the *Volksepos*, the epic poem of art, and the popular epos. What an epic poem in the ordinary sense is, let Blair and the books of rhetoric define according to the recognized canons. Such are the *Aeneid*, the *Divine Comedy*, the *Jerusalem Delivered*, the *Henriad*, the *Messiah*, the *Paradise Lost*. The popular epic, the character of which we are to consider, differs from these. The national epos of Germany is transmitted to us, imperfectly and in part, in the *Nibelungenlied*, that of France in the *Chansons de Geste* of Charlemagne.

A Celtic epos once celebrated in its heroic verse the achievements of its renowned King Arthur, his race, and his chiefs. Long before the *Chronicle* of Geoffrey of Monmouth, before English was a language, before the Briton and the Saxon had coalesced into a nation, the *Morte d'Arthur* and the legends of the Holy Vessel were sung in rude, wild, epic strains by pagan bards in the wilds of Wales and Britain. As Christianity prevailed, the pagan conceptions of this literature were gradually in part eliminated. By the time of the Middle Ages these had become a body of written poetry in most of the languages of Europe, and had been recast in the moulds of ecclesiastical thought and tradition. In the Tennysonian *Idylls* it has emerged again into the common literature of Christendom, dowered with gifts alike

of classic and of modern culture. It is upon the stock of a decaying popular epos that this rare flower of contemporary poetry has budded. It is a "spear of thought" whose fashioning was in the deeps of the past; like the famous brand Excalibar, held out to its destined hero by

"An arm,  
Rising from out the bosom of the lake,  
Clothed in white samite, mystic, wonderful,"

this cycle of legend, rich in historic as well as transcendent moral meanings, was brought through unknown hands to the top of time. Happy are we that the hero-poet came who could pluck and wield it.

#### THE NATIONAL EPOS.

It is a familiar fact that the earliest literature of a race is poetry. Nations with an early history unsevered by external violence have each had a literature, if we may call it so, antecedent to writing and literary cultivation. This oral literature springs up as poetry. The preservative power of rhythmic form suggests at once a reason, in the fact that such literature is exclusively selected by the memory for transmission. But beyond this it is to be remembered, that at that period the state of life and language is such as to favor in a high degree imaginative production. The Hindus had at a very early date a body of religious and epic poetry, which was preserved and transmitted orally from generation to generation. Legend, fable, incident, and chronicle take poetic form. It may be lyric, or it may be epic, or combine the features of both, but will naturally be chiefly epic, inasmuch as it embraces themes of common and national interest. That which is distinctively epic will contain the historic reminiscence of a people, its grander conceptions, the primal facts of its social and religious system. It will embrace the higher themes of what in German is called the *Sage*.<sup>1</sup> We may therefore define the national epos of a people to be *the*

<sup>1</sup> *Sage*, which we faintly render in English by *legend*, may be defined: a traditional story reciting the supposed events of a mythologic or heroic foretime.

*collective epic poetry produced by the illiterate popular mind, and embodying the heroic and mythologic traditions of its race.*

What then distinguishes the national epos, or popular epic poetry, from other forms of poetic literature? In the endeavor to fix upon some of its fundamental characteristics we note:

First, it is prehistoric. That is, it is prior to the era of written records among the people where it originates. An age becomes historic in the sense implied, only when it records its acts. Till then the spirit of tradition is dominant, a spirit antagonistic to that of history. The employment of written documents fixing events accurately and in sequence evokes a hitherto latent historic sense, and at once places the mind in a changed relation to the past. Now the epos belongs to the age of oral tradition, and where it arises, necessarily precedes history. With the advent of writing and history it dies upon the air, or else, transferred to manuscript, is preserved, as it were, in a fossil state. Of the ancient Hindu tradition a vast amount has been thus preserved in the Vêdas, in the epic poem of the Mahâbhârata, and others. Among the Britons, on the other hand, the lays and tales of the bard have flown beyond recall, and the songs have perished with the singer.

It should be borne in mind, however, that in certain social conditions, the two periods of intellectual development which we have spoken of as chronologically distinct, may co-exist in the same country, and among people of the same race. The great popular mass may remain untouched by a literary culture which has already long ago reached a certain class. Thus in feudal Europe so broad a chasm lay between serf and lord, that we find in the closest proximity two types and states of society ideally distant; the intellectual phenomena of a period of oral tradition and of historic culture appear side by side. Among the Germans a written literature of considerable extent found its way into court and castle, while the Lay of the Nibelungs and a wealth of lyric folk-song

lived on the lips of an unlettered peasantry. A striking example is also afforded in the Russian popular poetry which we shall presently mention.

Second, it is for a listening, not a reading public. We are to conceive of it as being invariably sung or chanted to assembled hearers. This exclusively oral character of the popular epos, while it accounts for various peculiarities of its style, also assists to interpret its inner spirit. Indeed, it is an essential condition of its vitality. For it lives on the popular faith, and this departs as reading and discipline come in. With the dawn of letters its muses vanish as ghosts at cock-crow. It is not so much that reading thenceforward precludes listening, or recitation, but the critical faculty developed by the accurate and permanent notation of thought destroys the faith which keeps such poetry growing.

As to form, it will be of a high order of rhythmic excellence. The ear of the hearer is more fastidious than that of the reader, and demands more perfect harmony and movement. Despite the rudeness of the age a polishing process advances with unconscious rapidity. Words and lines multiply in which the sound is echo of the sense. Accordingly a language with a long period of oral poetry in process of formation is inevitably far richer thereby in poetic forms. Students of German literature are aware how the numerous folk-songs, as well as the ballads of the Minne-singers, of whom many could neither read nor write, have enriched the rhythmic resources of the language.

From this oral poetry the dramatic element is inseparable. Macaulay's illustration is familiar, of how children and servants relate history. "Their *says hes* and *says shes* are proverbial." Yet accurately speaking this is due not so much to their being either children or servants, as because the uncultured mind, however logical it may be, develops imagination rather than reflection. It sees things, and talks in pictures. Along with a certain dramatic character, repetition also will be a marked feature. The ear welcomes refrains and choruses in popular melodies, though the reader

of the same melodies skips them. To the bard such lines and passages are welcome as the rhetorical resting-places of invention and memory. His rapt hearer anticipates them with peculiar pleasure. If the action leads to the seashore he listens eagerly for some old sonorous phrase descriptive of the "many-dashing ocean side." These repetitions are the frames in which the picture is set,—models of art in their way, but not the picture itself.

In the third place we mention, that it addresses itself to the appreciation and belief of the mass of the people at the time. The poet cannot, like Bacon, write for posterity, or with the conscious security of Thucydides, transmit his work to future ages as an everlasting possession. He may be in advance of his age, but it is that age which must hear him, or none. By native force of mind he may tower above the multitude around him, but to this multitude, and not to a select few, he must address himself.

Hence this poetry is unreflective. It gives results, not processes. It conveys great truths without reasoning upon them. No moral is aimed at, nor does it seek directly to

"Assert eternal Providence,  
And justify the ways of God to men."

Its range of observation is that of popular life. It does not roam for illustration beyond what the average man sees and knows. If we should imagine the bard possessed of the learning of books, he would nevertheless not use it.

It also accepts and rests upon popular beliefs. It is foreign to its very nature to teach new truth. At least, the bard does not in his own person assume to add to the sum of current knowledge and belief; he does not speak with prophetic voice for Zeus, but is the muse's interpreter, rehearsing from her lips the storied traditions of his own people. Hence the popular epos is not directly creative. It does not so much newly invent, as embellish already accepted facts. The very conditions under which it exists require us to conceive of it as presenting current beliefs, not at all as being either the propagator of new or the destroyer of old.



Not that its statements are necessarily true as they stand, or even have an original basis of truth,—that is another matter,—only that when taken up into the epos they are already believed as such. A primitive Munchausen may have fabricated *de novo* marvellous accounts of one-eyed giants or talking horses; but the popular poetry that we speak of does not permanently absorb these accounts, until they have passed into accepted tradition. Thus an epos does not give birth to a system of religion; it does not mould a mythology. It rather presupposes a religious system already determined, just as it presupposes a distinct people; for a determinate mythology or religious system is a fundamental condition of an organic national life. Renan, indeed, goes so far as to say that a polytheistic mythology is essential to the development of a national epos, and accounts for its absence in the Semitic races by the monotheistic type of their religion.

It is from this point of view (although we are here partly anticipating a stage of the argument not yet reached) that we take exception to a position earnestly maintained by Mr. Gladstone, in the profoundly interesting chapters which treat of the Olympian system or the Greek religion. He declares, at the outset: “Homer was the maker, not only of poems, but also, in a degree never equalled by any other poet, 1. of a language; 2. of a nation; 3. of a religion.”

This startling statement is not meant, however, to be taken too literally, and is afterwards modified: viz. “In this process of construction, the actual belief, traditions, and tendencies of the people, could not but be the chief determining force. But the potent mind and imagination of the poet, in all likelihood, exercised an influence in modifying the stages and fixing the consummation of the process, which, if secondary and subsidiary only with reference to the powers before mentioned, may still be justly supposed to have been far greater than any ever wielded by any other Greek, whether legislator, poet, or philosopher.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Juventus Mundi*, chap. vii

Still, what he attributes to individual influence is seen further on, when he says that Homer “exercised an immense influence in the construction of the Greek religion. It became with him, what it probably had never been before, and what it was not in the works of any later writer, a most gorgeous and imposing, and even, in a certain sense, a highly self-consistent whole; containing in itself, without doubt, many weak and many tarnished elements, but yet serving in an important degree the purpose of a religion to control the passions and acts of men.

“The Olympian system of Homer is eminently what Horace describes as :

‘Speciosa locis morataque recte  
Fabula.’

It is wrought out with pains and care, full of character and individuality, marvellous alike in the grandeur and in the weaknesses of its personages — a work, in the very highest sense, that is applicable to any human production, of true and vast creative power.”

Now, the view thus set forth by the distinguished statesman seems, with any construction that can be legitimately put upon it, to rest upon the slightest possible foundation. As far as it concerns language, the merest tyro in comparative philology needs not be told that it is utterly at variance with ascertained laws of linguistic growth. Waiving the question of the authorship of the Homeric poems, no such extended effect on language as is implied could be produced by a bard whose poems were neither written or printed. Still less is such a view consonant with the circumstances of literary production at that age and in the existing culture of the Greek race, if we are to attach any weight to the principles laid down in our present discussion. That it does not accord with the laws of mythologic development may, we think, also be clearly proved.

We mention, as a fourth characteristic of this epic literature, its perfect freedom and unreserve — its *naïveté*. This is incident to the period in which it originates. Society is

as yet unvisited by culture, and not fenced round by the reserves of a more polished age. The minstrel and his listeners are alike happily ignorant of the fact that language is an instrument for the concealment of thought. Their utterances are, accordingly, direct and thoroughly *naïve*. "Indecorous! Homer never wrote that," was the dictum of old Zenodotus, when a passage transcended the proprieties, as he thought; and away went the stylus through the offending lines. It would never do to have Achilles address the monarch in command with such words as:

"Thou sot, with eye of dog and heart of deer!  
Who never dar'st to lead in armed fight  
The assembled host."

The *naïveté* of early poetry is hardly capable of description or analysis. It must be perceived and felt. It is to be remarked that it is in no manner opposed to the most bountiful use of imagination, device, and ornament. It is not baldness; it is only a certain spontaneousness, expressing its fact in the directest and most striking way. If a hero is in a boasting mood, out comes his boast in the plainest speech, and his rage flies like an arrow to its object. We are reminded, in this connection, of Goethe's remark: "Homer represents the object as it exists, we the effect; he depicts the terrible, we terribly; he the agreeable, we agreeably."

Fifthly, the national epos presents a truthful picture of its age. Unconsciously, but with inevitable accuracy, it photographs the scenes and the life it looks upon. Its facts, real or imagined, although chiefly drawn from out the past, must wear the costume of the present. The stage-furniture, so to speak, of its dramatic action, must be improvised from its own neighborhood. The story ever so old must be told in every-day words, illustrated by familiar objects. The bard and his lays are in constant close contact with actual life on every side, reflecting its aspects and deriving thence their materials. The matter which it furnishes to history, therefore, consists not so much in the story which it tells as in

the words, the idioms of expression, and the illustrations which it uses to tell the story. To a certain extent this is true of any narrative, written or spoken, of any period; the true critic often learns more from the telling than from the tale itself. But in regard to the popular epos, the very conditions of its existence tether it to the circle of the people's language, habits, and associations. It has no other store of words or objects to draw from.

Hence its inestimable value to the philosophic historian. In these far-off beginnings are the germs of a nation's conscious life.<sup>1</sup> Here find expression, unchecked and uninfluenced from without, the national traits and sympathies — tendencies which, if not arrested or absorbed, will issue as distinct forces in the culture, government, and literature of a future civilization. As to the precise period to which these historic data are referable by the subsequent investigator, it can only be inferred that they belong in general to that when the epos becomes fixed by writing. The customs, modes of thought, and religious beliefs inwrought into it change with its change and grow with its growth; they remain fixed for historic transmission only when the manuscript renders them permanent.

Such a prehistoric literature must occupy a prominent place in the intellectual history of every race with an unhindered development. We know how the literature of Germany strikes its roots far and deep into the legendary poetry of Teutonic antiquity. The genius of the nation is best studied in its folk-songs and its *Mährchen*, those popular and fairy tales of which German soil is so prolific. That indigenous poetry, sung and chanted around the hearth-fire and at the festive gathering, not only enshrined their best treasures of knowledge and thought, but aided powerfully to develop the intellectual energy of the people. In these poetic memorials — though they no longer exist in their early forms, rather than in Druidic symbols and fragments

<sup>1</sup> Compare in this connection, chapters i. and xix. in E. Mulford's recent work, "The Nation."

of Runic inscription — are to be found the significant beginnings of northern European literature.

We come, lastly, to a characteristic more fundamental than any of the preceding, broadly separating the early epos from the productions of reflective culture. It is an organic product of the national mind. It is the work of the people, rather than of the individual. Neither the epos as a whole, nor any single part of it, can be assigned to an individual mind, or to a single period. Let us endeavor to apprehend clearly what is the import of these propositions; divesting ourselves, if necessary, of conceptions which a reading and disciplined age induces, sufficiently to perceive the process that went on in the unlettered workshop of primitive literature. We owe much suggestion on this point to Steinthal, who looks at the subject from the stand-point of national psychology, and whose discussions, though they reveal a tendency to hasty generalization, display a clearness and force of statement too infrequent with German philosophers.

To illustrate by the case of language. Each language, considered as to its verbal and grammatical structure, is an organized intellectual product. Now, of whom or of what is it the product? Manifestly, the spontaneous outgrowth of the national mind. No part of it can be ascribed singly to any, however dominant, individual mind. It is true that every word and sentence uttered came from the lips of some one person, and were due to his volition. But the organic unity which belongs to it as a whole, and by virtue of which it ranks as a language, is unconsciously created by the race which speaks it. Thus, also, rises a system of law, or a body of social custom. Upon the coral structures which rise symmetrically in tropical oceans myriads of ephemera have wrought and built; but the law which determines the gigantic forms of branch and reef is collective, not individual.

So with a national epos. It is a true *vox populi*. Just as it is in language, in law, and in social institutions, what is peculiar to the individual is gradually eliminated; what is



common remains. There is, moreover, in an early state of society a community of intellectual goods such as we can hardly imagine in a later stage of civilization. In the main, all have the same sources and the same stock of knowledge, and, although diversities of personal genius exist in their full extent, they are limited to a common stock of symbols; they have a common horizon of vision.

By what steps do the rude beginnings of popular poetry reach the organic completeness of an epic cycle? First are heard the lyric strains which are born of the moment in some sudden poet, celebrating to his neighbors the recent victory, or wailing over a fallen hero. These songs pass from mouth to mouth, and are repeated with endless variations. If it be a nation which has experienced the vicissitudes of a great migration, or passed through a violent struggle for life or territory, so much the more luxuriant will be the upspringing of commemorative song. Dr. Percy, speaking of the long-continued hostilities between England and Scotland, and the feuds of border clans, notices how "the martial spirit constantly kept up and exercised near the frontiers of the two kingdoms, as it furnished continual subjects for their songs, so it inspired the inhabitants of the adjacent countries with the powers of poetry."<sup>1</sup> As time goes on, the impassioned gush of the lyric ode becomes the even flow of the epic lay. The remote event, and the hero long since departed, are celebrated in calmer tones by the bard, and with a milder light in his venerable eye. Generations pass, and new stories of adventure cluster, by a process familiar to tradition, around one heroic name, that has now become a household word. Historic perspective grows fainter, under the blending hand of tradition, and the narrative of one leader or heroic line of leaders comes to have woven into its web all the choice reminiscence of a race. The *chansons de geste*, as the old French epic ballads were termed, afford an excellent illustration of this, and show the tendency of various facts and fictitious adventures to gather by

<sup>1</sup> Percy's Reliques: "Essay on the Ancient Minstrels."

an accretive process about single names. Originally *geste* meant the adventure which was related in the ballad (Lat. *gesta*, achievements). Afterwards, when the *chanson de geste* gradually appropriated to the favorite hero the tales and deeds of remoter times, the word *geste* came to denote the house or princely line itself. Count William of Toulouse bears in the legends of the French epos a life of charmed length; there being ascribed to him facts known from historical sources to belong both to prior and subsequent periods. There is a prodigious and somewhat heterogeneous mass of legend in the collection of *chansons de geste* which celebrate the exploits of Charlemagne and his line.

To proceed — these lays, constantly losing what is local and individual in interest, obtain a more and more general diffusion. They are sung and resung, around a thousand fires, at a thousand feasts, each time with such variation as accords with the spirit of the occasion or the temper of the bard. By a natural process of selection the popular will will reject some portions, approve others, and give to the whole mass a certain general order and outline. The national character will delineate itself in its heroes; the national history will deposit its essential facts, or distil their significance into the narrative. This has meanwhile settled into a permanent metre. Each race elaborates, along with its language and its literature, its metrical system, and by the time the national genius has dictated an epos it has also constructed its peculiar epic verse.

We have indicated already that it is a living product, necessarily changing with the age that creates it as long as it retains its oral character. Steinthal says: "We are, therefore, to conceive of folk-poetry (I lay the greatest stress upon this) as thoroughly in a state of life and incessant flow. What is true of language is exactly true of it, that it is not a work, but a force; its name is a *nomen actionis*. There are no folk-poems, but there is folk-poetizing; no epos, rather an epic art.

"Hence it is impossible, accurately speaking, to fix in

writing this popular poetry. It is a stream of poetry that flows without ceasing. You bathe in the river, but not twice in the same waters; so you do not twice hear the same lay. We may, it is true, draw from the river a vessel of water; it is then, however, no longer the flowing wave. Just so we may transcribe a lay that we have just heard; but it is no longer the folk-song. An hour afterwards—in the same hour, indeed—the same song is heard with a variation.

“The folk-poem eludes the grasp; for it is impossible to collect all the variations. It has been varied times without number already; it will be varied times without number again. The few variations which one does collect are accidental.”<sup>1</sup>

It should be added here that the facts and principles contained in the preceding pages apply, many of them, not only to the national epos, strictly so called, but to the whole mass of prehistoric folk-lore.<sup>2</sup> Lyric songs, current jests and proverbs, fables and allegories run on from age to age similarly. Part of what is now extant is the common possession of the Indo-Germanic races, carried with them from their first home. The animal-epos, as it is sometimes termed, fragments of which are preserved in the widely-diffused poems of Reynard the Fox, appears to be of Germanic, or at least of European, origin. Literary investigation and exact science have still much to do in throwing light upon the field of early myth and tradition. Philology is every day contributing facts of inductive value. We wait still for further results from the researches of comparative prosody, tracing the laws of metre, as they appear in different languages, and suggesting their significance. The researches,

<sup>1</sup> Das Epos. H. Steinthal; in the “*Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*.” Berlin. 1867.

<sup>2</sup> By folk-lore is meant “the unlearned people’s inheritance of tradition from their ancestors.” See preface to “*Lancashire Folk-Lore*,” Harland and Wilkinson, 1867. It is not, however, to be confined, especially when referring to a people without civilization, to fanciful tales and superstitions. It is “folk-lore in contradistinction to book-lore, or scholastic learning.”

too, into the history of religious belief are constantly leading into this field. These will aid in arriving at conclusions which will be less apt to incur the frequent reproach of being *a priori* theories projected into conjectural history.

#### THE NATIONAL EPOS OF RUSSIA.

Examples variously illustrative of the principles and considerations which have been presented are furnished by poetic remains of the Finns, the Servians, the Irish, which, with others, have been rescued from oblivion largely by the industry of the present generation. But it was not till ten years ago that we had an example of a living epos, or at least fragments of it, reduced to writing just as it falls from the lips of the minstrel singers of a barbarous people. We speak of the Russian epos. Other similar collections, of the Finnish and Servian poetry, for instance, had been more or less modified by the compilers or transcribers, guided by their own poetic taste. In this case the attempt was made to record the ballads just as they were at the time heard from the singers. It is not the first time that Russia has been to the critic and historian what an uptilted continent is to the geologist. Within its borders there are simultaneously visible all the strata of historical development from primeval barbarism to recent civilization.

In 1860 there was published in Moscow a volume of Russian folk-songs, collected by P. W. Kirjevskij. The author was a Russian scholar, who began his labors in this field as far back as the year 1827. It was followed later by several volumes of a second collection, made by a co-laborer in the same field, P. N. Ribnikoff.<sup>1</sup> The larger number of the ballads come from the provinces of Olonetz and Simbirsk; the one towards the north, the other towards the east, of European Russia. The task of collection, prosecuted with laborious zeal for many years, is said to have been performed with great fidelity. Some difficulties were met with.

<sup>1</sup> For a fuller account of these works see the "Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie," etc., 1867. "Das Russische Volksepos." W. Bistrom.

It was not unfrequent that the collector found himself looked upon with suspicion by the rude peasantry and their bards, to say nothing of the vexatious interference of the police. At sight of the note-book the singer would sometimes stop short, and no amount of persuasion could induce him to continue.

These collections, made by the two above-mentioned compilers, contain some two hundred and fifty-four songs and ballads, amounting to not far from forty thousand verses. They are of various lengths, ranging from nine to nine hundred and twenty-nine verses. Some partake more of the lyric than the epic style; those which are more of an epic turn are usually from one hundred and fifty to four hundred verses in length. Many are only fragments of a longer epic ballad. The minstrels by whom this poetry is mainly cultivated are not the most reputable class of the serf population. Many are vagrant tavern-haunters and beggars, though some lead a more settled and respectable life. A number of the ballads were obtained from the serfs and peasant girls of the farms.

The metrical system of the epic portions is tolerably uniform; the fundamental verse being a line of ten syllables; the principal accent falling on the third and eighth, a minor accent on the fifth and tenth syllables. The cesura falls invariably in the middle. Thus, it will be seen, the verse is divided into two equal and similarly accented parts.

It does not come within the scope of the present Article to illustrate by selections the style and character of the Russian epos. Such poetry, indeed, as another has remarked, cannot be appreciated from selections; like the singing of forest birds, it must be enjoyed *en masse*. Some portions are, it is evident, of comparatively recent date. Much of it, however, bears traces of a high antiquity. This archaic character is traceable in the mythologic stamp of an early age, as well as in the subject matter of tales which lead back into the traditional and heroic history of both the Russian and other Slavic races. Among the heroes of its



story are Vladimir the Great and Ivan the Terrible. The author of the "Literature of the Slavic Nations," published in 1850, has translated some specimens of the Russian lyrics, and many of her statements characterizing the Slavic poetry in general apply also to that of Russia.

It will be seen at once how valuable for many purposes must be such a transcript of a portion from an actually existing popular epos; the more valuable as a contribution to both national and comparative literature from the fact that this poetry is rapidly disappearing before the advance of education and reform among the serfs of Russia. It affords data by which to test the conclusions drawn from the study of the Nibelung poetry in Germany, fragments of the Tartar and the Finnish epos, together with other similar literary remains that have been previously mentioned.

#### THE HOMERIC CONTROVERSY.

What bearing this discussion has upon the so-called "Homeric question" we scarcely need explain. Since the appearance of Mure's History of Greek Literature it is too much the vogue for English and American scholars to feel safe in settling down on the old orthodox platform; viz. the Iliad and the Odyssey, fifteen thousand six hundred and fifty-nine lines in the one, twelve thousand one hundred and eleven in the other, are two entire epic poems, which tradition and internal evidence alike refer to a very early Greek poet known as Homer. Mr. Gladstone proceeds on this assumption. Professor Blackie, of Edinburgh, has his misgivings, but does not reject it. Our own veteran classical scholar, Professor Tyler, in a recently published volume, has re-affirmed his earlier conclusions. Professor Lincoln also pronounces a similar verdict, in the Baptist Quarterly for July, 1870, and endorses Colonel Mure's summing up as conclusive. These represent, we take it, the large majority of American, as well as British classical scholars. There is an evident feeling of relief in being able to reject a theory looked upon as breeding scepticism alike in literature and

religion, besides being destitute of the distinct, positive conclusions so desirable to a practical mind.

But let us first ask: What is the real "Homeric question"? It presents itself to us somewhat as follows:

There is abundant evidence of the existence in remote periods of Hellenic history of a large body of popular oral tradition and poetry. Much of this poetry was epic, and had assumed a fixed metrical form at an early date. Its themes included the tales of the Trojan cycle; it embodied the mythology and historic lore of the race. In the historic period of Greece we find this oral literature replaced by an extensive body of written epic poetry, treating of subjects principally from the same traditional sources. Excepting brief fragments, scattered here and there in ancient writers, there are now extant out of this body of written epic poetry only those portions which have long borne the names of the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad*. Now, what is the relation subsisting between these two poems and the early oral poetry which preceded them? Assuming, if we choose, a Homeric authorship somewhere, how much in these poems is Homer, and how much is epic folk-lore, the still more ancient popular poetry? Do they belong essentially to the *Volksepos*, the epic of the race, or to the *Kunstsepos*, the epic of the reflective poet?

These questions hardly admit of a definite and categorical reply; yet we may look for replies more and more clear and satisfactory, as the studies of early languages, literatures, and religions go forward hand in hand, furnishing constantly new data for the comparative method. We can perceive, at least, that the question we deal with is not merely a fossil curiosity, but alive with interest to every comprehensive scholar. There is wide space for divergent opinions. Some choose to believe that the traditional poetry of the Greeks was hardly more to Homer than Geoffrey's *Chronicle* to Tennyson, in composing the *Idyls of the King*—that out of the base ore of rude and chaotic tradition, by the genius of a single poet, those unique and splendid fabrics "rose like an exhalation." The other extreme deems them a

portion of the epos in its ancient form, with only such additions and mutilations as frequent transcription and the accidents of thirty centuries must have occasioned. Others, again, find in the *Odyssey* and *Iliad* a series of ballads so fitted together as to harmonize in most particulars; according to which Homer may have been the collector and arranger, just as some Middle Age poet is supposed to have given the *Nibelungenlied* its present shape. Lachmann's celebrated analysis, by which he thought to detect the sixteen original ballads of the *Iliad*, proceeded on this supposition.

Probably no one will deny that the basis of the poems, both as regards fact and form, is legendary — legendary as to the story, the epic metre, the prominent characters. We strongly incline to believe that the original style and treatment is largely retained, and that thus they belong essentially to the popular epos; that the creative genius of a Homer is quite a subordinate factor in their production; that whatever unity they have belongs to the poetic story in its earliest form; moreover, that the dramatic power, the inventive fertility, the vivid delineation, in a word, the distinguishing excellences of these immortal verses, have a grander lineage than that which ends in the man Homer. Rhapsodists have repeated and enlarged them; Homer, it may be, recast them all; transcribers and editors have used a liberty of modifying and interpolating to a greater or less extent; but, in spite of all this, we have in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, not two statuesque, poetic unities, carved by a single brain, but two colossal fragments of the Greek epos, out of an age far anterior to its earliest written literature.

Without attempting even a cursory review of the array of arguments entering into the determination of this question, let us take note of a few considerations specially appropriate at the present time and to the circle of readers for whom this Article is designed.

Here is one proposition: There is nothing in Greek history, either that which is authenticated by document, or

that which is drawn from tradition, to determine the personal authorship of the poems.<sup>1</sup> The argument of Grote, for one, upon this point is elaborate, and sufficient to place it beyond controversy. Add to this the results of Sengebusch's exhaustive comparison of the traditional chronologies extant relating to Homer, and the argument takes on a positive character. But to this we can only allude.<sup>2</sup>

Again, coming to internal evidence, it is certainly not yet proven that the inner unity of the *Iliad*, for instance, is of such a sort as necessitates the hypothesis of a single poet as its author. A certain harmony there is, and evidence of an original organic completeness. Great stress is laid upon this by those who adhere to the popular view. But is not this unity sufficiently accounted for otherwise? It is a question upon which we would speak with the greatest diffidence. What poetic insight, what comprehensive learning, what range as well as keenness of critical vision must unite, in order to furnish an authoritative verdict! And then, as Wolf suggests, who can forget Aristotle, to say nothing of other "sceptred sovereigns" of thought? We may venture to refer to the observations of Mr. Bryant, in his Preface to the translated *Iliad*, and put it to the thoughtful and frequent reader of Homer whether the matured judgment of our great poet does not commend itself. Mr. Bryant speaks from the point of view of a poet and a critic, not of a classical scholar,

<sup>1</sup> This argument is merely negative, but it is of great importance, in the first place, because it clears the ground of a great deal of controversial rubbish; and secondly, because it anticipates the reproach of historical scepticism. Greek history as related by the Greeks is an inexplicable maze to one who does not appreciate their irresistible instinct to plant an eponymous hero at the base of every institution; this once comprehended, the traditions about Homer assume a new meaning.

<sup>2</sup> An Article in the *North American Review* for April, which comes to my hand just while engaged in correcting the proof of these pages, illustrates clearly and forcibly the foregoing proposition. ("Mr. Bryant's Translation of the *Iliad*," Charlton T. Lewis, p. 329 seq.). The difference between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, is also well stated. The reader who may wish to investigate this subject further, will find convenient references to original authorities in a pamphlet by H. Bonitz: "*Ueber den Ursprung der Homerischen Gedichte.*" Vienna, 1864.

and evidently with no design to subserve a modern theory. The passage is too long to copy, but closes with the words: "Thus we may suppose that until Aristotle arose to demonstrate the contrary, the fable of the *Iliad* must have appeared to the general mind to be incomplete."

Colonel Mure has devoted a large part of two volumes, in his *History of Grecian Literature*, to the Homeric poems and the argument respecting their origin. With critical acuteness and with conscientious painstaking he has elaborated a large mass of internal evidence in favor of their one-authorship. We there have pointed out to us various correspondences in style and conception, the harmony throughout both poems in their manifold delineation of character, the tokens of a pervading moral purpose, and a variety of facts considered as marking such an organic completeness as stamps the product of a single mind. We cannot but think, however, that undue weight is allowed to this division of the argument by many who have appealed to his authority. Such evidence is not convincing in the direct ratio of its bulk. Much the same process could with additional labor have been continued through several more volumes; but the argument could hardly be considered cumulative in the degree of its expansion. If the points made by Grote<sup>1</sup> concerning the ninth book of the *Iliad* are sustained, they alone lessen surprisingly the force and relevancy of a number of Colonel Mure's chapters and paragraphs.

The very extreme, moreover, to which he urges his view is sufficient to refute it. He adduces the same species of evidence to prove the essential unity of all portions of the *Iliad* (excepting some minor interpolations) together with the *Odyssey*. He even clings to the ship-catalogue, as having, to judge from historical and internal evidence, "a connection from the remotest period with the remainder of the work." So, too, not only the *Doloneia*, but such portions as Nestor's Address, in Book II., and the close of

<sup>1</sup> Book i. chap. 21.



Book XXIV., are included in the argument. Now, it is well known that there is increasing unanimity, on the part of continental scholars, in reckoning these as later additions; and that, too, in spite of the strong reaction from the extreme positions of the Wolfian school. All this part of Colonel Mure's argument must stand or fall together; and if, now, the *Odyssey* shall be placed several generations later than the *Iliad* by advancing investigations into language and mythology, one main foundation of this argument will be at once swept away.

Since Mr. Gladstone and Colonel Mure are two prominent representatives of Homeric scholarship before the English and American public, it is not unfitting to remark on their claims to be considered competent judges in the specific case before us. In regard to the former, it is plain, from his earlier, as well as more recent work, that he leaves the question to others; so far from devoting due research to it, he has rather postulated a verdict, in order to clear the way for another class of investigations. Mure, whose lamented death left unfinished his invaluable contribution to the history of Greek literature, was in earlier life a decided adherent of what he later called the "Wolfian heresy." This fact naturally enough lends additional force to his conclusions with a reader who wishes to get at the truth, without being in circumstances to study the principal authors on the subject. But a study of his work unavoidably leads us to the conviction that, with all his stores of learning and his genial taste, he had never appreciated the full bearing of Wolf's criticism. Then there are manifest indications that the discoveries of the science of language and the modification of earlier views consequent upon them had been neglected or ignored by the author. Both he and Mr. Gladstone pay little heed to the results of linguistic studies, although these have contributed almost the only new elements for many years to the solution of some of the problems with which they deal. One is reminded of Hawthorne's shrewd remark, in which he attributes English practical

success to "their characteristic faculty of shutting one eye," thus getting a more decided view of what immediately concerns them.

It is certainly far from correct that the result of the great critical contest "has been a gradual reaction, a progressive tendency of return to the old view," at least, as regards the common authorship of these poems in Homer. Mr. F. A. Paley, one of the best Homeric scholars and Greek philologists in England, reluctantly, but strongly, dissents from what is still in England the popular opinion. Those who are familiar with the recent expressions of German and French scholars will, we think, agree that the old view is further than ever from general acceptance. Reaction there has been from some of the theories advocated by followers of Wolf, and from an unwarranted application of his principles. But the most widely prevalent view, among competent critics, concerning the chief source of the Homeric poems and their rightful place in literature, far from being the old one, still finds its fundamental exposition in the *Prolegomena*.

It will doubtless be acceptable to many readers to sketch briefly, here, the views taken by a large class among the more cautious and conservative Homeric scholars in Germany. They are those of J. U. Faesi, given in an introduction to an edition of the *Odyssey*, which, as well as his edition of the *Iliad*, is extensively used in the German gymnasias. In condensed form they may be thus stated:

The legends of the Trojan war, assuming its date as 1184 B.C., were of mingled Aeolic and Ionic origin. They took their rise on the eastern coast of the Aegean, during the period of comparative peace and prosperity which succeeded the conflicts of the first settlement. During several centuries of oral transmission these poetic legends were gradually enriched, expanded, and formed into a connected story, the interest of which centred in the heroic figure of Achilles. Afterwards, and probably during the first half of the ninth century B.C., there arose among the bards who

chanted these lays at the national games and religious festivals, one master-bard of high constructive powers and comprehensive vision, who framed many of them into one, retaining the dramatic unity he had detected, and stamping all anew with the marks of his own genius. His name disappeared, and he was known as Homer (*Ὅμηρος*, *the framer, the compiler*). At a later period the epic lays which, with tales of travel and domestic life, celebrated the fame of Ulysses, were in like manner fashioned into the *Odyssey*, by another and less-gifted hand. In such a reconstruction of the old into the new, just such inconsistencies and contradictions as appear must naturally have been expected.

To the question whether these poems were then reduced to writing, the reply is a decided no; it was not until the seventh century B.C., at the earliest.<sup>1</sup> But, even after their final reduction to writing, they were chiefly known and taught by oral communication, especially in the guilds or fraternities of rhapsodists. Thus, in the progress of time and of a wider diffusion, so many corruptions crept into the verse, and such an immethodical manner of recitation prevailed, as to suggest the reforms of Solon and Pisistratus. The former required by statute systematic adherence to the received version. The latter instituted a revision of both poems—a new edition based upon a comparison of collected manuscripts, containing, in most cases, but a lay or fragment of the whole. Pisistratus was thus a restorer of a rapidly disappearing unity—a second Homer, as it were, to the Greek epos. It was this revision, probably, that finally incorporated those interpolated verses which are manifestly designed to forecast the political supremacy of Athens.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thus from one to two centuries previous to the supposed date of the composition of the *Iliad*. How conclusive the evidence is against the existence of a written *Iliad* earlier than this, may be seen in Müller and Donaldson's "History of the Literature of Ancient Greece," Vol. i. chap. 4. Still more demonstrative on some points are facts in Kirchhoff's "Geschichte des Griechischen Alphabets."

<sup>2</sup> We have given the view held by Faesi as fairly representing many of the moderate and eclectic school, and as one which in its substantial features is widely prevalent. As to the etymology and meaning of *Ὅμηρος*, the high authority of (Professor Geo. Curtius) is against it. See his "Andeutungen über den gegenwärtigen Stand der Homerischen Frage."

Faesi takes special note of the reasons for deeming the *Odyssey* the product of a later era; reasons drawn in part from style and language, but emphasizing chiefly the diverse mythologic conception and cast of the two poems. We may add that here, too, as remarked of the *Iliad*, the science of language is affording new criteria for judgment and new elements for the solution of the chronological problem. Thus far, the facts elicited tend to separate further and further the respective dates of at least the main portions of the two epics.

We draw to a conclusion with the following statement, which will, we think, be generally endorsed by those best entitled to pronounce in the case: It is in the primal Greek epos—the epic stories of an age anterior to the earliest assigned date of Homer—that the origin of the Homeric poems is to be found; to a degree unconceived by theory or tradition up to a century ago, they belong, both in substance and form, to that primitive stage of the human mind. As to the extent of the change wrought before passing into their present form, by what steps of authorship or intellectual lineage they are separated from that far beginning, history is utterly silent, and attainable evidence permits only an approximate judgment.

It is not difficult to see that this view, in so far, at least, as it deposes the individual Homer from his epic throne, is at first repugnant, not only to the great reading and listening public, but to the majority of educated minds, and perhaps in proportion to the degree of their aesthetic instinct and culture. Apart from the supposed destructive tendency of the criticism, which, as far as history is concerned, is now clearly proven to be imaginary, we naturally shrink from depersonalizing the mightiest literary force in all the ages. In the movements of thought, as well as political history, we seek the personal leader. By nature we are hero-worshippers. To reason down Homer, that regnant star of genius—it is seemingly intellectual treason; it is the beginning of a backward revolution towards anarchy. Has this majestic thought

— this Iliad-cathedral looming up out of the Greek foretime — no architect? The very question appears analogous to atheism. Froude complained, nineteen years ago, that “the origin of these poems was distributed among the clouds of a prehistoric imagination, and, instead of a single inspired Homer for their author, we were required to believe in some extraordinary spontaneous generation, or in some collective genius of an age which ignorance had personified.”<sup>1</sup> But it is no “spontaneous generation”; it is no fortuitous con-course of atoms which this theory assumes or requires; nor is it against its acceptance that it is seen in the *chiaro-oscuro* of antiquity. It takes on clearer certainty as historic light penetrates that misty distance.

Moreover, if we find our Homer a mythologic, rather than a historic fact, our conception of his race, the Hellenic nation, obtains a new significance. If we find the Parthenon rather Greek than Phidian, and the Iliad Hellenic more than Homeric, why, it is that the Nation asserts the kingship of its mind, and, as the individual lessens, the race is more. Criticism has long ago recognized the fact that literature cannot part from the popular mind without severing its tap-root. This is only a corollary of the fact that the people in its hereditary unity has laid the foundations of literature, as of law, of language, and of national institutions. Viewed thus, the Iliad outlines a grander unity to our sense than it had done before. Its historic facts acquire profounder meaning. They are embryologic, the germs of future civilization, factors whose value can be more accurately assigned according as we are able to eliminate the individual element. As history is not the loser, so national psychology is enriched with a whole thesaurus of material for its inductions. In computing the orbit of the splendid Hellenic mind, it will thus have furnished to its hand the elements of a larger curve.

The facts and principles referred to in the earlier part of

<sup>1</sup> “Homer;” an Essay in Fraser’s Magazine, 1851, republished in “Short Studies on Great Subjects,” Vol. ii.



this discussion have a theological application still more important. Are the Christian scriptures merely the fragments of an earlier and larger national literature of the Hebrews? Are these books the recorded remnants of a prehistoric literature, in which the first task of the critic is to trace the growth of myth and legend, to detect interpolation and forgery, and to draw the line between tradition and history? We believe that rationalistic criticism finds no basis for its assumptions in the results of comparative research, but may be met on its own vantage-ground with a complete and triumphant refutation. But we defer this argument to a separate consideration.

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## ARTICLE II.

### REVELATION AND INSPIRATION.

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IN ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

#### NO. VIII.

##### THE INSPIRATION OF THE RECORD HOW ASCERTAINED.

THE gospel rests on a basis of facts, in such a full sense that if the substratum of facts be taken away the gospel itself perishes. The facts that underlie the gospel history are to be ascertained by candid investigation according to the ordinary rules of evidence. In the preceding series of Articles we have endeavored to point out concisely the main lines of historic evidence by which this basis of facts is shown to be impregnable to all the assaults of scepticism — that the gospel history is genuine; that it has come down to us in a form essentially uncorrupt; and that it is worthy of full credence. In demonstrating this, we have also shown its supernatural character; and also that the very existence of such a supernatural history implies a preceding series of supernatural revelations, such as we have in the Old Testament, and a sequel of supernatural manifestations, like that

recorded in the Acts of the Apostles and implied in the apostolic epistles.

The reader may perhaps ask, what more do we need for our salvation? If the gospel history is genuine, uncorrupt, and worthy of full credence, why not take it as a sufficient rule of faith and practice, without troubling ourselves further with questions concerning the inspiration of the record? We answer that the very question now before us is whether one can consistently believe so much without believing more. Thus far we have considered the gospel narratives as worthy of credence in the ordinary historic sense. We have shown that the writers upon whose testimony we receive the facts of the gospel were honest and competent witnesses, and that their statements of facts are therefore reliable. But it must be obvious to every reflecting mind that questions of the gravest import remain to be settled. In the manifestation of the Son of God the world received, beyond all doubt, a supernatural revelation from heaven. The revelation itself was, of course, infallible; since "God is light, and in him is no darkness at all." But what about the *record* of that revelation which we have in the New Testament? Is that infallible also; or was it penned by fallible men, honest indeed, and competent in the common acceptation of the words, but liable to the misconceptions, prejudices, and false inferences of their age? Were the writers of the gospel history so illuminated and guided by God's Spirit that their record possesses for us a divine authority; or is it only a fallible record of an infallible revelation? Even upon this latter supposition we must believe that the great facts of our Lord's life and the substance of his teaching are given without essential error; for they pervade every part of the narrative, as the vital blood pervades the living body. But it is to us a matter of solemn interest to know whether we are, or are not, at liberty to judge that in particular cases they misunderstood the true connection and scope of their Master's words, and have consequently given a one-sided and defective account of them. We know from their own

candid confession, that up to the time of his passion many of his teachings remained to them a hidden mystery. They tell us how the Lord, after his resurrection, upbraided them with their unbelief and hardness of heart;<sup>1</sup> and how, just before his ascension, they still clung to the idea that his kingdom was to be of this world.<sup>2</sup> Were these misapprehensions and prejudices removed by the Pentecostal gift of the Spirit; or did they remain, at least in part?

Then, again, a large part of the New Testament is occupied with the history, not of our Lord's life and teachings, but of the acts and doctrines of his apostles and their co-adjutors. The Acts of the Apostles contains an account not only of their preaching, but of the authoritative way in which they settled the constitution of the Christian church, not indeed in the details of its polity, but in its great principles.<sup>3</sup> The apostolic epistles unfold with great fulness some doctrines which Christ, from the nature of the case, could teach only in a germinal way; particularly the two great related doctrines of atonement for sin through his propitiatory death on Calvary, and justification through faith in his blood. They contain also some remarkable prophecies respecting the apostasy of the man of sin,<sup>4</sup> and the resurrection of the dead.<sup>5</sup> What view are we to take of this important part of the New Testament? Does it come to us with full divine authority; or does it contain, along with an honest statement of the great facts of revelation, the reasonings and inferences of fallible men, upon which we are at liberty to sit in judgment, receiving some of them and rejecting the rest? This is the momentous question now before us. We propose to settle it, if possible, by "reasoning out of the scriptures." In the position which we have now reached this mode of procedure is legitimate; for it has been shown in previous Numbers that we have, in the New Testament, a sure scriptural basis from which to reason. Having shown that the gospel record,

<sup>1</sup> Mark xvi. 14; Luke xxiv. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Acts i. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Acts vi. 1-6; x. 1-xi. 18; xv. 1-29; xiii. 1-4, etc.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Thess. ii. 1-12.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Cor. chap. xv.; 1 Thess. iv. 13-18.

with the apostolic writings based upon it, is worthy of credence in the common acceptance of the words, we proceed to inquire what light may be gathered from it in respect to the question of the inspiration of the writers.

*What is meant by the Inspiration of the Record?*

Before entering directly upon this inquiry, it is important that we settle definitely what is meant by the inspiration of the record; since, if we mistake not, the idea floats before the minds of some in a very undefined form. They seem to regard the inspiration of the written word as something peculiar, and distinct from inspiration in general. The more this idea is examined the more untenable will it appear. The inspiration of the record means the inspiration of the men who wrote the record; and we have no evidence that they had as writers any different kind of inspiration from that which they possessed as preachers. The question reduces itself simply to this: When Matthew or Mark preached, did they speak with divine authority? When Peter and John taught in the temple or in Samaria, did they teach by inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and thus without error? If so, then they *wrote* with the same divine authority. And the same is true of Paul and all the other writers of the New Testament. Whatever authority their oral teachings had belongs to their writings also. If they could speak, then they could write, without error. If their preaching was fallible, so were their writings. When we say, then, that the books of the New Testament are inspired, we mean neither more nor less than that the men who wrote them were under the influence of inspiration.

It is only that class of theologians who advocate the doctrine of verbal inspiration in the most literal sense, thus virtually making the sacred writer the amanuensis of the Holy Spirit, who can, with any show of reason, make a distinction between the inspiration of the apostles and the inspiration of scripture. This is done by Carson, a prominent champion of this view. Respecting the two passages: "How-

beit, when he, the Spirit of truth is come, he will guide you into all the truth,"<sup>1</sup> and "All scripture is given by inspiration of God,"<sup>2</sup> he uses the following language: "The one respects the inspiration of the apostles, the other the inspiration of the scriptures. The promise referred to respects the inspiration of the apostles, but says nothing of the mode of inspiration. 2 Tim. iii. 16 speaks of inspiration as it respects the scripture itself. It is not said that *all scripture is guided into all the truth*. With the full approbation of this promise, all scripture may be divinely communicated."<sup>3</sup> Again, commenting on Dr. Henderson's exposition of the apostle's words: "Which things also we speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth,"<sup>4</sup> he extends the same distinction to oral discourse, making the words uttered, not the speaker, the subject of inspiration. "The contrast," says he, "is between words taught by human wisdom, and words taught by the Holy Spirit. This of necessity implies that the words were taught by the Spirit, not that the speakers or writers were taught by wisdom conferred by the Spirit, to choose their words."<sup>5</sup> Haldane also makes apparently the same distinction when he says, as the true meaning of 2 Tim. iii. 16: "*All scripture is inspired by God, or breathed into the writers by God*. It is therefore of the *writing* that the inspiration is asserted."<sup>6</sup> The full examination of this subject is necessarily deferred till the question concerning the *mode* of inspiration shall come up for consideration. At present it is sufficient to remark:

First, that according to Carson's own showing, inspired *discourse* and inspired *writing* stand on the same level, which is the main position here contended for. In whatever sense Peter's oral address on the day of Pentecost was inspired, in the same sense were his epistles inspired. Whether Paul *spoke* or *wrote* it was alike "not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth."

<sup>1</sup> John xvi. 13.<sup>2</sup> 2 Tim. iii. 16.<sup>3</sup> Refutation of Dr. Henderson on Inspiration, p. 59.<sup>4</sup> 1 Cor. ii. 13.<sup>5</sup> Carson as above, p. 91.<sup>6</sup> On Inspiration (ed. 1845), p. 113.



Secondly, that, according to Carson's own view, the inspiration is properly in the *minds* of the speakers or writers. They utter or write down what, according to him, is infused into or communicated to their minds. So much for his view. We add that, according to any view of inspiration, scripture itself is inspired only in the sense that it is, as our English version has it, "given by inspiration of God"—given through the medium of inspired men.

Whether the writers of the New Testament received in all cases a special commission in the way of direct revelation or suggestion, to write the books which they have left us, or whether they were led to the performance of this work by the general illumination which they enjoyed from above, is a question of secondary importance, which we may well leave undetermined. Of far higher importance is the question whether they had the gift of the Holy Spirit as a permanent possession, or only as an occasional, transient, visitation. Under the Mosaic dispensation a wide difference existed between such men as Balaam and the old prophet of Bethel, whom it pleased Jehovah to use on certain occasions as the instruments of announcing his will, and the holy men of God who "spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost," from whom we have received the books of the Old Testament. "The Lord put a word in Balaam's mouth, and said, Return unto Balak, and thus shalt thou speak;" "He saw all Israel abiding in their tents according to their tribes, and the Spirit of God came upon him."<sup>1</sup> But we cannot suppose that Balaam had such a relation to God as placed him on a level with men like David, Isaiah, Ezekiel, or Ezra. So also the lying prophet at Bethel received, as he sat at the table with the true prophet of Judah, a revelation from the Lord announcing the impending judgment that should overtake his disobedient servant.<sup>2</sup> But God never employed prophets of this character to pen any part of scripture.

Passing now to the authors of the New Testament, we need, as the basis of our faith in the divine authority of

<sup>1</sup> Num. xxiii. 5; xxiv. 2.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Kings xiii.

their writings, a reasonable assurance that they enjoyed, not the occasional visitations of the Divine Spirit, but his permanent indwelling and guidance. It may be objected, indeed, that one might be inspired for the specific work of writing a gospel or an epistle. Very true. But if we have no satisfactory evidence that he enjoyed permanently the presence of the Holy Spirit in that high sense which inspiration implies, how is his transient presence during the act of writing a given gospel or epistle to be certified to us? It might be, one might perhaps maintain, by some miraculous sign given as the divine seal to his own testimony respecting the commission which he had received; or by a revelation made to another man, which, again, would need in some way divine authentication. Yes, such a method of authentication might be; but we find in the New Testament no trace of anything of this clumsy and mechanical character. The writers of its several books had, as we shall endeavor to show, the broad seal of their inspiration. But it was from such a source, and in such a way as to make its permanence most evident. Whatever they spoke or wrote in the sphere of Christian doctrines and duties<sup>1</sup> had the impress of divine authority.

But how is this consistent, some one may ask, with your acknowledgment of the fact that certain epistles of Paul are lost.<sup>2</sup> Can we suppose that the providence of God would have suffered an inspired writing to be lost? We answer this question by asking in our turn another: Are not many of our Lord's words lost to our knowledge?<sup>3</sup> Were they less divine than those of which we have the record? And is not very much of the oral teaching of the apostles lost? We have only a sketch of Peter's Pentecostal address: "With many other words did he testify and exhort, saying, Save yourselves from this untoward generation."<sup>4</sup> Was not

<sup>1</sup> We add this qualifying clause that we may not include such acts as Peter's dissimulation at Antioch, in which human infirmity not divine inspiration, was manifested.

<sup>2</sup> See *Bibliotheca Sacra* for July, 1870, p. 539.

<sup>3</sup> See John xx. 30, 31; xxi. 25.

<sup>4</sup> Acts ii. 42.

what is omitted from the record inspired, as well as what is inserted? and if this be undeniably true, where, we ask again, has God authorized us to make the distinction that all that was *written* by inspiration must have been preserved, while by far the larger part of what was *spoken* by inspiration, or by the Son of God himself, whose words are above inspiration, has been lost? We would suggest in a reverential spirit, as the true explanation, that the providence of God has preserved to us, through the ministry of his churches, all the apostolic writings that he judged needful for doctrine or practice. We may reasonably suppose that by far the larger part of them remains in our possession as a sufficient rule of faith and practice.

But how is it, one may further ask, when the apostle says: "To the rest speak I, not the Lord?"<sup>1</sup> We answer that the meaning of these words is clearly defined by another passage in the same epistle: "Now concerning virgins, I have no commandment of the Lord, yet I give my judgment as one that hath obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful."<sup>2</sup> Under the full illumination and guidance of the Holy Spirit, the apostle gives his faithful advice on points which the Lord has left to human discretion; and where, consequently, he has "no commandment from the Lord." Where God has expressly legislated he says: "I command, yet not I, but the Lord"<sup>3</sup>; but where God has left men free from any positive command he says: "To the rest speak I, not the Lord." The difference is not within the apostle's soul, as if he were in one case inspired and in the other uninspired; but without, in the nature of the duties discussed. To assume that an apostle, speaking or writing in his official character as a teacher of the gospel, might be sometimes inspired and sometimes without inspiration, would be to assume very slippery and dangerous ground.

### *What is the Test of Inspiration?*

The question now arises, How are we to know that the

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. vii. 12.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Cor. vii. 25.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Cor. vii. 10.

author of a given book of the New Testament wrote under the illumination and guidance of the Holy Spirit in such a high and peculiar sense that his words come to us with full divine authority?

We remark, first of all, that it cannot be from the *simple testimony of the writer*. We shall show hereafter that this testimony, taken in connection with other evidence, is of the highest importance. But the point now is, that no man's inspiration is to be acknowledged simply on his own word. It is with him as with the ambassador whom a sovereign nation sends to represent itself at a foreign court. He must first present his credentials, and then his declarations are of supreme importance. This equitable rule is acknowledged in both the Old and the New Testament. When God sent Moses with a message to his people, he empowered him to give them certain miraculous signs;<sup>1</sup> and when the Israelites had now received a revelation attested by irrefragable proof, the further test of a true prophet was added, that his words must be in harmony with the law already given, not in contradiction to it.<sup>2</sup> The Saviour's mission was attested by a series of stupendous supernatural signs, and to these he was accustomed to appeal. "If I bear witness of myself," he said, "my witness is not true" (that is, not to be received as of itself valid). "There is another that beareth witness of me, and I know that the witness which he witnesseth of me is true." "The works which the Father hath given me to finish, the same works that I do, bear witness of me that the Father hath sent me."<sup>3</sup> "I am one that bear witness of myself; and the Father that sent me, beareth witness of me."<sup>4</sup> "If I honor myself, my honor is nothing; it is my Father that honoreth me, of whom ye say, that he is your God."<sup>5</sup> "If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not. But if I do, though ye believe not me, believe the works; that ye may know and believe that the Father is in me, and I in him."<sup>6</sup> If the Son of God himself thus con-

<sup>1</sup> Ex. iv. 8, 9.<sup>2</sup> Deut. xiii. 1-3.<sup>3</sup> John v. 31, 32, 36.<sup>4</sup> John viii. 18.<sup>5</sup> John viii. 54.<sup>6</sup> John x. 37, 38.

descended to present the credentials of his heavenly mission, it is certainly reasonable that we ask for like credentials in the case of one of his disciples whose words we are asked to receive not simply as true and credible in the ordinary acceptation of the words, but as invested with divine authority; all whose arguments, inferences, and new revelations of truth, claim the attribute of infallibility, as well as his statements of historic facts. The ordinary religious teacher, who keeps within the sphere of scripture and appeals to that alone, needs no further attestation. "To the law and the testimony," this is for him a sufficient rule of judgment. But when a man professes to come with new revelations, or with infallible statements, reasonings, and inferences respecting revelations already made, it is not only our right, but our duty, to ask for his credentials—his credentials not merely as an honest and competent witness (these have been already considered under the general head of the credibility of the New Testament writings), but his credentials as one authorized to speak with full divine authority. The moment we depart from this equitable rule we open the floodgates to fanaticism and imposture. Swedenborg, for example, may claim that he has had visions of the unseen world; and we may be satisfied that he is sincere in his statements, uttering only what he believes to be true. But this is no ground for receiving his words as co-ordinate in value with the visions of the Apocalypse, or, indeed, as possessing any authority. We must first have his commission to make revelations concerning the world to come duly authenticated by God himself.

Carson, in the work already quoted, insists on the simple testimony of the writers of scripture: "If," says he, "there is sufficient evidence that the Bible contains a revelation from God, is not the word of the writers sufficient to prove anything which they allege?"<sup>1</sup> The proposition: "The Bible contains a revelation from God," may mean that the whole of the Bible is given to men by God, and then the

<sup>1</sup> Refutation of Dr. Henderson on Inspiration, p. 6.



very point under discussion is assumed as a basis of proof. Or it may mean (and this is the legitimate sense of the words) that the Bible contains the *record* of a revelation from God, and then the question arises respecting the infallibility of this record, which is the same thing as the question concerning its divine authority. We entirely agree with Carson when he says: "It is surely a most unhappy omen, in commencing a controversy with respect to a scripture doctrine, to declare that the assertion of an apostle is not ultimate authority to establish it."<sup>1</sup> It is not, however, on the apostle's simple assertion that he writes by inspiration of God; but rather because there is irrefragable proof, as we shall endeavor to show hereafter, that whatever he says, or writes, the assertion respecting his own inspiration included, comes to us with divine authority. The question of the inspiration of the record covers the whole ground of its divine authority. This is first to be ascertained, and then all its specific declarations are to be received as valid evidence. It is our aim to deal with actual forms of error. Unhappily one of these is the denial that we have in the New Testament a divinely authoritative record of the revelation made to us by the Son of God. The general authenticity of the writers of the New Testament, at least of many of them, is admitted; but it is asserted that they have erred in particular cases, from not fully apprehending their Lord's words, or from not being raised above the prejudices of their age. We propose to meet this error in a fair and candid spirit.

We remark, secondly, that we cannot decide that a given writing is inspired simply from the *character of its contents*. Very important indeed is the question respecting the contents of a book that claims inspiration, and we are far from undervaluing the simple impression of these contents on a believing spirit. Many thousands have from their own experience a full and joyous conviction that the Bible is the word of God. Of this they feel assured, because it meets all their wants as sinners. They have the same evidence

<sup>1</sup> Refutation of Dr. Henderson on Inspiration, p. 6.

that God gave the gospel for the salvation of their souls, as that he gave bread for the stomach, air for the lungs, and light for the eyes. If you tell a man who daily feeds on the finest of the wheat, and is nourished and strengthened by it, that the field of golden grain which waves before his door is wormwood and gall; or that the pure water welling up from the bosom of the earth which quenches his thirst day by day is a deadly poison; or that the blessed air of heaven which fans his lungs and imparts vital energy to his blood is a pestilential vapor; he replies: "My own experience is a sufficient answer to your empty assertion." Just so the believer may well reply to the cavils of the sceptic: "I know that the gospel is truth and not error, because it nourishes, refreshes, and guides my soul in the way of holiness and happiness. Not until falsehood becomes the nutriment of the soul and truth its destruction, can this argument from my own experience be set aside or gainsaid." But the evidence which God furnishes for the divine authority of his word is not niggardly or one-sided. It is full in all directions, and thus it meets all the reasonable wants of men. "He that believeth on the Son of God hath the witness in himself."<sup>1</sup> This is his testimony given *to* faith. But when God calls upon men to believe on his Son, he furnishes at the same time in rich abundance testimony *for* their faith. So the beloved disciple argues: "These things are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing ye might have life through his name."<sup>2</sup> If God does not require men to believe that scripture contains a *revelation* from himself concerning his Son without reasonable evidence, neither does he ask them to believe in the *inspiration* of the record without like evidence. The moment we adopt the principle of faith on the ground of our own subjective feelings and judgment, we are afloat on a troubled sea, without rudder, compass, or anchor. Were all men humble and pure in heart, their judgment would be clear and their moral instincts right. Then they would

<sup>1</sup> 1 John v. 10.<sup>2</sup> John xx. 31.

undoubtedly love the record of God's word, cordially receive its testimony concerning his Son, and have in their own experience the inward witness of its truth. But multitudes want this inward preparation. To them experience is a blind guide. Their corrupt affections pervert their judgment in respect to what is morally excellent. If we throw them upon their own subjective feelings, telling them to choose for themselves the system of belief and practice which they find most congenial, they will either reject the record of scripture altogether, taking instead of it the reveries of modern pretenders to revelation, or they will supplement this record by these reveries, thus practically subordinating it to them. The pretended new revelations will have their real faith; the word of God will be interpreted by them; and thus they will slide downward by a steady influence into the region of infidelity. It is further important to remember that true believers have their prejudices and misconceptions. Under the influence of these they may, if left simply to the test of their own feelings and judgment, reject certain parts of scripture as unprofitable, because they find them at variance with their particular views on certain points of faith or practice. We have a notable example of this in the case of Martin Luther, who, says Davidson, "expressed his opinion plainly when he called it [the epistle of James] *eine recht stroherne Epistel*,—*a right strawy epistle*, in comparison with the writings of John, Paul, and Peter."<sup>1</sup> He seems not to have considered that herein he was following the example of Marcion, who rejected, upon subjective grounds, all the gospels save that of Luke, paring that down also in accordance with his preconceived views.

Shall we then, in the third place, receive a given book of the New Testament as inspired on the simple *testimony of the ancient church*? In answering this question it is necessary to proceed with caution. It is through the ancient church that we have the evidence of the genuineness, integrity, and credibility of the New Testament writings. Her

<sup>1</sup> Introduction to the New Testament, Vol. iii. p. 339.

testimony to their *divine authority*, as written under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, is worthy of reverential regard. We assent fully to the following words of Lee, when writing respecting the formation of the canon of the New Testament :

“ That continued exercise of solid judgment which selected such writings, and such writings only ; that critical sagacity which the most ingenious and subtile investigations of modern times have never been able to prove at fault ; that unceasing caution and vigilance, which never admitted into the canon a single book for the rejection of which any valid reasons have ever been shown ; such qualities, conceded to the Fathers of the first ages of the church, only serve to enhance the value of their opinions upon every point connected with the scriptures, and, above all, upon the subject of their inspiration.”<sup>1</sup>

But it is of primary importance to determine *on what ground* the primitive churches proceeded in receiving or rejecting books. That they did not act on the authoritative decision of councils is conceded by all well-informed ecclesiastical historians. No general councils were held till long after the canon of the New Testament was settled ; while the local synods held in the last half of the second century had respect to Montanism, and were, moreover, very inconsiderable. The reception of books, then, into the canon took place without external concert, and in a practical rather than a formal way ; that is, as Hug judiciously remarks : “ It was the distinguished and peculiar prerogative accorded to these writings, and for a long time the only mark of distinction which could be given them, that they were publicly read in the Christian assemblies. As in the religious meetings of the Jews this honor was usually conferred only upon the law and the prophets, so among the Christians this eminent prerogative was granted only to the writings of the apostles, together with the Old Testament which they retained from the Jews.”<sup>2</sup> Thus the New Testament books were first

<sup>1</sup> The Inspiration of Scripture, Lect. ii. p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> Introduction to the New Testament, chap. iii. § 16.

practically, and afterwards by a conscious recognition, placed on a level with those of the Old. In all this process we have no intimation that the canon of the New Testament was formed by direct revelation of the Holy Spirit, any more than it was by the formal authoritative decision of the church as a whole. The work was accomplished in a spontaneous, informal way, by the use of human means under the illumination and guidance of the Spirit. This is implied in the words above quoted; for the exercise of "solid judgment," "critical sagacity," and "unceasing caution and anxious vigilance" in respect to the reception of books into the canon implies that the procedure was according to some reasonable ground of evidence. It was not a prophetic dictum, "Thus saith the Lord," but a process of judgment; and it is concerning the *rule of judgment* that we are now inquiring. We do not take the naked authoritative decision of the primitive church; for, as we have seen, no such decision was ever given.<sup>1</sup> Nor do we rest upon any revelations made to a New Testament prophet or body of prophets concerning the canon. For ecclesiastical history furnishes no trace of such revelations. We inquire rather, in a reverential, but not a blind spirit, concerning the *grounds* on which the primitive churches received certain books into the canon while they rejected others.

Here the answer is at hand, and in it we find the true test of inspiration. The primitive churches received the writings of certain men as invested with divine authority on the ground of their *special relation to Christ as apostles or their recognized associates and fellow-laborers*. Lee, in the work that has been already quoted, speaks with disapprobation of a theory of inspiration which "estimates the divine character of scripture by the relation in which its authors stood to Christ." And he adds:

"From this . . . . view it results, we are further told, that

<sup>1</sup> That is, for the *formation* of the canon. There was plenty of ecclesiastical legislation in later times, as all know, on the canon, as on all other points pertaining to the doctrine and discipline of the churches.



a distinction is to be drawn between the different parts of the New Testament; and that higher authority must be ascribed to the writings of the apostles, than to those portions of it which have been composed by their disciples and assistants; hence it follows that the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke possess less authority than those of St. Matthew or St. John.”<sup>1</sup>

We agree with the author that any theory of inspiration which admits of such an inference must be faulty; and we are inclined to think that, in the form stated by him, the theory virtually sets aside inspiration. Its underlying idea, if we rightly apprehend it, is this: Christ himself was infallible. If we could have an exact record of his teachings, in their true connections and relations, this would be truth without any mixture of error. The apostles, by virtue of their nearer relation to Christ, may be reasonably supposed to have had a more perfect apprehension of his words and deeds than men who, like Mark and Luke, were only the companions of the apostles and their fellow-laborers. Consequently the writings of the former possess for us higher authority than those of the latter. This is not so much a theory of inspiration, as a theory to dispense with inspiration, in the true sense of the word. Nevertheless it remains true that the primitive Christians judged of the claims of a writing to have a place in the New Testament canon from the author's relation to Christ. If a book could be shown to have been written by an apostle, that was a sufficient warrant for its reception. If, as is commonly believed, certain apostolic epistles were early lost, it cannot be shown that this was due to their rejection as not having the marks of inspiration. There are other suppositions more natural and reasonable. It is certainly conceivable that an apostolic epistle, if its contents related mainly to the local interests of a particular church, should have been left with this church uncopied till it finally perished by some one of the many casualties to which all written documents are liable. Considered on the

<sup>1</sup> The Inspiration of Scripture, Lect. v. pp. 218, 219.

divine side, such a loss would be providential; but on the human side it might be regarded as fortuitous. But, however this may be, there is not a particle of evidence that any writing known to have proceeded from the pen of an apostle was ever rejected as uninspired.

With regard to the *companions of the apostles*, there is ground for believing that the primitive churches recognized gradations among them, and that they did not receive indiscriminately the writings of all of them as possessing divine authority. The full consideration of this subject is reserved for consideration in a future Number. It is sufficient to remark at present that no writing was admitted into the canon of the New Testament that did not proceed from an *apostle*, or from one who was *associated with the apostles in the work of the ministry* and recognized as possessing spiritual gifts in common with them.

Here, then, we have an intelligible objective rule of judgment, and one that is in harmony with the whole history of redemption. God is not the author of confusion. He works in a sovereign way, but never at random. There is system in the operations of grace as well as of nature. Having chosen the nation of Israel as his peculiar people, he made them, and not the world at large, the depositaries of his revelations. Nor were his communications to them made in a scattered way without order, but rather according to an established economy. He raised up from Moses till the close of the Babylonish captivity a regular succession of prophets; most of them trained in the schools of the prophets, but some of them, like Amos,<sup>1</sup> called directly from the ordinary avocations of life. It is admitted that no book was received into the canon of the Old Testament which had not for its author a prophet, or a prophetic man, like Solomon, Ezra, and Nehemiah. Into the composition of certain books state documents may have entered; but they were selected by one who had the spirit of prophecy, and thus had the sanction of God. It is further admitted that the canon of

<sup>1</sup> Amos vii. 14, 15.

the Old Testament was closed soon after the captivity, because from that time, to use the words of Josephus, "the exact succession of the prophets was wanting."<sup>1</sup> An analogous economy of revelation appears under the New Testament. The gift of the Spirit, in a high and special sense, was imparted to the disciples on the day of Pentecost, and the apostles enjoyed the high prerogative of communicating this gift to others by the laying on of hands.<sup>2</sup> We have no indications in the New Testament that this power was extended beyond their circle. These men the primitive church acknowledged as having the broad seal of divine authority, and their writings they received as inspired of God. We shall proceed in the next Number to inquire whether their judgment rested on valid grounds.

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### ARTICLE III.

#### INSTINCT.

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THERE seem to be three forms of nervous and mental phenomena, very distinct in kind, yet easily passing into each other by slight gradations. The first form is purely a vital, nervous fact, and cannot properly be called mental. It is that by which through a nervous centre or centres the present condition and the muscular action of a living body are harmonized. Thus, in man, the lungs, heart, stomach, intestines are subject to a constant play of muscular forces, suited to the passing state of those organs by means of nervous centres, which receive, on the one hand, influences from these seats of activity, and on the other, return to them the impulses of regular, suitable, proportionate muscular effort,

<sup>1</sup> Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀρταξέρξου μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνου γέγραπται μὲν ἕκαστα, πίστεως δὲ οὐχ ὁμοίας ἡξίωται τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν, διὰ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι τὴν τῶν προφητῶν ἀκριβῆ διαδοχὴν. — Against Apion, i. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Acts viii. 17 seq.; xix. 6.

by which their rhythmic movements are maintained and their functions discharged.

This form of nervous action is not confined to the viscera ; it extends, in a greater or less degree, to all parts of the body, and maintains the voluntary muscles in that general state of tensity which keeps the body charged with life and ready for the immediate handling of the will.

A second class of nervous and mental phenomena is found in the senses, in the memory which retains and restores their impressions, and in the muscular action consequent upon them. The first harmonic effort of the nervous system, by which the constant activities of the living being are made concordant with each other, and with the changing state of each of its parts, and with the most immediate of the forces which act upon it from its environment, does not necessarily enter consciousness, and is for the most part secured in a direct, automatic, unmistakable way. The second class of nervous facts of which we are now speaking appears in consciousness, and these give us rudimentary mental phenomena. The living being is by it adapted to the less immediate and constant of its external conditions ; through it, it is made cognizant of transient circumstances, and suits itself to them. We cannot definitely say how much, but certainly a great deal, can be accomplished with a basis of appetites, by alert, specific senses, a retentive memory, and action that follows instantly on the impulse given by these. In the first place, the special appetites are, by odor, sight, sound, set in speedy pursuit of their appropriate objects, and their search becomes increasingly skilful and successful. The memory rapidly classifies, and thus generalizes, all the experiences for weal and woe to which the living being has been hitherto subjected ; and this it does in so direct, automatic a way as to give the utmost promptness to the actions it controls. The very conditions of effort suggest at once, under accumulated experience, the results ; and the animal acts as if in immediate view of those consequences whose inevitable sequence time has established in the associations of the

mind. Memory may thus oftentimes do the work of judgment in a way more decided and safe than is possible to the higher faculty. A decision resting on the balance of cases is found in the very faculty itself, and with an effect as instant as vision controls the conduct.

The third class of nervous phenomena, or phenomena dependent on the nervous system with its great centres, is still more purely mental; it is that of judgment or thought. In the previous class, we have sensations, the feelings which these directly call forth, whether of appetite, sportiveness, fellowship, hostility, fear, and the inevitable junction of these by memory under the experiences of life in fixed associations, whereby action is suited instantly to the conditions under which it arises. Hence come the tricks of the old dog, the cunning of the fox, the sagacity of the elephant. In the present class, we have the facts of sensation thrown distinctly, consciously, by the mind's own action, into judgments. The mind states to itself the conditions before it, and draws from them in full form certain conclusions. Something more than the associations of memory, restoring things as they have been previously found, is here involved. No judgment, not even the simplest, can be formed without the presence of one or more of those ideas known as intuitive. It is not to our purpose to discuss the origin of these ideas. It is sufficient to say that some one or other of them enters into the most rudimentary thought, if we use this word as an equivalent to judgment. The marble is, involves the idea of existence; the marble is white, this idea and that of resemblance; the marble is now white, these two ideas and that of time; this marble is now white, these three and that of place or space. The direct, conscious union of facts and ideas in judgments is thinking. This is thinking; though thinking includes this and something more.

The three classes we have now defined are typically distinct, though passing easily into each other, and mingling freely with each other in psychological events. The first class hinges on unconscious states, automatic in the series



of actions which, through the nervous system, flows from them; the second class hinges on sensations—conscious states, reached by special organs and general conditions, which in a conscious way secure appropriate action; the third class hinges on ideas which are occasions of judgments, in turn controlling voluntary actions.

All three of these forms are found in man, and mutually modify each other. The complete or highest type of rational action is seen in the third class; though this is supplemented and aided by both the other two. The labor, if it may be so called, of simply living,—of keeping the vital organs in harmonious play, in perfect relation,—is taken off the mind as a conscious activity, and left with the highly organized and organizing nervous centres, which do this work in a comparatively direct, unvarying fashion. Yet over these processes the mind exercises a measure of power, quickening or retarding inspiration, shutting, opening, directing the eyes, relaxing or making more tense muscles already affected by involuntary forces. The lower life is run independently of the higher life, though kept in a state of readiness for it, subject to its influence and use. Much of what is known as skill is but a change of voluntary into involuntary or automatic connections. So long as one is compelled to put a distinct, conscious purpose back of each motion, his movements are slow, perplexed, and awkward. When at length such a union has by repetition been established that the succession of actions in any series can be handed over to the unconscious muscular, nervous system, to the rhythm of its instant and unerring play, then skill appears; the whole movement is rapid, precise, felicitous. Thus the skilful organist, wrapped in the sentiment of the piece, scarcely knows the existence of the keys that are responding so perfectly to his rapid touch.

What is known as instinct falls, at least in part, into this division. Besides the organic and the acquired harmonies of the nervous and muscular systems, there are others which we observe, even in man, without understanding their ground.

One who is in the habit of profound thought will frequently fall into a tendency toward an attitude which he afterwards unconsciously assumes whenever thus engaged. The very state of severe thought acts on remote, disconnected muscles, and secures very soon the habitual position. It is told — is it not — of Sir Walter Scott, that when a lad he was rarely at the head of his class in spelling, but once won that station in this manner. He had observed that his successful competitor was accustomed, when a hard word was put to him, to worry a particular button in his vest as he spelled it. This he succeeded in stealthily removing. The trial came; the difficult word was on the lips of the master, and the hand went to its accustomed place; the button was wanting, and the mind was thrown into confusion; the word was missed, and Walter went to the head. Here was an instinctive, constant connection between things apparently unrelated, yet one of such importance that on its failure the mind at once lost its cunning.

In certain physical states, we observe a tendency in sleep to throw the arms over the head, and this, too, against the will of the person, and often with real discomfort as its result. Some condition of the general system without obvious reason establishes this wayward tendency, and on each return exhibits this correlation of the nervous and muscular systems. These, and many like examples, as those states which render certain places and positions agreeable, especially to the aged, certain hours and attitudes consonant with certain trains of thought independently of direct suggestion, play, it is true, no very important part in the human constitution, as reason so largely displaces with us blind instinctive connections; yet they may serve as examples of facts which occupy a very important place in other forms of life.

Of the second class of psychological facts, in which the senses in a direct way, with little or no intervention of thought, guide action, we have abundant examples. In working at familiar tasks, the mind is often occupied with

some subject of thought, and is called only now and then to the oversight of the labor of the hands. The shoe-maker at his bench, the farmer at his plow, each pursues his toil, yet directs his mind to some project or favorite topic, and is but slightly interrupted by his well-known task. The merchant, returning from the business of the day, threads his way along the crowded streets, turns the familiar corners, and reaches his own home under the absorbing interest of an important transaction, without any direct attention or effort of thought. One, in reading aloud, finds articulation following in so mechanical a manner the sight of the letters, as to leave the mind wholly attentive to the sentiment; or, failing of interest in this, to be completely occupied by some theme of its own. It is astonishing how easily and perfectly the thoughts slip the drudgery of familiar labor on to the senses and muscles, and then wander at will in pursuit of their own pleasure. The thinking power is thus plainly ruler in the intellectual household, and reserves itself for whatever of variety and exigency may be met with, leaving the daily routine of life to its dependents.

These three classes of facts co-exist in the vital and intellectual constitution of man, in a changeable, fluent, and pervasive form. They interpenetrate each other, replace each other, and unite in the same results. This is especially true in the case with which the higher sinks into the lower, and rises out of it. Thought can instantly overlook and arrest the mere automatic senses, or send a volition, or the reaction of a moral sentiment down upon the purely vital forces. These last, on the other hand, are the permanent conditions of mental action, and give the basis of force above which and upon which this plays. They limit it, therefore, in the degree and direction of its manifestation, but in no sense rule over it, nor are they able even momentarily to replace it. The relation between the highest and lowest is not perfectly reciprocal. The higher is to the lower what the lower can not be to the higher, and the reverse. Automatic, nervous action can exist apart from thought; thought is

dependent on the structure which, by this means, is built up for it, and placed at its disposal. Thought has an immediate oversight of, and more or less control over, subsidiary powers; these have no control, properly so called, over thought. The lower facts are more independent, more self-sufficient; the higher more free and influential.

The manner in which thoughtful, conscious states of mind are replaced by the unconscious ones of the nervous system, or these suddenly restored to the mind's attention, may be illustrated by the clouds that now pass into invisible vapor, and anon return again to their visible form. The manner in which these three kinds of facts concur in one end finds a resemblance in the interaction of chemical and circulatory forces on the fluids of the body. Transfer and chemical change proceed together, and secure that modification of character in these fluids as they pass their rounds which renders the circulation of the blood, for instance, very different from the churning of a homogeneous liquid through a series of tubes and strainers. Affinity, endosmose, attraction, seize on its particles, modify them, and urge them onward. In a like living, interpenetrable way do the facts of mind transpire.

We have brought forward these divisions, not so much for the light they may bring to psychology, as for the explanation which they seem to us to afford to animal life, and this in two directions: first, as to the mental powers which are to be attributed to animals; second, as to the nature of instinct. But two of these classes of psychological facts, the first and the second, are to be found in the action of brutes. Alert senses, a ready memory, and a varied experience, are sufficient to explain conduct that seems to involve reflection. In handling this question, we are to bear in mind two things: first, that the least sufficient cause for any class of facts is the one to be accepted; second, that the similarity of behavior in the brute to man in given cases does not imply like causes, so long as the *tout ensemble* of action is very diverse. Our conclusions must rest, not on detached and extreme

instances, but on the general appearance and character of the phenomena under discussion. The aspect of animal life, as a whole, should have more weight in forming our opinions than rare cases of sagacity. If the explanation we bring to these seems to any a little forced, this is better than to assign exaggerated and disproportionate causes to the bulk of the facts before us. It is more rational to suppose that a given set of powers should sometimes accomplish what at first sight seems beyond them, than to suppose that another set of powers should habitually do far less than belongs to them; that brute faculties should make an occasional leap, than that human faculties should lie unawakened on the low level of brute achievement. We are to decide this question, not so much by driblets of evidence as by the bulk and mass of facts before us.

We urge that memory and sensation, the basis of experience, are sufficient to explain the mental phenomena of brute life, from the form which the facts of animal intelligence present. The sagacity of brutes is restricted, disproportionate, rapid, and precise. They know in one direction far more, and in other directions far less, than they should know, if their knowledge were the result of reflection. There is also a readiness and exactness of use which show, that their intelligence is not of a meditative, ratiocinative character. In both of these respects, in its limitations and its completeness, it is more allied to the knowledge of the savage than to that of civilized man. The acquisitions of the savage are the fruits of quick, well-trained senses, and brief, experimental inferences; the information of the civilized man comes from wider observation, more protracted reflection, and a complicated interlock of conclusions. The savage, like the animal, threads the forest with safety and directness, while the reasonings of the enlightened traveller leave him bewildered and uncertain. How often it is said of animals, that they will follow back a road that they have once gone over without hesitation or mistake. This ought to be, if their knowledge is that of memory and the senses;



it ought not to be, if it is that of reflection. Man, because of his reflective faculties, is the more liable to err in affairs of this sort. Other questions have occupied his mind while the objects to be observed were passing before him; he has moved forward in a more or less distracted mood, and when he would retrace his steps he fails to recognize the features of the way. The animal, and the savage allied to the animal in his phases of mental activity, have, while pursuing their course, had their entire life, their entire attention in the senses: a memory exclusively and constantly trained in this direction has stored up impressions, and hence they return with ease along the road by which they came.

The same is true in all directions of knowledge. Completeness and readiness, within a narrow circle, belong to information that springs from the senses and memory as opposed to that which is due to reflection. In the one case, the subjects of knowledge are limited to the senses, and further, to those sensible objects in which the appetites and habits of the brute interest it. This leads to the almost perfect exclusion of other subjects of information, and leaves the brute as we find him, with an intellectual outlook exactly suited to his physical necessities. In the other case, reflection may propound subjects of thought in any and all directions, and knowledge rapidly gains in breadth what it lacks in precision. There is the same difference also between the two kinds of knowing as regards quickness in use. That which rests on a limited, exact experience, and is kept perfectly in hand by the memory, evidently affords no ground of hesitation or uncertainty within that restricted range of questions of which it treats; whereas a mind that reaches its conclusions from premises gathered with labor, and interpreted with hesitation, must often, on very simple points fall into uncertainty and occasion delay. We are confident that the more this point of the form of intelligence is considered, the more will it be seen that there is here a radical difference between brute and human intelligence, referable to the manner of acquisition; the one exhibiting the alert-

ness, exactness, and limitation of the senses ; the other, the breadth, slowness, and uncertainty of reflection.

A second ground for the distinction now urged between brute powers and those of men is found in the limits of animal knowledge. These, though occasionally transcended by exceptional sagacity, are fixed and well-defined ; they are those which fit each species to the needs of its own physical life, and include nothing more. We do not find animals, as we constantly find men, possessed of knowledge outside their physical wants, with no immediate reference to them. The cunning of the rat, the sagacity of the beaver, the wisdom of the bee, are all developed under a definite experience that has exclusive reference to their immediate well-being, and at no point transcends it. If these gains were the result of reflection, they ought not to accept these sharp bounds, and to stop short with immediate utilities. There would be a certain momentum gained in their early and complete development, their wonderfully sagacious and exhaustive occupation of a single field, which would inevitably, in some instances at least, carry the mind further, and lead to general intelligence. The savage by no means adapts his life so happily and completely to his conditions as do the bee and beaver to theirs ; yet he ever and anon transcends his limits, these never.

Nor does this fixedness of animal knowledge arise from the lack of external stimulus. This is clearly seen in domestic animals. These are brought into daily contact with a higher order of intelligence. The words and actions of men come under their constant observation. Acts, within and just beyond the scope of simple reflective faculties, are before them, and their own advantage would often be found in the thoughtful apprehension of them. Imagine man so situated in reference to a higher order of beings, and how instant and inevitable would be the progress achieved by him ! Yet domestic animals are scarcely more sagacious or intelligent than wild animals, often less so. The additional knowledge they have, arises simply from a tacit

adjustment of their powers to new conditions of life and new lines of experience. In these they are no more keen or quick than the beasts of the forest in their avocations. Animals learn to use words, never to talk. The parrot-like way in which language is repeated by them is proverbial. They understand words so far as reiteration, action, gesture, voice, have made them intelligible by fixed and inevitable association, and no further. The animals which belong to civilized races are not civilized. Indeed, those of barbarous and nomadic tribes frequently have the advantage in acquisitions, because they have been subjected to a more direct and reiterated discipline. All this is inexplicable on the supposition that animals possess the full circle of reflective powers. Such powers ought to be open to this extraordinary stimulus, and occasionally, at least, to start forward in independent development. If, on the other hand, the senses are the sole avenues and real limits of brute intelligence, these facts are what we should expect them to be. The knowledge of each animal, wild or domestic, would confine itself to its own circle of experiences, and these experiences would depend upon the objects forced on its attention by its own wants. All other objects, actions, relations, would be, as it were, unseen by it; as there is nothing in its circumstances to bring them to its notice, and no curious thought to send its eyes in search of them. Each animal, therefore, would soon reach an equilibrium under any given set of physical conditions forcing development, and there pause till new dangers or varied circumstances pressed upon it.

If it be now urged that there are, nevertheless, very many instances of sagacity on the part of animals which transcend the powers here attributed to them, we make answer, that the objector has probably not duly considered how much is within the scope of acute senses, a retentive memory, protracted experience, hereditary endowments, and transferred habits. A premise and a conclusion can as certainly be united by memory as by judgment, with this advantage in the former case, that the union is instant, and thus in the

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best working form. The fact that we habitually employ the one connection, serves to disguise from us the ease and certainty of the other. We behold in a brute an action indicating intelligence, and we can hardly do otherwise than put back of it the state of mind which it would imply in us, yet this plainly is not a safe conclusion, as these actions do many of them, it is evident, arise in a very different way. This fact should prepare us to consider quietly the question, whether they may not all, even the most surprising, be due to simpler forms of mental activity than those of the syllogism.

When several lines of experience meet in one transaction, they present in the animal an appearance of thoughtfulness, tending to a conviction which it is difficult to resist. Yet, when we come to analyze them, and mark the gradual growth of each conclusion, and their fortuitous combination, the difficulty disappears. A horse quietly unties himself, goes to an adjacent bin, lifts the cover, finds it impeded by the measure resting upon the top of the bin, removes this with his teeth, then successfully throws back the lid, and helps himself to the grain. Disturbed by approaching footsteps, he hastens back to the stall. This, or a like transaction, beheld for the first time, brings with it a strong belief in the thoughtful sagacity of the brute achieving so comfortable a trick. Yet, if we have watched him, we know exactly how the animal, by slow experience, has gained this skill. Long since, working uneasily at his halter, at rare intervals he untied it. Taught by this accidental success, he was shortly able to untie himself readily. The bin, whence he daily received his coveted feed, became at once an object of attention. The same blind, tentative effort with his teeth soon taught him to open it. These lessons, extending over some weeks, were varied with another line of experience. Occasionally caught in the theft, a sharp blow impressed the lesson of caution. A third judgment was thus formed. Sometimes, moreover, he failed of success because the shelf made by the top of the bin was occupied by some object, too large to allow the dropping of the open lid in rest against

the wall above. These obstacles, in the violence and worry of repeated failure, were knocked off, and success again achieved. Here was a fourth line of experience, a memoriter judgment confirmed by practice. With this education of his own achievement, the horse fastened in the ordinary way, is ready at once to untie himself, proceed cautiously to the bin, remove all obstacles, open quietly the cover, and take at discretion the reward of talent. Yet, we know exactly how this skill has been reached without one trace of thought in the whole affair.

Suppose, now, a far more complicated combination of experiences, acquired through a more protracted and varied history entirely unknown to us, and plainly we shall make the hasty inference, Here is reflection, with no more ground for the conclusion than in the simple case before us, whose steps we have known and watched.

Moreover, tales of sagacity in animals are told in a way so inexact and partial as to lead to inferences quite unwarranted. Very much is within the reach of quick, alert senses, cognizant of objects far and near; a strong memory, uniting in permanent associations favorable and unfavorable experiences; habits established by laborious training, or transmitted by descent; and the fierce incentives presented by the appetites, by anger, by fear, by natural affection.

A third reason why we believe the powers of animals to be those now indicated is found in the growth of their intelligence and in the method of its transfer. Animals are undeniably taught what they learn by reiterated association. The first and more difficult task is to establish a connection, through the senses of the horse, dog, pig, parrot, between the voice or gesture of the trainer and the desired action. The attention at length directed to the right connection, this is confirmed by repetition, till the animal responds at once to the signal. Success in the handling of animals turns on skill in preparing the conditions of right action, and in at once recognizing and establishing it. Violence, which alarms and confounds the mind, irregularity, which confuses it



and prevents the formation of fixed association, are especially unfavorable to the training of brutes. Thus it happens that the horse and ox so soon acquire something of the disposition of the driver, and settle down into patient and perfect obedience when a quiet, trusty, and sagacious mood reigns in him. Chastisement disproportioned to the offence, or in the least disconnected from it, makes a horse vicious, because, lacking those rational powers which would enable him to connect the punishment with its ground or reason in his own behavior, he simply associates any exigency with danger to himself, and becomes at once restive and unmanageable through fear. An accident evokes the expectation of a whipping, and the animal is thoroughly unsafe through this false association.

Training is also measurably transmitted in animals, which it ought not to be were it a purely rational process. The acquired powers of men are not thus communicated. The various breeds of dogs, in whom distinct habits have been the subject of protracted training, transmit, in a large degree, their peculiar endowments to their progeny, and pointers, hounds, the dogs of St. Bernard, retain from generation to generation their acquired skill. If this skill has been due to a special discipline of the senses and a correlation of the voluntary powers with them, then the physical constitution may have been so modified in connection with it as to give a reason for this transmission. When we add to this the ease with which the parent animal by direct example would educate its offspring, we have a sufficient explanation of this fact of inheritance — a fact quite exceptional, if the acquired characteristics of brutes are the result of reflection. The great, cardinal features, then, of animal knowledge — its form, its limits, its methods of acquisition and transfer — look to the one conclusion we have urged, — that it is to be found in fixed associations, constructed from the ample material of the senses. All that can be offered against this reasoning are those cases of peculiar sagacity which are thought to transcend the possibilities of such powers as these.

We explain the impression which such cases make upon us, first, by the inevitable tendency to enlarge them, and interpret them by a transfer to them of our own experience and feelings, and secondly, by our oversight of the varied and protracted experiences of which they are the last result. The waves on the beach work out some fine mathematical forms; they are not therefore geometricians.

We now pass to instinct. This has of late called forth much discussion—discussion which has brought to light a tendency to greatly restrict the province of instinct or to banish it altogether. It is said that the word conveys no clear idea, groups in a confused way very diverse facts, and affords them merely a verbal explanation.

There are, we believe, a class of allied facts which may be designated by this word, and which are to be united to our first class of nervous phenomena—those by which in a direct, involuntary way the present condition and muscular action of a living body are harmonized. These phenomena are of two kinds—those which recur statedly, and are common to many forms of life, of which breathing and digestion are examples; and those which are irregular in their occurrence, variable in character, and confined to specific forms of life. To this division belong instincts. They are actions which present the form of voluntary, with the characteristics of involuntary, effort. In form they are intermittent, changeable in time and circumstance, and spring from no obvious physical state in the party putting them forth. In character they are exact, complete, and limited, and without essential modification from generation to generation. The changes that are induced in instincts are evidently occasioned by the play upon them of higher powers.

The instinctive act is one, then, which has a basis, more or less obscure, in the physical state of the animal, and which controls by a direct correlation its conduct. An apparently conscious and voluntary connection is really one of an involuntary and unconscious character; that is to say,

facts which in their form belong in one class, are found by intrinsic character to fall into another. Instincts are by no means actions wholly alien to the animal constitution. They are simply a lower form of purely nervous activity, supplementing in a higher field powers not yet sufficiently developed to take possession of the province of effort ultimately falling to them.

This view is urged upon us, first, by the fact that it allies instincts to known forms of vital action. All the internal, vital organism is maintained by a direct correlation through the nervous system of varying conditions with varying muscular effort. Thus the exact state of the lungs is each moment recorded and responded to in exhalation and inhalation. It will be thought, however, that this agreement is more apparent than real; since, in the one case, we have the precise condition of a given organ as the previous ground of muscular effort, while in the other we know not what initiatory states of the system can precede the instinctive action. A little thought reduces this difficulty, if it does not remove it. While we can refer the muscular action of a given organ to the present condition of that organ acting on a nervous centre, we have but slight idea of the manner in which that condition is declared, or of the way in which the declaration of it in the nervous system secures the appropriate activity. We can scarcely be more ignorant of the connection of general physical states, or the condition of specific organs with instinctive action, than we are of the character of this recognized dependence through the nervous system of organic states and activities.

Moreover, we can often with plausibility refer the excitation in instinct to specific organs. The young of mammalia have a tendency to suckle so immediate and direct that most recognize it as an instinct. In domestic animals, when it is necessary to substitute at once drinking for sucking, it is accomplished with more or less effort and inconvenience. Though both acts are equally possible, and both reach the end of nourishment, there is so positive a tendency to the

one that the other is substituted for it by degrees and often with considerable difficulty. This instinctive tendency, as we shall venture, therefore, to call it, notwithstanding such objections as those of Mr. Wallace, finds an obvious seat in the nutritive organs, and may as well be the muscular product of their condition as peristaltic motion. The instinct, less or more, connected with nidification and with kindred means of propagation, may find a source in the sexual organism. If we consider how immediately beneficial most instinctive action is to the animal putting it forth, we shall not often miss some general or local uneasiness, some direct or indirect gratification, which may be assigned as the condition of the effort.

Neither would it be altogether strange if instinct should be in many cases attached directly to the senses; certain sights and sounds calling forth the desirable action. If we are threatened with a blow in the face, we instantly close the eyes, avert the head, or raise the hand. These movements outstrip the reflective faculties in rapidity, and, whether instinctive, as they are generally thought to be, or the growth of experience, they illustrate the possibility of a direct attachment of muscular effort to a given state of the senses. The opening of the spring may develop, without reflection or experience, the migratory impulse in birds, to be followed, on the approach of winter, by a reverse movement. The very state of the atmosphere may act directly on the bee, determining whether it shall leave the hive or not. It need not forecast the day as one of clouds and storm, and thus tarry at home; its own delicate barometrical organism may declare the facts in a more unmistakable way. As men have a theology which "they feel in their bones," so may the bee have an equally deep and far more certain domestic economy in its very structure. The same may be true of the spider, proportioning the size of its web to the calmness of the day. A nervous system that forecasts the weather may directly govern the ventures for the morning.

In any case in which we seem to lack all grounds of

reference, as in the one mentioned by Kirby and Spence — the slaughter of the drones by the workers each summer, except in hives destitute of a queen, we still find analogous actions in our own experience. We cannot say what portion of the system, or what want in the whole system, compels one, as he commences a discourse, to twist a watch-chain, crumple a paper, or work with a pencil. What is there in close thought which necessitates a given position of the body or hands, or induces one to choose a given hour of the day or night? Yet these or like habits are matters of constant observation. An obscure, irrational correlation has been established between certain states and acts, and the one induces the other as inevitably and blindly as in the case of any instinct whatever. When, therefore, we refer to instinct actions which have an apparent reflective character beyond the range of powers in the animal performing them, and yet whose excitation cannot be attributed to any obvious local condition of the organization, we do at least put them with phenomena closely analogous, where they can well wait for further explanation.

The present view of instinct is also pressed upon us by the ease with which it unites this form of activity to others. Organic, instinctive, sensitive, reflective action play into each other in a direct, vital way; one often replacing another, and two or more uniting in the same transaction. From that action which within the body maintains the healthy functions of an organ, how easy is the transition to more intermittent and external effort, to instinct, which ministers in a like, though more general, manner to physical well-being. Again, how closely allied is instinct to acquired skill or muscular habit, by which difficult processes are performed in a ready, rote way, entirely beyond reflection. Indeed, it will not be easy always to keep apart these two kinds of facts, and to say positively of given conduct that it is planted instinctively in the constitution, and is not the result of protracted experience. If it should be made out that the difference between instinct and skill is found in the



length of experience from which they spring, the distinction would still hold as between the animal and man. The one would be the working up from below of undesigned connections into habit; and the other, the working down from above of reflective, voluntary associations into automatic, muscular play.

There is also in connection with instinct the largest possible modification of conduct by the senses. Mr. Wallace takes especial offence at the part assigned instinct in nidification. Is there not ground for this? and may not the objection be removed without an entire denial of the direct, instinctive sagacity so many have seen in the construction of nests? We are not to suppose the senses present without constant influence on the work as it proceeds; nor the bird to be uninfluenced in its labor by a feeling of safety or danger. These momentarily modify and govern its effort, but do not entirely explain the ease, uniformity, celerity, and inimitable excellence of the results. The senses give conditions under which the problem is solved, but the solution itself shows that unvarying exactitude of execution which indicates the presence of other powers than those of reflection. The form of the whole life, contrasted with this portion of it, exhibits a range of action too narrow to be attributed to reasoning powers. Faculties of this class, adequate to these results, would totally alter the entire conduct, and make of bird-life a very different thing. If, however, we recognize the presence and modifying power of the senses, and also the instinctive, constructive impulse, both moving toward a common end in an inseparable way, we shall be able readily to include, on the one side, the various material and modifications of the nest; on the other, the certainty and completeness of the general pattern.

Instinct also unites easily with all the knowledge gained by experience. Instinct gives a basis and framework of action which experience can enlarge and confirm; and experience, by its simple, reiterated connections, may often, by protracted influence and inheritance, take the form of

instinct. These two elements it is impossible perfectly to separate; it is sufficient to recognize the presence and need of both: instinct, to explain the rise, direction, exactness, and rigidity of the life developed in animals; and experience, to expound whatever of growth and variation it may be found to exhibit. If we take an example in the higher forms of life, as that of the beaver, we may easily accept any facts which go to show an accumulated experience, leading the animal to fit his conduct to the waters occupied by him, building or omitting the dam, and varying his lodge as the exigencies of the case require. It will inevitably happen, that the final, conjoint product of instinct and experience, in a case like this, will present results which will equal those reached by very considerable reflective powers, and, therefore, will, at once and strongly, suggest such faculties. It is popular, hasty thought which attributes to animals endowments sufficient to accomplish immediately and independently the works wrought by them, and a later and more studious consideration of the subject, that recognizes growth, the imperceptible accumulations of more limited faculties, in the last achievements of brute sagacity. Men are not reluctant, as idolatry too plainly shows, to ascribe superior powers to inferior objects. This is the first easy and usually erroneous judgment which they bring to the explanation of familiar and unfamiliar facts not within their experience.

A third reason for this view of instinct is found in the correspondence of powers implied in it to the serial development of the nervous system in the animal kingdom.

It is so well established, that the nervous system is the medium and source of all those influences which control, consciously and unconsciously, our vital powers, that we need not spend a word in confirmation of this conclusion. It follows directly from it, however, that mental power should be proportioned to the development, the force, the harmony, and unity of the nervous system. In the nervous constitution there is a constant though general progress in

development as we pass from the lower to the higher forms of animal life. While we cannot arrange the animal kingdom in regular series, we can easily indicate its higher and lower classes, and those which are, at least in a general way, intermediate. These gradations we find indicated and accompanied by a change in the nervous system, gaining in unity and power as we advance to higher orders. Starting with the Radiata, we meet, according to Owen, with a nervous system, when traces of it are visible, of a radiate, filamentary character, not presenting either a homogangliate or a heterogangliate type. It thus seems fitted rather for local, rhythmical action than for combined control of the entire body. The life is diffused and independent, rather than single and central. In the Articulata, the nerves are united by ganglia which encircle the gullet. From these sub-oesophageal ganglia, two chords are extended along the ventral surface of the abdomen, and are, in most species, united at certain distances by double ganglia which give origin to the nerves of the body segments. "In the class Annulata, the nervous system has reached a higher type and more constant plan of arrangement. It always commences by a symmetrical bi-lobed ganglion, meriting, both by its situation above the mouth and by the parts which it supplies, the name of brain, which it has commonly received. The sub-oesophageal ganglion is, however, the analogue, if not the homologue, of the medulla oblongata, and should be included in the encephalic division of the nervous system in both the articulate and molluscous animals."

In the Mollusca, which are rather co-ordinate with the Articulata than in advance of them, "the centre of the nervous system still bears the form of a ring surrounding the gullet, from which the nerves radiate, often unsymmetrically, to different parts of the body; the brain is represented by ganglia above or at the side, or below the gullet; other ganglia are developed in other parts of the body." There is thus still a want of unity, concentration, control in the nervous system.

In the Vertebrata, as obviously the highest sub-kingdom as the Radiata are the lowest, "the disposition of the principal mass of the nervous system is in a medium axis, consisting of the brain and spinal chord, situated along the dorsal aspect of the body, behind the heart and digestive system; and enclosed in a bony or cartilaginous case, constituting a vertebral column."

The brain now assumes, both an absolute and relative power not previously present; that is, if size and position are safe indications. In man, the cerebrum, the seat of reflection, overshadows the entire nervous system, and assumes a proportion at once and wholly beyond what we elsewhere meet with even in the Mammalia. The Quadrumana, which are nearest to man in size and organization, have a volume of brain little more than one third of that which belong to him. A slight falling off—that is, slight in comparison with the difference which separates man from the animals which approach nearest him—in the human brain, occasions idiocy. The rational powers, as they are found in him, cannot be maintained in their normal action with materially less nervous concentration and power.

If there is any significance in these facts, they must indicate a kind and grade of faculties very different in the lowest from those in the highest forms of life; they prepare us to expect diversities which amount to a distinction in kind rather than to one of degree. Such distinction the view we have presented recognizes. From a purely nervous, unconscious, automatic control, we pass up through instinct, the connections of association in the senses and memory, to the truly rational and reflective processes which characterize man, and closely subject the whole physical system to their control. On the view that these reflective activities are shared by animals, and are evinced in part by what is termed instinct, complete confusion is introduced; there is little or no correspondence in powers with the serial development of the nervous system through which these powers are expressed. To make this point plain, it will be necessary to

draw attention to the wonderful instinctive development of the lower animals; a fact not in the least perplexing if instinct is allied to nervous organic action, but one very troublesome if it is at all of the nature of reflection. The lower animals would thus become, in many cases, the most thoughtful and rational of the entire kingdom, and our pyramid would rest as often on its apex as its base.

Our first illustration is the hermit crab and cloak anemone. The habits of the crab are curious and quite to the point, but somewhat less so than the relation of the two animals to each other. The hermit crab avails itself of the shells of other animals, and frequently migrates from one to another as the old home becomes too small for him, or a new one promises more convenience. "A pretty little zoophyte, the cloak anemone, loves to live with the hermit, and exhibits sympathies almost inexplicable. In aquariums, this anemone attaches itself almost always to the shell which serves as the dwelling of the crustacean; and it may be looked upon as certain that where the hermit is there will the anemone be found. These two creatures seem to live in perfect and intelligent harmony together, for Mr. Gosse's observations establish the existence of a cordial and reciprocal affection between them. This learned and intelligent observer describes the proceedings of a hermit which required a new habitation; we saw it detach, in the most delicate but effective manner, its dear companion, the anemone, from the old shell, transport it with every care and precaution, and place it comfortably upon the new shell, and then with its large pincers give to its well-beloved many little taps, as if to fix it there the more quickly."

This account in "The Ocean World" is followed by this observation taken, with evident approval, from Gosse: "Is there not here much more than what our modern physiologists call automatic movements, the results of reflex sensorial action"? "The more I study the lower animals, the more firmly am I persuaded of the existence in them of psychical faculties, such as consciousness, intelligence, skill, and choice;



and that even in those forms in which as yet no nervous centres have been detected." This seems to us well nigh a *reductio ad absurdum*. We are to credit animals with a high type of intelligence which possess no known nervous centres. Brain would seem quite a superfluity on this view.

A second illustration is furnished us by Kirby and Spence from a more advanced form of life: "The web of a house-spider will, with occasional repairs, serve for a considerable period; but the nets of the geometric spiders are, in favorable weather, renewed either wholly, or at least their concentric circles, every twenty-four hours, even when not apparently injured. This difference in the operations of the two tribes depends upon a very remarkable peculiarity in the conformation of their snares. The threads of the house-spider's web are all of the same kind of silk; and flies are caught in them from their claws becoming entangled in the fine meshes which form the texture. On the other hand, the net of the garden spider is composed of two distinct kinds of silk; that of the radii not adhesive, that of the circles extremely viscid. The cause of this difference, which, when it is considered that both sorts of silk proceed from the same instrument, is truly wonderful, may be readily perceived. If you examine a newly formed net with a microscope, you will find that the threads composing the outline and the radii are simple, those of the circles closely studded with minute dew-like globules, which, from the elasticity of the thread, are easily separated from each other. That these are in fact globules of viscid gum is proved by their adhering to the finger and retaining dust thrown upon the net, while the unadhesive radii and exterior threads remain unsoiled. It is these gummed threads alone which retain the insects that fly into the net; and, as they lose their viscid properties by the action of the air, it is necessary that they should be frequently renewed." The account then proceeds to state a fact already referred to, "that if the weather be about to be variable, wet, and stormy, the main threads which support the net will be certainly short; but if fine, settled weather

be on the point of commencing, these threads will be as invariably very long." Here, again, on the view that thoughtful action is involved, we have very high results assigned to a relatively low organization. The difficulty of the theory is increased by two facts: first, that human intelligence does not suffice to predict the weather except within narrow limits, and in a very uncertain way; these little creatures are therefore sharper in their discernment, and more correct in their judgments, in one direction at least, than are men. Human powers handle awkwardly the problem they are said to solve so invariably. We run to our barometer and back again to our observations with great perplexity, and are at last overtaken by a sad mistake. If the spider does this thing by reason, let us do homage to our betters. Again, this instinct or intelligence of the geometric spider would but partially avail without the organic power to provide two kinds of silk. The very fact of such a constitution seems to imply the necessity of an immediate, constitutional use of the power.

This genus might afford many like illustrations. We add but one, the construction of her retreat under water by the amphibious spider: "First, she spins loose threads in various directions attached to the leaves of aquatic plants, which may be called the frame-work of her chamber, and over them she spreads a transparent varnish resembling liquid glass, which issues from the middle of her spinners, and which is so elastic that it is capable of great expansion and contraction; and if a hole be made in it, it immediately closes again. Next, she spreads over her belly a pellicle of the same material, and ascends to the surface. The precise mode in which she transfers a bubble of air beneath this pellicle is not accurately known; but from an observation made by the ingenious author of the little work from which this account is abstracted, he concludes that she draws the air into her body by the anus, which she presents to the surface of the pool, and then pumps it out from an opening at the base of the belly between the pellicle and that part

of the body, the hairs of which keep it extended. Clothed with this aerial mantle, which, to the spectator, seems formed of resplendent quicksilver, she plunges to the bottom, and, with as much dexterity as a chemist transfers gas with a gas-holder, introduces her bubble of air beneath the roof prepared for its reception. This manoeuvre she repeats ten or twelve times, until at length in about a quarter of an hour she has transported as much air as suffices to expand her apartment to its intended extent, and now finds herself in possession of a little aerial edifice, I had almost said an enchanted palace, affording her a commodious and dry retreat in the very midst of the water." The same observation again holds. This wonderful skill is developed in connection with peculiar organic powers, without which it would have no basis of operation, and with which it easily becomes a straightforward physical necessity.

Bees, scarcely midway in nervous organization, also exhibit, as we all know, very varied and wonderful instincts. These pertain, not only to individual wants and actions, but to the establishment and orderly maintenance of a large and complex community. Kirby and Spence indicate some sixty instincts as involved in these results. Some of these are of so wonderful a character that we are compelled to choose between a high order of intelligence and a large element of this direct, organic action known as instinct. The mathematical features of the comb, taxing man's later acquisitions for their entire comprehension; the ease with which the irregular conditions incident to a change of direction are met in its structure; the treatment of queens and drones, and the provision made for the production of queens; the orderly performance of labor; the defences against enemies, and the directness with which the bee returns from any point to the hive, exhibit faculties second to none in vigor and precision. If these, therefore, are of a primarily rational order, what are we to think? Certainly, that the highest nervous organizations have but slight advantage over the lowest.

Moreover, we here again meet the two objections: The

knowledge of the bee at certain points transcends that of ordinary reason. Men have no such apprehension of directions as the bee exhibits. They cannot imitate its celerity and certainty of movement. Again, the whole organism of the bee fits it to gather honey, collect pollen, form the comb, varnish it, solder the angles of the cells with propolis, and provide a peculiar food for the grubs. Without certain organic powers, tendencies, the whole domestic economy of these insects would be impossible.

We bring forward one more example, from a much higher form of development, that of the beaver. Among the striking facts on which Mr. Morgan predicates an intelligence in this animal allied to that of man, is its frequent construction of canals hundreds of feet in length for the easy transportation of its stores. Exactly what degree and form of knowing does this author suppose to be involved in this act? Men construct water-channels with every variety of thoughtfulness. The child, playing on the bank of the stream, may form such a channel by simply drawing the hand onward in the sand as the water follows it. Many men construct a ditch with much the same measure of sagacity. Others, with exact estimates and careful measurements lay under contribution the higher mathematics, and, in the instruments used, the best mechanical skill of their times. Which degree of intelligence are we to attribute to the beavers in their canals? Are they to have the benefit of the entire knowledge which men may expend on such constructions, or only of that degree which in cases of least thought they employ? Sound reasoning must say the least sufficient cause is the cause. If, however, another form of knowledge, diverse from that involved in reflection, is adequate to the result, and more in keeping with the entire habit and relations of the animal, we have even better grounds for assigning this as a sufficient explanation of the facts than those which have just led us to refer them to the lowest grade of rational power capable of the achievement. Both views admit intelligence; the difference between them lies in the kind and

grade of intelligence. The same reason which should compel Mr. Morgan to assign to the beaver the least measure of human forethought possible to the result, also leads us to assign another grade of powers, with this additional advantage, that consistency and proportion in the entire life of the beaver are thereby better preserved, and that a "brain without convolutions" is distinguished in its action from one possessing them in the highest degree.

Mr. Morgan, in urging the intelligence of the higher animals, tells a story of a fox to this effect: It found admission by a narrow hole into a hennerly. Having there gorged itself to repletion, it was unable to crawl out by the way at which it had entered. It lay down, and feigned death. When the owner entered, it was picked up as dead, carried out, and thrown down. The moment Reynard's heart yearned for had come; and he left at once. This narrative, not vouched for in form or circumstance as one of careful personal observation, is a fair example of many kindred accounts. What are we to think of the reflection of a fox who entered a small hole, by life-long experiences knowing the necessity of a safe retreat, and yet ate to that degree of fulness that he was unable to escape? Was such a fox as that able to anticipate a perfectly new exigency, and provide for it with the steadiness and sagacity indicated? Are we really bound to believe that he did not exercise the foresight that was easy and natural, and did exercise that most strange and anomalous; accomplishing a plan difficult of execution, to say the least, to human intelligence? Who is to assure us that the fox did not fall into a real syncope from which the jar of his fall restored him? The easier supposition should at least have place before the more difficult one.

It will be observed that in the defence of this view of instinct and animal powers now presented, we have said nothing of any distinction thereby made between man and the classes below him. We have drawn no argument from this consideration, nor sought by it to elicit any feeling. Indeed, we have more to fear than to hope from considera-



tions of this character in a fair, quiet discussion of the subject. If there are some who are glad of the establishment of such a difference, there are others equally influential who are determined to break it down. We have presented the argument, therefore, on its own merit, without reference to a point liable to disturb the candor of our judgments.

It should also be observed that we have neither in instinct nor its explanation invoked the aid of any supernatural element. This form of action is as normal, as much within the limits of the constitution to which it belongs, as is any portion of vital phenomena. If the connection between states and actions is less fixed in instinct than in organic play, it is not less certain and determinate. Moreover, this view throws all the facts of mental and nervous life into real classes — classes the existence of whose phenomena must, on any theory, be allowed. Whether these cover the exact facts that we have placed under them may be doubted. It can scarcely be doubted that there is, first, a direct dependence through the nervous system of organic conditions and organic play; secondly, a like more general and irregular dependence between certain acts and the physical states that accompany them; thirdly, an immediate control, grounded in appetite, of the muscles through the senses, and, consequent thereon, a like control in connection with the associations of memory; and, fourthly, a higher activity under rational ideas, designated by us as thought. The last of these divisions is, indeed, not made by many. The remaining three hardly admit of denial. But, if the first three are allowed, then this theory evokes no new causes, but classifies all the facts of animal life with admitted facts.

It should not be said that we withhold intelligence from the brute. We grant him intelligence of a given grade and kind, and intelligence, moreover, capable of some results hardly to be reached by reflection, and presenting a certainty and precision of action unknown to tardy thought. When we say that the animal does not think, we use language in a somewhat technical and limited sense. He does

not think, according to our idea and use of the words. Yet we have granted essentially that form of intelligence which is all that a large and increasing class of philosophers are willing to allow to man. If man is destitute of intuitive ideas, then he occupies the exact position we have assigned the brute, and is no better furnished than he. Surely, it should be sufficient to give the animal kingdom all that such men as Mill, Spencer, Bain, are willing to grant to man. If we still withhold the word thought, it is because we do not believe that thought, strictly so called, is possible on this narrow basis. Man possesses what the brute possesses, and in kind it is in the one exactly what it is in the other. The lower powers have not the same scope in human life, because they are in a measure displaced and overshadowed by the higher. This question demands for its discussion as thorough a mastery of psychology as of zoölogy; and we submit, therefore, what we have said as much to those who know man as to those who know all save man.

This Article had been prepared before the publication of "The Descent of Man," by Darwin. As that work discusses the relation of human and brute powers, expressing the views of a large school of modern scientists, it commands attention. It presents, however, no new grounds, and no sufficient reasons on which to modify the views we have now put forth. Darwin gives the following instance, as striking as any of those offered by him, of the intelligence of brutes: "Mr. Colquhoun winged two wild-ducks, which fell on the opposite side of a stream; his retriever tried to bring over both at once, but could not succeed; he then, though never known before to ruffle a feather, deliberately killed one, brought over the other, and returned for the dead bird." The question in this and like cases is, what is the character of the mental phenomena that accompanies the action: are they reflective—linked by thought; or are they associative—linked by experience? We think the last. Darwin must, to make them examples in point, affirm the first. We do

not believe that the retriever reflected: "I cannot carry over both birds, I must therefore kill one, and then return for it." This rather was the form of the facts: it tried to bring both, found itself unable, and, with the force of life-long associations, as the bird was ready to escape, closed its jaws upon it rather than lose it. What we deny to the state of mind in this dog, and in other like cases, is what may be termed thoughtful perspective; we substitute for it immediate association, as the entire form of life in brutes is more consistent with this view; and, moreover, we are not to attribute higher powers as long as those more primitive and simple can explain the facts. Suppose a carpenter, perfectly conversant with the business, to be engaged in sorting mixed lumber, laying it aside for various purposes. The labor would proceed for the most part without definite consideration, under fixed automatic associations, leaving the mind in a large measure vacant for thought proper. The requisite conclusions follow instantly on vision, having been made familiar by long practice. Deliberate thought arises only now and then, made requisite by some piece less obviously apt for any purpose. Thus the brute, by the established connections of his past experience, unites appropriate action to given conditions, without halting for the distinct recognition of either, or reflection upon them. His states and actions lie together, like colors on the canvass, and it is only the rational mind in looking upon them that interjects the perspective spaces of thought.

That the mental state of the mere animal is expressed by these direct connections is shown by its inability to acquire or use language. Language springs from a perception of relations, and is made necessary by the effort to distinguish and retain them. No brute can be produced that uses language in this its thoughtful aspect; and for the simple reason, that brutes are without thoughts, in this strict sense. The brute is not held back from expression by the want of vocal organs. These, in some cases, could be cultivated, and in other cases this want might be supplied. He does not speak,

because the subjective ground and occasion of speech are lacking. The feelings of the brute are called forth by objects of sense, and find expression in the presence of those objects; but not discerning relations, possessed of no abstract ideas, it finds no occasion for an arbitrary sign with which to designate them. The simplest sentences at once involve these, and therefore are never constructed by the brute. The dog is emotionally cognizant of the absence of his master, and sends up the wailing howl; but he does not say to himself, My master is absent, and thus has no occasion to say it to another. If he did, recognizing the relations of time and space, utter the thought to himself, he would certainly find the need and the method of uttering it to another. We help the brute in vain to language, because in his use of vocal sounds he is stepping into the air: no idea steadies the mind for a second stride.

What Darwin says of the moral nature discloses in the clearest light the wide chasm between the two views. His purpose is to show, that the rudiments of all rational powers are found in the highest classes of the animal kingdom—that the faculties of brutes are in kind those of men. He establishes his conclusion, however, not by elevating the brute, but by degrading man; not by disclosing the truly rational element in those powers, but by hiding it in these. If our moral nature is nothing more than the present and hereditary force of conventional views of private and public utility, then certainly we are content to find its rudiments in the dog. We disagree with Darwin, not in making brutes lower than he does, but in making men much higher. His philosophy is Spencerian, and, with due deference to the talent expended upon it, we believe radically wrong. With the exception of a brief space devoted to it, Darwin assumes the essential unity of faculties in man and the brute; and his theory of the origin of species postulates a oneness in kind of their endowments. This conclusion, a careful examination of all the facts, we believe, will more and more discredit. To this result a clear recognition of instinct as a normal, constitutional force decidedly tends.

## ARTICLE IV.

## THE DIVINE AGENCY IN THE ESTABLISHMENT, ADMINISTRATION AND TRIUMPH OF CHRIST'S KINGDOM.

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THE kingdom of Christ is not originated and advanced by the spontaneous development of humanity; but a redeeming power comes down upon humanity from God, and enters into human history as an always-working energy, quickening men to spiritual life and transforming society into the kingdom of God. This thought is repugnant to the rationalism and naturalism of this age; but it is distinctive and essential in Christianity, and must be recognized in any truly rational philosophy of human history. It is the subject which is now to be considered: The Divine Agency in the Establishment, Administration, and Triumph of Christ's Kingdom.

The historical course of the divine action in redemption, as set forth in the scriptures, is familiar, and needs only to be indicated. The divine energy of redemption enters human history at its very beginning and declares itself in promise. It appears in the call of Abraham and the promise to all the world through his seed, giving a distinct organization to God's kingdom in the call of a chosen people, to be his, as the prophets continually insist, not by outward descent, but by his covenant and promise, and their faith and obedience; a kingdom, as Paul explicitly demonstrates, differing in form, but the same in essence with the same kingdom as it afterwards appeared in the Christian church. Centuries after the call of Abraham the Jewish state appears, itself a Theocracy, within which the germinant kingdom is secluded and protected, as a chestnut in its prickly bur, until it is ready



to drop and become the germ of a great tree. Then God is in Christ, makes propitiation for the sins of the world, subdues the power of darkness and death, and makes world-wide the power of attraction by which, from the Saviour's cross, he draws all men to himself. This saving power is perpetuated in the Holy Spirit "poured out on all flesh." Christ at the right hand of the majesty on high, administers his kingdom by the invisible agency of the life-giving Spirit. By this the energy of redeeming grace widens its scope, intensifies its action, multiplies its agencies, and makes itself more and more manifest as a spiritual power established in human history, quickening a spiritual church, directing human thought and action, guiding the forces of civilization, and transforming society into Christ's kingdom. Finally, Christ will come a second time to judgment and will present his kingdom, completed and glorious, to the Father.

Here is a divine action running through human history, working the redemption of man from sin. We will confine our attention to some of the general characteristics of the divine agency in the establishment, administration, and triumph of Christ's kingdom.

### I. The Divine Agency is Historical.

Here is the starting-point of the difference between Christianity and Rationalism.

Christianity, being essentially redemption, is necessarily historical. It is the promised Christ of the Old Testament, the living Christ of the New Testament, the Christ reigning and life-giving in the dispensation of the Spirit. Christianity, therefore, is not primarily doctrine, but history; not philosophy or ethics, but the historical action of divine love redeeming man from sin. It is history in the past, life-giving energy in the present, promise for the future.

Rationalism, on the contrary, is the doctrine that human reason, without supernatural intervention, is sufficient for all man's spiritual needs. God moves above and before man in the undeviating and majestic movement of nature. Man

stands beneath, gazes on the grand panorama, and learns all respecting God that is needful for his spiritual welfare.

Rationalism is in agreement with Christianity in acknowledging the spirituality and personality of man, the endowment of man with reason, by which philosophy is possible, the existence of a personal God and of his moral government. In the same particulars rationalism is in antagonism to the naturalism which resolves mind into physiological phenomena, and thought and volition into forms of mechanical force, which confines the sphere of inquiry to phenomena and their uniform sequences, which denies that man is "the interpreter of nature," able to explain its phenomena by their rational principles, laws, and ends, and which acknowledges no personal God. Christianity presupposes theism and all the moral and religious truths which reason discovers. In respect to these truths it is not antagonistic to rationalism, but takes them up into itself. Christianity is itself the true rationalism, because it presupposes all the religious and moral truths which reason discovers, and because it claims to be itself the rational explanation of the facts of man's nature and history. Christianity has no conflict with reason; it is in itself the highest rationality, and it always appeals to reason as the arbiter of its own claims.

Notwithstanding this agreement, rationalism is in sharp contrast with Christianity. It teaches that the knowledge of God gained by human reason from the divine action in nature is sufficient for man's welfare. The difficulty with man is, therefore, his ignorance, not his sin. He needs instruction, not redemption. He is himself the originator of his own progress and perfection; and intellectual acquisition and culture make the only factor in human progress. Man is to think himself into the kingdom of God. Rationalism, therefore, is abstract and speculative, not historical. It is a philosophy. It coincides with dogmatism in insisting on intellectual belief of doctrine rather than on spiritual life; its gospel, its glad tidings of great joy, will be found somewhere in metaphysical speculation. Hence it rejects Chris-

tianity, and becomes antagonistic to it. It values Christianity only as Christianity enunciates ethical and philosophical truths, not as the historical action of God's redeeming grace. The permanent in it is the abstract truths, common to the religions and philosophies of the world. The historical facts are transient and unimportant. Jesus sinks to the level of Socrates and Confucius. When we have extracted from his story the truths which he taught, the history may be thrown away, as a merchant throws away the broken boxes after the goods are taken out, or as a chemist destroys a plant in distilling from it a drop of essential oil.

The chief priests and elders had the effrontery to say before the crucified Jesus: "Let him now come down from the cross, and we will believe him." Let him leave the sacrifice of redemption unfinished, and conform to our ideas of the Messiah, and we will receive him. The same is the challenge of the rationalist to-day: "Come down from the cross; cease to offer thyself as the world's Redeemer and Lord; accept our ideas, and present thyself as one of the philosophers, — as one of us, for we also are philosophers, — and we will receive thee. Humanity is wiser than any individual; and we have the light of nineteen centuries which thou hadst not, and have surveyed all the philosophies and religions of the world, of which thou wast ignorant. Abandon the pretence that thou art the Redeemer of the world, and we will receive thee among the enlightened minds of human history, such as we are." There is a spice of self-appreciation here analogous to that which Goethe hits in his epigram on the pantheist: "What is the use of your jeers about the All and the One? The professor is a person; God is not."<sup>1</sup>

Rationalism, allying itself with Christianity in opposition to naturalism, aims to establish intermediate between the two a rest for the intellect and the heart. But, denying historical redemption, by the necessity of its own principles it gravitates steadily towards naturalism; it builds its half-way house within the line of perpetual frost, and the glacier

<sup>1</sup> Werke i. p. 198. Sprüche in Reimen.

on which the structure rests bears it steadily downwards, and buries its fragments in the fields of eternal ice. It needs but a slight scrutiny to demonstrate this tendency; for rationalism involves irreconcilable inconsistencies, and does not admit a logically complete and systematic statement.

1. In rejecting miracles on the ground of their impossibility, it is precluded from admitting the existence of a personal God.

A miracle is always possible, if there is a personal God. This J. S. Mill affirms: "A miracle is no contradiction to the law of cause and effect; it is a new effect, supposed to be produced by the introduction of a new cause. Of the adequacy of that cause, if it exists, there can be no doubt; and the only antecedent improbability which can be ascribed to the miracle is the improbability that any such cause had existence in the case."<sup>1</sup> The argument against miracles founded on their impossibility has force only as part of a naturalism which rejects God. Trench compares it to the giant Antaeus, "unconquerable so long as permitted to rest on the earth out of which it sprung, but easily destroyed when once it is lifted into a higher world."<sup>2</sup> Rationalism, assuming as an axiom the impossibility of a miracle, suddenly drops into naturalism.

2. The same tendency is inherent in the rationalistic doctrine of the sufficiency of human reason. God acts in nature. Man, observing God's action in nature, attains knowledge of him, and that knowledge is sufficient for man's spiritual welfare.

But here is a God submerged in nature, imprisoned in its uniform and necessary sequences, incapable of acting outside of nature to quicken by his grace the heart of man. God is shut out from man, and cannot communicate his grace. Man is shut out from God, and cannot commune with him. Prayer becomes impossible; for it cannot alter the fixed courses of nature, in which alone God can act. The familiar illustration is, as a man in a boat by pulling on a line may draw

<sup>1</sup> *Logic*, p. 376.

<sup>2</sup> *Miracles*, p. 62.

himself towards the wharf, but cannot draw the wharf towards him, so prayer may lift the soul towards God, but cannot draw God to the soul. But, if so, an honest man will cease to pray. He will not practise on himself by offering petitions which he knows God cannot answer, merely by these spiritual gymnastics to gain strength to his own soul. It will be replied that the worshipper will conform his worship to his belief, and omit all petition. What, then, is left? Thanksgiving? But he has received no grace from God; his own reason is sufficient for his spiritual needs. Confession? But God gives neither pardon for the past nor grace for the future. What, then, is the worship? An empty rhapsody, a pale meditation. But this conception of God takes from meditation itself its warmth and power. If he heeds not your prayers, he equally heeds not your meditation. You pour your confessions and praises into empty space, not into the heart of God. You have fundamentally changed the Christian conception of God. He is no longer a Father and Redeemer, with heart warm to help his supplicating creatures, but a stone colossus, moving no finger in sympathy for his wretched creatures, who cling with their tears and entreaties to his stony feet. Nature is above God; and wretched men cry in vain to insensate forces that cannot hear, to unknowing laws that cannot answer, to a universal mechanism that rolls blindly and inevitably by the necessity of its own being.

These are legitimate inferences. For if God, transcending the courses of nature, acts in the hearts of individuals and in the courses of human history, communicating his sufficient grace to quicken and to sanctify, to help men in their ignorance, their sorrows, and their work, then man's reason is no longer regarded as sufficient for his spiritual needs; but God's gracious action, coming down upon humanity and superadded to the action of human reason, is admitted. This divine action, transcending the courses of nature, is supernatural, and thus is open to the objections which are urged against the possibility of miracles. Lastly, this gracious



action of God is necessarily historical. Rationalism is no longer a mere philosophy, a mere knowing; it admits the historical element as really as Christianity, and must proceed to tell us what and when and where this supernatural action is, and what are its historical results.

Rationalism, in some of its forms, admits the gracious action of God on the hearts of individuals and in human history. It even claims a certain superiority; it expresses impatience with Christianity, as needlessly bringing the revelation of prophets and apostles and the mediation of Christ between man and God, and exalts its own superiority as teaching the immediate communion of every man with God. It is impatient with the narrowness which limits inspiration to prophets and apostles, and vaunts its superiority in admitting that all genius is inspired. It is impatient with the exclusiveness of Christianity, and boasts its breadth in accepting the truths of all religions. All these claims, if clearly scrutinized, may be found to resolve themselves into naturalism. If not, rationalism, in making these claims, is inconsistent with itself.

3. The fundamental principle of rationalism necessitates not only the denial of redemption, but also the ignoring of sin. Since reason is sufficient, and man's spiritual welfare is attained by knowledge, the evil under which he suffers is not sin, but ignorance, and what he needs is not redemption, but instruction. Rationalism is now claiming to be the universal religion, dropping the historical and transitory, and gathering into itself the truths common to all religions. But all religions begin in the sense of sin and the conscious need of reconciliation to God. Rationalism excludes these. Therefore, instead of being the universal religion, it is not a religion, but only a philosophy. It will eventually appear that as a philosophy it is a philosophy falsely so called. Finding no place for the ideas and sentiments essential in all religions, it fails to declare the full-orbed truth of reason, and usurps the title of rationalism. It is, therefore, incapacitated to give a permanent resting-place either to the intellect or the heart.

We come back, then, to our starting-point, that God's action in establishing his kingdom is historical. Any divine action which is to be a power of renovation must be performed in contact with man and in the courses of human history. Otherwise it would be powerless on man as a revolution among a people in the stars. It is not possible to say *a priori* that the divine action must have been just what it is recorded in the Bible to have been. But, if God is to redeem men from sin, the redemptive action must enter human history at some point, and go on in some definite line of events to its consummation. Otherwise the facts of redemption and of sin must be rejected; and for the historical redemption must be substituted the bald rationalistic idea of religion as a knowledge of God and a consciousness of virtue, and of man's sufficiency for himself to realize the highest possibilities of his being.

Therefore objections against the scriptural history of God's action in redemption are equally pertinent against any other line of history in which the redemptive action may be conceived to have proceeded. If they have any force, it reaches to the extent of subverting the idea of redemption as contrary to reason, and impossible. All must admit that, if the Christian history of redemption is false, no other redemption has been or will be in human history, and the very idea of redemption must be abandoned. Accordingly Strauss and other rationalists start with the assumption that a supernatural and historical action in redemption is impossible. Their historical criticism of the Gospels is not for the purpose of ascertaining whether the narrative of redemption is true; but, assuming its falsity, the criticism aims only to explain how the wonderful history came into being and obtained credence, and what residuum of merely natural events may underlie it. It is a point gained to know that the historico-critical questions are secondary. The main question between the rationalist and the Christian pertains to the possibility of redemption. If the very conception of redemption in any form is not absurd, the historico-critical objections to Chris-

tianity lose their force. In fact, historical criticism then supports Christianity. For the unresolvable difficulty to the rationalist has always been, that both the external and the internal supports of the credibility of the gospel are so strong that it is impossible to explain the existence of these narratives, and their acceptance and power, on the supposition that the fundamental fact of the narrative is impossible.

It must be added that since God's action in redemption is in human history, it must not only be consonant with the constitution of the human mind, but also be at every time and place consonant with the existing condition of the minds on which it acts. If God acts on a child or a savage, the action can be effective only so far as it is adapted to their capacity. A human element, therefore, enters everywhere into God's action in redemption, limiting its action and modifying its results. It is sufficient for our present purpose distinctly to state this principle.

## II. God's Action in Redemption involves the Miraculous.

The incarnation, resurrection, and ascension of the Son of God are miraculous. These are essential in redemption. The whole conception of the Messiah and his kingdom implies the miraculous. The denial of miracles is the denial of that which is essential in Christianity. The attempt to retain Christianity after eliminating all that is miraculous is futile. If the residuum of speculative and ethical truth may be called a system of religion, it certainly has no claim to be called Christianity, and those who receive that system have no claim to be called Christians:

A single thought on this great subject is all that our space permits. It is involved in the very fact of sin that if God acts to redeem the sinner, the action must be special, varying from the action which would normally have expressed the divine perfections, if no creature had ever sinned, and varying also from the normal expression of the divine perfections in the punishment of sin. This speciality of the divine action seems to involve all that is essential in the miraculous.

The idea of atonement, as averting the punishment, which would normally express the divine perfection, by a divine action which equally expresses the same divine perfection in pardoning, seems to include within itself a specialty of divine action which is essentially miraculous.

The same specialty of the divine action in redemption appears to be involved in the very idea of sin. Jesus says: "If any man will do his will he shall know of the doctrine." He here teaches that light and influence sufficient for him whose heart is right are insufficient for him whose heart is wrong. If the sinner is to be saved from sin, the redeeming energy must transcend all that is necessary for those who do not sin. The abnormal action of the sinner must be met by extraordinary action of God. He cannot be reclaimed by the same action of God's love which he has already resisted in his transgression.

The great revelation of nature is open to the sinner not less than to those who have not sinned. "He maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good." God reveals himself to sinners as really as to the righteous in their own reason, and conscience, and spiritual wants. On the one as really as the other shines the light which "lighteth every man that cometh into the world." To sinless ones the external revelation becomes an inward light. The spiritual mind discerns that which the carnal mind knoweth not. But the same revelation to a sinner is inadequate, not through a defect of the revelation, but through the blinding and hardening caused by sin. The light, so far as it enlightens him, is a lurid illumination of his guilt, driving him to superstition. His degeneracy is not through the want of light, but through the power of sin perverting it. So Paul explicitly teaches in the opening of his Epistle to the Romans.

Evidently, then, if sinners are to be saved, the action of God in saving them must transcend all his action in the uniform sequences of nature, and through the human reason and conscience. The abnormal condition of the sinner

requires special action of God for his redemption—action which would itself be abnormal if there were no sin; and is in that sense a suspension of uniform law; but which is the normal action to meet abnormal conditions. And this is action which is miraculous. Miracle, then, is involved in the very idea of redemption. And the abnormal condition of the sinner is the occasion and antecedent probability of the special and therefore miraculous intervention of God in redemption. Miracles are reasonable because sin is unreasonable. Miracles are normal because sin is abnormal.

And since redemption is essentially miraculous, it is impossible to determine *a priori* how far or in what ways the redemptive energy entering into human history may transcend the ordinary sequences of nature, and no objection against any miracle recorded in the Bible is valid on the ground of the impossibility or antecedent improbability of miracles.

The argument against miracles is, therefore, an argument against redemption, and finally against the existence of sin, which is the occasion of redemption. Precisely accordant has been the history of rationalism, beginning in the denial of miracles, proceeding to the denial of redemption, and issuing in the denial of sin.

### III. God's Action in Redemption constitutes a Revelation.

1. God's revelation of himself is primarily by his action, and especially by his action in redemption. God reveals himself by his action in nature. Suns and planets and cosmic forces are the words in which his thoughts are written, and the secret of his being revealed. So in redemption he reveals himself by his actions. He makes known what he is to sinners by what he does to sinners. The expulsion from Eden, the call of Abraham, the preservation and education of the Jews, the incarnation, the life, death, resurrection, and ascension of the Christ, the outpouring of the Spirit, the rise of Christ's kingdom on earth under the ministry of the apostles, and the continued intercession and reign of Christ



in the dispensation of the Spirit constitute God's revelation of himself to men.

2. The revelation by words, oral or written, is secondary and subordinate to the revelation by actions. Thought and character must be expressed in action before they can be symbolized by words. A mother cannot reveal her love to her child simply by taking it on her knee and saying: "I am your mother." The word is a mere articulate sound; it has no meaning. It is only by the service of motherly love, caring for the child and encompassing it through all its life, that she can reveal herself to her child. So revealing herself she makes the word *mother*, a life-long power to her child. So it is impossible for God to reveal himself primarily by words. Were it written across the sky, with letters made of stars, "GOD IS LOVE," it would be a meaningless emblazonry, unless God by his action had first given meaning to the words. This he does in redemption, revealing his majesty, his holiness, his authority, his patience, his immeasurable love, as pure as it is tender. So he puts meaning into words. The revelation, "GOD IS LOVE," is written not in letters on the sky, but in redeeming grace acting in the history of man. Thus the name of the Redeemer is above every name, a power to subdue, to quicken, and to inspire the sinner's heart.

It may be objected that after we have acquired the meaning of words, God may reveal himself through them. True. But the very point we are making is that thought and character must be expressed in deeds before they can be symbolized in words. In the revelation, "God is love," the word God, would have no meaning if God had not first manifested himself in his works; men would never have had occasion for the word if they had not first found the Infinite Being through his works; and the word "love" would have no meaning except such as is derived from the action of selfish men. In theology we are always at this disadvantage, that the thought and character of God must be expressed by words which primarily derive their meaning from the actions of men. But the words which declare the

mind and heart of God must be interpreted through the action of God, and not through the action of men. Thus God's action in redemption gives significance to the words of revelation which are to be interpreted by God's action rather than by man's. It is God's action in redemption in Christ and in the Holy Spirit by which we are to learn the meaning of God's love.

Hence Christ is emphatically the Word of God. In him is spoken the great Word of revelation. His person, his life, death, resurrection, ascension, intercession, and continued reign are the true revelation of God. The revelation by words is secondary and subordinate.

3. When God has revealed himself by actions, a revelation by words is possible, supplementing the revelation by action. A mother, revealed already to her child through acts of love, can take the child on her knee and explain its filial duties; and every word is now powerful with the power of a mother's love. So God, entering into human history with the energy of redeeming grace, may inspire individuals with knowledge to be communicated to others. But these private revelations must always be dependent on and subordinate to the public acts of his redeeming love. A general reveals the plan of his campaign by his acts in prosecuting it. But, as incidental to it, he gives sealed orders to this general and that, sends despatches to this one and that, takes some into his counsels, and declares, explains, and vindicates his plans. These private communications are afterwards of great use in throwing light on his plans. But they are incidental and subordinate to the grand revelation which he makes in the action of the campaign. So we have inspired communications from prophets and apostles, but all incidental and subordinate to the grand revelation in the divine action in redemption, and pre-eminently in Christ, the Living Word.

4. Revelation, therefore, is not an end in itself, but an incident to the divine action in redemption. A mother in her care of her child, a general in the conduct of a campaign, a statesman in the administration of government, reveal

themselves; but the revelation is incidental to their main purpose, and is not itself the end for which they act. So God's action in redemption is incidentally a revelation; but the revelation is not the end for which he acts.

All God's action must be sincere and hearty. It must be the expression of what God is. He cannot act merely for show or for effect. His action is the expression of what he is; it carries in it all the earnestness and energy of God. So the blessed sunlight, which reveals the sun and illumines all things, is the outpouring of the light and heat which burn with energy inconceivable in the sun, raging in cyclones of fire, bursting in volcanic eruptions which might throw up the earth as a stone into the air, streaming in cones of flame eighty thousand miles into space, and in a few minutes falling back into the burning mass. So God's love, glowing with the infinite energies of the Godhead, and pouring through all space with blessing, will certainly reveal itself; but the revelation is not the end for which he acts.

If the revelation were the end of the action, the action itself would cease to be the action of love; the revelation would cease to be a revelation of love; and the whole manifestation would cease to be a moral power quickening love in man. Any theory which represents the incarnation or any divine action as designed only to show God, and so to produce a moral impression on his creatures, is void of meaning; for God's action can reveal God and become a moral power upon man only as his action is the sincere and hearty expression and outshining of what God is. The supposition that revelation is an end in itself drives us into this erroneous theory—a conception derogatory to God, and making his action not real and hearty, but scenic and sensational. It also leads legitimately to the fundamental error of rationalism—that the evil into which man has fallen is not sin, but ignorance, or at the worst error, and therefore that he needs not redemption, but instruction.

Writers on the Evidences of Christianity often argue as if the grand design of God in all the divine action recorded

in the Old Testament and the New was to prepare the Bible as an authoritative revelation of his will, and leave the Bible in the world to effect its renovation. But it is not the written word, but the living Word; not the Bible, but God's grace in Christ and in the Holy Spirit, which is the power of salvation to men.

5. It follows that miracles are not to be regarded simply as seals of the truth of revelation, as credentials of inspired messengers, certifying their authority to reveal God's will, but as a part of the divine action in human history redeeming men from sin. As the divine love worked its way into human history, its divine energy could not always be contained in the ordinary courses of the divine action, but leaped from its overcharged conductors, and scintillated and flashed and electrified in miracles. It sometimes encountered obstacles which could not be removed by ordinary action, and which were miraculously swept away. Especially, in entering humanity in Jesus Christ, and offering the oblation of sacrificial love in the redemption of man, the action was necessarily and in its very essence miraculous. Therefore we no longer point to miracles as simply the external evidences of the divine authority of a book; we no longer draw the internal evidences of the divine authority of that book from its superior morality alone, thus sinking Christianity to the level of rationalism; but we regard Christianity as the action of God redeeming man from sin — an action which is primarily redemption, necessarily historical and supernatural, and incidentally a revelation. And we claim that Christianity is true on the grounds that it is the only rational and satisfactory exposition of the condition, history, and destiny of man in his relation to God, and the only manifestation of God which in every age meets man's spiritual necessities.

6. The objection of F. W. Newman and others, that a book-revelation is impossible, is now seen to be without force. It is founded on the supposition, itself rationalistic, though apparently accepted by some writers on the Evidences, that the Bible is simply a revelation of moral truth and duty,

and that the end of all God's supernatural action was to make and authenticate this revelation. To this it is objected that moral truth and law must always be judged by man's moral or practical reason, and therefore cannot be substantiated by outward authority, not even by miracles. Certainly, a miracle cannot prove that it is right to hate one's neighbor. But the objection is of no force against God's supernatural action in redeeming men from sin, and the revelation of his love incident thereto.

#### IV. The Knowledge of God revealed through his Action in Redemption is a Moral Power in the Establishment and Administration of his Kingdom.

Every action spreads its influence beyond the time and place in which the power is exerted, as a candle shines far beyond itself into the darkness; as the cholera, once when it swept around the world, originated in the filthiness and other unwholesome conditions of certain crowds of pilgrims in the East. This is true of all action, but especially noticeable in respect to memorable acts. A mother's love continues to be a moral power on the son, though he dwells in another hemisphere; and after her death it is purified and intensified into a heavenly power. The memory of the martyrs is an inspiration in every age. At the stake Latimer said to his companion: "Fear not, Master Ridley; we shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England as, I trust, shall never be put out." The young men praying near the haystack in Williamstown are still missionaries to the heathen. Howard still inspires to benevolence. The great name of Washington still overshadows and protects his country. "*Stat magna nominis umbra.*" Every heroic life is a power so long as its history is read.

These are analogous to the moral influence of God's historical action in redemption. Of his propitiatory sacrifice Christ said: "It is finished," and died. His earthly life ended, and became a part of the history of the past. But in that life and death he made propitiation for our sins, and opened the



way of deliverance from their power; he triumphed over death; he disclosed the infinite love of God our Redeemer; and in all the ages his name is above every name; and his appeal: "Do this for my sake," finds a willing response. The same moral power, though less marked, is inherent in the action of God in the history of the Jews. It is a study and a guide to all generations. Thus God's past action in history is a moral power in all subsequent generations; and this must not be overlooked in considering the divine agency in the establishment, administration, and triumph of Christ's kingdom.

Here, however, it must be observed that the moral power of God's past historical action is an incidental result of that action, not its primary end. An action of which the primary end is to make itself a moral power is an action from which the essence of the moral power is left out. It is a revelation that reveals nothing. The very conception breaks down, like the conception of motion in which nothing moves. There would be no moral power in a martyrdom suffered for the purpose of creating moral power. The martyr would be a witness testifying nothing. The moral power is not in the dying, but in the character manifested in the dying, and which, under the circumstances, would equally have necessitated the dying if it were to be forever secret.

So Christ did not come into the world and die primarily to create a moral power. The supposition eviscerates itself. It has been already said that all God's action is the sincere and hearty expression of what God is. Its moral power does not lie in the action, but in the divine thought and character expressed in the action. If we leave out of Christ's work the idea of atonement, — if he did not suffer for us, the just for the unjust, to bring us to God, and was not the propitiation for the sins of the whole world, — then we leave out the essence of his moral power. God in redemption reveals his entire character in harmony. God is not a nature having instincts and wants seeking gratification. His action is not the development of a nature according to necessary impulses.

His action is the expression of reason. His love itself is the expression of reason in acts of will. Redemption, then, does not merely express a divine compassion for sinners, but also the supremacy and majesty of the eternal reason, the unchangeableness of its truth, the authority and inexorableness of its law, the grandeur of its ideals, the blessedness of conformity to it, and the impossibility of blessedness without that conformity to it. If it expressed only the fond impulses and cravings of a nature seeking its own happiness or that of others, it could not be a spiritual power potent to lead men to God.

In this line of thought we see the moral power of the Bible. It is the inspired record of God's supernatural and providential action in redeeming the world in Christ and founding his kingdom under the dispensation of the Spirit. It contains the private revelations of his will to prophets and apostles incident to his redeeming action. It reveals God as the providential and moral Ruler of the world and as the Redeemer of men from sin. It necessarily carries in it the highest moral power; it must always be the instrument in advancing Christ's kingdom; and intimacy with it and reverence for it must always be the condition of a pure, strong Christian character in individuals and in nations.

#### V. God's Action in the Establishment and Administration of his Kingdom is continued through all Generations in the Holy Spirit.

The energy of God's redeeming grace did not cease to act with the events recorded in the Bible. Redemption is present, not less than past.

The divine agency now is not merely the moral power of the revelation already made, but it is also the present, personal influence of God through the Holy Spirit. The analogy here is not to the memory of a departed mother, but to the mother present with her child, always ready to counsel and help, impressing her influence on it every day, and thus accumulating her moral power. The Christian life is not

sustained merely by knowledge of the truth and meditation on God's action in the past, but by the present action of God upon the soul through the Holy Spirit.

This doctrine is opposed to the doctrine of Romanism, that divine grace comes to men through the *opus operatum* of the church. It recognizes every Christian as in immediate communion with God, a recipient of God's grace. It is opposed to a certain rationalistic element which has shown itself even in the best forms of Protestantism; the impression that truth and meditation on the truth are the sole agencies in spiritual life and growth; the Lord's supper, for example, is profitable as an occasion for meditating on the love of Christ, not as an ordinance appointed to convey the influence of the Spirit to him who receives it in faith. This type of thought gives whatever ground there has ever been for the charge of Bibliolatry—a charge brought by rationalism against the churches, the only ground for which is the admission by the churches of a rationalistic type of thought. The doctrine of the Spirit is opposed to the rationalistic tendency alleged to be inherent in Protestantism. If the allegation is true, it is only because Protestantism is a protest against errors and abuses; the tendency is not inherent in Christianity, nor in the affirmation of spiritual and historical Christianity which Protestantism makes. Finally, the true doctrine of the Spirit is distinguished from the fanatical by the facts, that the work of the Spirit is the continuance and world-wide extension of God's work of redemption; that it avails itself of the moral power accumulated by God's antecedent redemptive action and the revelation which he has made of himself in the same; that, as the progress and extension of that same redemptive action, it must be in harmony with all the work of redemption which has preceded and with the revelation of the same in the word of God. So Christ explicitly teaches: "He shall glorify me; for he shall receive of mine and shall show it unto you."

In the action of God recorded in the Bible he makes an entrance into human history; educates the race for the

coming Christ and the establishment of his kingdom ; makes atonement ; creates the moral power of the name that is above every name. In the Holy Spirit the redemptive energy becomes a world-power, and the life of Christ flows out into humanity as a life-giving and sanctifying power.

Thus the Spirit brings us into immediate connection with Christ. His presence on earth is a token that Christ lives and reigns, administering and extending his kingdom. If a friend, going to a distant country, promises to send you on his arrival some curious product of the country, and if, in due time, the promised present is brought to you, you have in hand a pledge and token that he has safely accomplished his journey, and in that distant land remembers you and has kept his promise. So the descent of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost was the present token and pledge to the disciples that Jesus, according to his word before his death, had ascended to the right hand of the majesty on high, that all power was given him in heaven and on earth, that in his exaltation he remembered his disciples and kept his promise. And wherever the Spirit touches any human heart, it is in all ages the present token of the same. The Spirit, also, continues the work of redemption. He proceeds from Christ. In him Christ acts, administering his kingdom and advancing it to its triumph. In him the life and redeeming power of Christ, confined while he was on earth to his bodily presence, diffuses itself through the world and courses through human history, more effective than his bodily presence could be : " It is expedient for you that I go away ; for if I go not away the Comforter will not come to you."

Thus in the action of the Spirit the redeeming energy of the Son of God is brought immediately upon us. We are brought into immediate contact with the Son of God, and thereby into contact with the Father, in whose love to the world redemption originates ; whose love in redemption through Christ and the Spirit floods the earth with its glory and pours through the history of man. It is just as by the sunbeams we are brought into immediate contact with the

sun. So the Spirit touching human hearts with light and quickening, brings us into immediate connection with the Son of God, who is "the outshining of the Father's glory," and who reveals the otherwise unknown Father, and reveals him by flooding us with his love. Thus through the Spirit "God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ." Thus redemption, with all its glory, comes upon us — redemption from the Father, through the Son, and by the Holy Ghost.

Thus redemption is the channel in which all the fulness of the Godhead has been poured through human history, widening and brightening from the first promise to Adam until now. So Ezekiel represents it, a fountain bursting forth from beneath the threshold of the sanctuary, at first only up to the ancles, farther on to the knees, then to the loins, and afterwards a river too great to be crossed. We cannot originate that river of life; but we can embark on it as it flows by our doors, and be borne by its shining waves on into the ocean-fulness of God's eternal love.



## ARTICLE V.

THE THREE FUNDAMENTAL METHODS OF PREACHING.—  
THE WRITING OF SERMONS.

BY EDWARDS A. PARK.

[Continued from p. 598.]

II. Rules for the Writer of Sermons. — “There was a politic sermon, that had no divinity in it, was preached before the king. The king, as he came forth, said to Bishop Andrews: ‘Call you this a sermon?’ The bishop answered: ‘And it please your majesty, by a charitable construction it may be a sermon.’”<sup>1</sup> A man may easily write what is charitably called a sermon, and “make nothing of it”; but in writing what is actually a sermon, he must carefully train both his body and his mind. The following suggestions are expressed in the form of rules, because they are generally and more conveniently made in this form, and are adopted as rules by eminent authors, whose remarks will be quoted in illustration of them. Some of the suggestions refer to the minister’s discipline in preparing to write, more than in his actual writing; some, to the general habit of composition, more than to the act of composing a single discourse.

1. Strive to make your external circumstances, and especially your physical state, conducive to your facility in writing. The associations and conveniences of a place may be made thus conducive. Moving under the shades of “Addison’s walk” at Oxford, a man comes as near being a poet as he ever will come. Sitting in Sir Walter Scott’s chair at Abbotsford, with his noble library easily accessible,

<sup>1</sup> Lord Bacon, Works, Vol. i. p. 401.

a student catches the inspiration of genius as fully as he ever will receive it. Bishop Berkeley wrote parts of his "Minute Philosopher" at the Paradise Rock on Rhode Island, and could never have written them so well elsewhere. We may smile at the whims of Kant and Neander in regard to their positions in their lecture-rooms; but there are certain reminiscences and fitnesses of a study which will facilitate the work of almost any writer. It is a singular, if not a mortifying, fact, that if his lexicon or concordance be on a high shelf at a distance of ten feet from him, he will not consult it as often as he should; if it lie within reach of his arm, he will be more rigid in his fidelity. A minister would be ridiculed as whimsical, if he should be so dependent on outward circumstances as Goethe was; yet Goethe is regarded as the model of a mind acting healthily in a healthy body. He says of himself, when composing his *Faust*: "I daily think and invent more and more upon it. I have now had the whole manuscript of the second part sewed into books, that it may be a palpable mass before my eye. The place of the yet wanting fourth act is filled with white paper; and, undoubtedly, what is finished will allure and urge me on to complete the whole. There is more than is thought in these matters of sense, and we must come to the aid of the spiritual by all manner of devices."<sup>1</sup>

As many writers are particular in the choice of their place, so many are particular in the choice of their time, for study. Johnson in his *Life of Gray* informs us that the poet "did not write his pieces at first rudely, and then correct them, but labored every line as it arose in the train of composition; and he had a notion, not very peculiar, that he could not write but at certain times or at happy moments—a fantastic foppery to which my kindness for a man of learning and virtue wishes him to have been superior."<sup>2</sup> It is said that Washington Irving was very fitful in his habits of writing—would sometimes not compose a line for

<sup>1</sup> Eckermann's *Conversations with Goethe*, p. 366.

<sup>2</sup> *British Classics*, Vol. xi. p. 336.

several weeks, and sometimes would leave his bed at midnight, and continue his composition for hours, because then he felt "in the mood." Doubtless there are some men who should or can do what other men cannot do, and should not if they could. An attempt to coerce Byron or Shelley or Burns to adopt the exact habits of Reinhard<sup>1</sup> would have been useless. If those poets, however, had been early trained to the regular and healthful methods of Reinhard, they would have lived longer, if not written better. We must pay some regard to the fantastic conceits of certain geniuses, especially poets,<sup>2</sup> and allow them to wait for "the right moods," which come without being waited for to others. Still, there are laws of the body and the mind which prescribe certain hours of the twenty-four as peculiarly adapted to severe intellectual exertion. Here and there a student may be in such an abnormal or extra-vigorous condition that he may not be aware of any evil result when he violates these laws. In the general, however, some evil result, sooner or later, perceived or unperceived, will come from such a violation. Dr. Doddridge sacrificed his health, scores of scholars have sacrificed their soundness of vision, to the habit of studying in the morning by lamp-light, before their bodies had been fortified by a particle of food. A sermon written soon after dinner is apt to be an after-dinner sermon, and a discourse written in the night is apt to be characterized by the prurience of emotion and the artificial excitements which give it the name of a night effort. Exceptions apart, the morning hours, between breakfast and dinner, are best fitted for the vigorous and healthy action of the mind. With all his idiosyncrasies, Mr. Macaulay, on the whole, preferred these hours. That preacher is wise who forms the habit of writing *regularly* in these hours. There is a periodicity of the intellect and brain — a kind of

<sup>1</sup> Reinhard's Confessions, pp. 153-158.

<sup>2</sup> A recent letter of Mr. William Cullen Bryant goes far toward redeeming the reputation of poets from the charge of capriciousness in regard to physical regimen. Few clergymen govern themselves by such scientific rules as those adopted by Mr. Bryant. Dr. Edward Hitchcock would exact no more.

cycle of the mental and cerebral systems; and this is aided by the natural love of order, and by the power of habit, so that between certain periods of every day the mind has its surest and safest opportunity for hard work. "The tendency to periodical and associated activity," says Dr. Combe, "occasionally becomes so great, in the course of time, that the faculties seem to go through their operations almost without conscious effort, while their facility of action becomes so prodigiously increased as to give unerring certainty where at first difficulty and doubt were the only results."<sup>1</sup> It is, in part, by neglecting this law of periodicity that so many writers feel obliged to lie idle at the pool, and wait until the waters move. They cannot proceed in their work, because "the fit is not on them." It is by a rigid observance of this law that other writers may safely calculate on receiving their inspiration at regular hours of the day.

If scholars are dependent in any degree on the place and time of their writing, still more are they dependent on their physical condition. The brain will not be pliant when the digestive organs are oppressed. Sometimes the thoughts will not be fresh when the skin is not pure. Several of Daniel Webster's happiest paragraphs, delivered in the senate chamber, were mentally written by him when his physical system was in a glow, as he hunted or fished at Plymouth or Marshfield. An ancient philosopher is said to have made one of his favorite discoveries when he was coming out of a bath. If the body be an instrument of the mind, then a student should learn a lesson from the surgeon who is careful to keep his knife and forceps in good order, and from the musician who sees to it that his violin or piano-forte is in tune. "A minister," says Mr. Cecil, "must keep under his body, and bring it into subjection. A Newmarket groom will sweat himself thin, that he may be fit for his office. Now, they do it to obtain a corruptible crown, but we an incorruptible." An eminent preacher, having eaten an indigestible substance between his morning

<sup>1</sup> The Principles of Physiology, p. 239.

and afternoon service on the Sabbath, was compelled to apply for medical aid. As soon as the physician entered the room, the imprudent minister exclaimed: "Doctor, I am not *afraid* to die; but I *am* ashamed to die."

Men are predisposed to gluttony. Students are so, perhaps, in an unusual degree. Therefore dietetists have been especially emphatic in prescribing rules of abstinence for scholars. Some of these rules have been too severe for some men. They have been rigidly, perhaps injuriously, followed by others. President Edwards, in his homely, honest way, writes: "By a sparingness in diet, and eating (as much as may be) what is light and easy of digestion, I shall doubtless be able to think clearer, and shall gain time; first, by lengthening out my life; secondly, shall need less time for digestion after meals; thirdly, shall be able to study closer without injury to my health; fourthly, shall need less time for sleep; fifthly, shall seldomer be troubled with the headache." Sir Isaac Newton, while writing his Treatise on Optics, restricted himself entirely to bread with a little sack and water. Dr. Franklin says that in his early life he habitually "confined himself to a biscuit and slice of bread and bunch of raisins only, with a glass of water or basin of gruel at a meal"; and he adds: "My progress in study was proportionate to that clearness of ideas and quickness of conception resulting from temperance in diet." But, while many clergymen need lessons of abstemiousness, there are not a few who need the prescription of a liberal table. The mind will not long act healthily, if the body receive too little nourishment. A generous diet is sometimes essential to the most intellectual student. The poet Keble, although he wrote like a disembodied spirit, did not eat like one. A writer of good sermons must not be perpetually thinking of bran-biscuit and oatmeal cakes. Still, as his sleep is "of pure digestion bred," so is his successful study. He must avoid those articles of food which he finds unfavorable to his mental efforts. The suggestive counsel has been given to him: Eat enough; but eat cheerily, slowly, temperately,



of any food which is agreeable to you, unless it be some book on dyspepsia, or some other substance which you have reason to think is indigestible. Above all the *private* and *personal* rules which are unwisely given for *general* practice, there is one principle too rational to be neglected: During the hours when the mind is severely taxed, the main strength of the system should be given to the brain, not to the stomach. The writer of sermons should not devote himself to his intellectual labor while his energies are required for the digestive process. He has only a certain degree of force. When this is needed for the physical apparatus, it cannot be safely directed to the mental. Hence it is the fact, not universally, but commonly, that those writers who perform their chief labor between their morning and their noon repast, preserve longer than others their power of healthy and vigorous composition.

As men are predisposed to gluttony, so to indolence; and as the more emphatic rules are given in favor of abstemiousness at the table, so the more frequent admonitions are given in favor of redeeming time from sleep. Many sermons present evidence that the writers of them sleep too long; but too little sleep makes as dull a sermon as too much. Poets have celebrated the still hours of the night as conducive to meditation; but the danger is that a clergyman who performs his main labor during these hours will undermine his health and lose his mental energy.<sup>1</sup> Poets, too, have celebrated the habit of early rising; but a man may rise too early, and thus remain languid through the entire day. It was said of a divinity student: "He does nothing through the twenty-four hours except rise early in

<sup>1</sup> In defence of "stealing hours from the night for study," we are referred to Astronomers; to Galileo, who attained the age of seventy-eight years; Hevelius, seventy-six; Copernicus, seventy; Flamsteed, seventy-three (and yet "in spite of a disordered body, he toiled by night and by day, harder, as he said, than a corn-thresher"); Bradley, sixty-nine; Maskelyne, seventy-nine; the elder Herschel, eighty-four; the younger Herschel, eighty-one. But a system which can be pursued by philosophers tranquilly watching the stars cannot, in the general, be pursued by clerical students, whose life is one of comparative excitement and anxiety.

the morning." He sacrificed his education to a *visionary* method of attaining it. Every minister must judge for himself how much sleep, how much corporeal exercise and mental relaxation, as well as how much food his constitution requires. Still, he must not "take anxious thought" about his physical regimen (Matt. vi. 25). He must eat and drink what he pleases, but must please to do that which corresponds to the scientific laws of health. He must consult his own will, but that will should be conformed to good rules. He should obey these rules because they are good and he chooses to obey them, not because they are followed by some other man. If he turn his attention anxiously to any organ of his body, he will be apt to turn some disease into it. He cannot give himself wholly or fitly to his work of writing sermons, if he give his mind fearfully to his physical sensations. The pride of asceticism, the slavish subjection to rules, the fear of bodily ailments have made invalids out of men who would have been robust if their good sense had been equal to their imagination. One of the healthiest methods of obeying wise prescriptions is to obey them without knowing it. It is not easy to compress into a brief paragraph so many actual, though unrecognized, rules (some of them bad) as are given by Dr. Jackson, an eminent physician in the British army, who says: "I have wandered a good deal about the world, and never followed any prescribed rule in anything. My health has been tried in all ways; and, by the aids of temperance and hard work, I have worn out two armies, in two wars, and could probably wear out another before my period of old age arrives. I eat no animal food, drink no wine or malt liquor or spirits of any kind; I wear no flannel, and regard neither wind nor rain, heat nor cold, when business is in the way." It is often said: "We want no other rules of health than our own common sense." But common sense is the power of framing a good rule, when no one has been provided, for an exigency; of perceiving the wisdom of those maxims which are adapted to the constitution of the race; of determining the time and the mode of

making an exception to a law which is generally useful. Archbishop Whately says: "Since the sailor, the physician, and every other practitioner, each in his own department, gives the preference to unassisted common sense only in those cases where he himself has nothing else to trust to, and invariably resorts to the rules of art, wherever he possesses the knowledge of them, it is plain that mankind universally bear their testimony, though unconsciously and often unwillingly, that systematic knowledge is preferable to conjectural judgments, and that [our own individual, unaided] common sense is only our *second-best* guide."

2. Hold up before your mind a high ideal of a sermon, but consent to sacrifice perfection in its *minutiae* to the usefulness of your general ministrations. Commonly a volume of sermons is unsalable. Publishers refuse to print them in the form of sermons. The clerical student is told that they have no disciplinary power, and is warned not to read them. There are current maxims which are often misunderstood in such a manner as to degrade the compositions for the pulpit below the standard of other compositions. One is: "A minister should never preach beyond his experience." No rule can be more important than this, if it be understood as meaning that a minister should not pretend to feel what he does not feel; should be an honest man — practising what he professes. But the rule is understood, sometimes, as prescribing that a minister should delineate no more of a joy or sorrow, hope or fear, desire or aversion, than equals the standard of his own experience. This is to prescribe that he is to preach himself rather than the gospel, and bring all truth down to his own level. Who is he that is thus entitled to circumscribe the religion of Jesus, the religion for the world, within the limits of his own narrow mind or heart? Shall not a preacher delineate the emotions of the Redeemer, of prophets, and apostles, of modern saints like Martyn and Brainerd; the feelings which *ought* to be evoked by the character and works of God? Do not these affections transcend the ordinary bounds of human con-

sciousness? Shall a preacher therefore dwarf to his own stature all his portraitures of virtue and its rewards? May he not describe certain degrees of sin and remorse without implying that he has experienced them all? The true ideal of a sermon requires, not that the writer of it bring all his representations of the Christian life *down* to the level of his own experience, but that he endeavor to bring his experience *up* to the most exalted representations of the Christian life. That is fitly, rather than "charitably," termed a *sermon* which expresses the most appropriate emotions in regard to the most elevated truths, and awakens in the hearer a sympathy with the preacher as one who feels all that he expresses. Mr. Everett's celebrated description of the sunset would have been shorn of half its power, if he had said that he borrowed his ideas from a book, instead of saying that he beheld the scene with his own eyes. Whitefield, Summerfield and all the most effective pulpit orators have been indebted for their effectiveness to the variety and depth of their Christian experience. Men love nature; they love personal history; they love to feel the throbbings of another's heart. "When I touch a human hand," says Malebranche, "I touch heaven." The sympathy with heaven makes a sermon great. No language can be too rich for a discourse thus instinct with truth and living sentiment.

Another maxim often laid down for the minister is: "He should not preach beyond the experience of his hearers." It is true that he should "speak to their condition," to their "business and bosoms" in the sense of uttering what they can understand and what they need. But the maxim is often understood to require, that he should make his hearers his library; should spend his time in learning their style of thought, should retail in the pulpit what they utter in their homes, should give to them what he has taken from them, and thus keep all his sermons on the same plane with their speech. But is the shepherd to be one of the sheep? Is he not to utter truths which will elevate his auditors and also himself? Is not the gospel higher than men? Shall it not



introduce them into new experiences of the divine life? Should not a sermon be a transcript of the gospel, and, therefore, the most perfect of human compositions? By holding up the loftiest ideal, the preacher may be stimulated to make his sermon approximate toward an equality with its theme.<sup>1</sup>

But while a minister should adopt the levelling process in the way of levelling *up* and not of levelling *down*, he should remember the German proverb: "The best is oftentimes the enemy of the good." By waiting until he can preach what is the best possible, a man may lose the opportunity of preaching what is of great value. If he be a real man he can never equal his ideal. His high standard represses his pride, while it stirs him to effort. "During the nine years that I was his wife," says the widow of the great artist Opie, "I never saw him satisfied with one of his productions, and often, very often, have I seen him enter my sitting-room, and throwing himself in an agony of despondence on the sofa, exclaim, 'I never, never shall be a painter as long as I live.'" On the other hand, we read of a sculptor who stood sorrowful before his masterpiece, and to the inquiry why he was so gloomy, replied: "Because I am satisfied

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to notice the estimate which was formed of a sermon, as a mere work of art, by the poet Schiller. In his early life he preferred to prepare himself for the clerical profession. After he had given up that preference, and devoted himself to writing for the stage, "he entertained ideas of dramatic dignity, too lofty for the social life of the moderns. Still did his manhood desire that for which his boyhood had been destined — the vocation of a preacher, — and the stage still but suggested to him the office of the pulpit. 'The pulpit and the stage are the only places for us,'" said he, referring to himself and Goethe. "And this brings us to the material distinction of Schiller — his singular ardor for truth, his solemn conviction of the duties of a poet; that deep-rooted idea on which we have been more than once called upon to insist, that the minstrel should be the preacher; that song is the sister of religion in its largest sense; that the stage is the pulpit to all sects, all nations, all time." — "Morally one of the least selfish of men, intellectually he is one of the most egotistical. Who that held the doctrine that the dramatist, the poet, should be the preacher, could fail to be so? He loved truth too much to suffer her to be silent, whenever he had occasion to make her oracles be heard." *Memoir of Schiller in Thachnitz's Collection of British Authors*, Vol. lix. pp. xi, lxxxiii, xci, xcvi.



with it." He had attained his ideal, and saw no prospect of his future growth. Leonardo da Vinci was celebrated for commencing pictures, and not completing them. He erased many of his best figures when nearly finished, because they did not satisfy him. Roscoe says, that in his great picture of the Last Supper early writers all agree that he left the head of Christ unfinished. He found his powers inadequate to his conception. To diffuse over these features (Christ's) a ray of divinity, was his bold but fruitless attempt." When a minister refuses to preach what he considers an imperfect sermon, "his usefulness is at an end."

3. Cultivate an appropriate interest in what you are writing. This interest needs cultivation and will reward it. The student at the college or professional school is apt to say: I should be more regular in my studies if I were left to my own conscience, and not urged on by the marking system or the monitor's bill. But he may be mainly stimulated by his interest in his studies, while he may at times feel the adventitious influence of the teacher's record. So it is said by many a clergyman: I should write better sermons if I were moved by my personal desire to write, and not impelled by professional duty. But he may derive his chief stimulus from his delight in his work while he may occasionally feel the exactions of his parish. A man may write under the inspiration of his theme while, like Shakespeare, he sometimes recognizes the subordinate impulse of obtaining a livelihood. The lower necessity may rouse up the higher inspiration. But the higher inspiration must come, or the lower necessity will result in dull efforts. We hear much of an author's magnetic power, and are led to think of it as something magical or talismanic. It is nothing of the kind. It consists partly, if not chiefly, in his having, and therefore expressing, the emotions which his theme naturally elicits. The present rule is a general one, and includes several others.

A. Select a theme on which you desire to write. A special interest in a subject is often a call from heaven to write upon that subject. Sometimes no other reason need be given for

discoursing upon it than the fact that the pastor is strongly attracted to it. If a hearty inclination impels him to express his thoughts, he will express them better than if he is merely goaded on by a sense of duty. Nil invitâ Minerva.

B. Write with a hearty love to the subject when it is fitted to excite love. We listen to a speaker with ease when his theme is a pleasant one and he seems to be pleased with it. The charm of Izaak Walton and Charles Lamb is their cheerfulness in describing cheerful scenes. They sympathize with their subject and we sympathize with them. We love to reperuse certain discourses of Jeremy Taylor, because we love the truths of which he is evidently enamored. One secret of writing so as not to tire the reader, is to write in love with a subject which is fitted to excite the reader's love. Often when a minister composes a sermon because he *must*, he fails to consider the reasons why he must; he fails to consider the relations of his theme; and if he does not feel the influence of it, he cannot expect that his hearers will. It has been said that a writer must be borne upward by his subject, and must not, like a bird of prey, bear his subject up after him. If he be stimulated by the mere necessity of having something to say, he will not stimulate those to whom he says it. That was a dismal confession of Coleridge: "Composition is no voluntary business. The very necessity of doing it robs me of the power of doing it. Had I been possessed of a tolerable competency, I should have been a voluminous writer. But I cannot, as is feigned of the nightingale, sing with my breast against a thorn."<sup>1</sup>

C. When your theme is fitted to elicit the emotions of sorrow, pity, or dread, discipline yourself to feel these

<sup>1</sup> Cottle's Recollections, p. 180. Goethe says: "The mannerist is always longing to get through, and has no true enjoyment of his work. But genius is happy in finishing out the details necessary to express its idea. Roos is unwearied in drawing the hair and wool of his goats and sheep, and you see by his nicety in details that he was truly happy in his work, and had no wish to bring it to an end. People of little minds are not happy in art for its own sake; while at work they always have before their eyes what they shall get by what they are doing. Such worldly views and tendencies never yet produced anything great."—Eckermann's Conversations with Goethe, p. 92.

emotions. One reason why a sermon on the sinfulness and danger of men, or the threatenings of the law, fails to produce its normal effect is, that it was not written under the influence of the sadness, or compassion, or awe which the theme demands. The very structure of the sentences indicates that their author did not care for the evils, or bow down before the majesty, which he was portraying. He exposes himself to the charge of foretelling punishment with joy, and of being glad that so many pains are in store for his hearers.

D. Aim to do justice to your subject, and thus enliven as well as express your interest in it. Sometimes a clergyman takes out his six sheets of paper, and designs to fill them with his sermon. His introduction must be only five inches long; his arguments, seven inches each; he leaves nine inches for his improvement. His thoughts are measured not weighed. They are compared with the extent of his paper, not with the demands of his subject. He ought to be borne along by the truth which he discusses; to move as the truth moves him; to reason or to persuade where and when and as the truth impels him. Cultivating an interest in his doctrine, he adjusts the proportions of his sermon to the suggestions of that doctrine. Giving himself up to it, he becomes so much influenced by it that "he will shine in the dark."

E. Avoid all those processes which damp your ardor in writing. What these processes are every man must determine for himself, as he must determine what are his own best methods of physical exercise or mental relaxation. The query is often started: "Shall I, while I am engaged on my sermon read the books which treat of my theme"? The answers to this question should be as various as are the different characters of men. One answer is: You must think for yourself. As the wheel becomes heated by its own revolutions, so the mind gains warmth and fire from its original and independent thought. Another answer is: You have the same right and the same duty to consult other authors

while you are investigating the subject of your sermon, as you would have if you were investigating the subject for your own private advantage. A third answer is: By reading other treatises you may intensify your enthusiasm in your subject. When travelling in a strange land, and overtaken by a resident in it, you may gain from his company a new delight in your travels, and a new desire to pursue them. A fourth answer is: The inferiority of what you write to what you read may dishearten you, and if you do not altogether abandon your sermon you will work your way through it by force rather than by free-will. A different answer is: You may be tempted to imitate the author whom you consult. You can no more compose a true sermon while you are copying another man's style, than you can swim while a drowning man is grasping your limbs. An old poet has written :

“As on the yielding wax the seal we find  
Left in strong likeness with imprinted glow,  
So does the reader steal the author's mind,  
And to the bias lent inclining go.”

Still a different answer, and one appropriate to many but not all clergymen, is: Defer reading on your theme until you have finished your writing upon it. You may thus lay up the materials for a future improvement of your work, and learn a lesson of present humility.

F. Make the theme of one elaborate sermon your prominent object of interest until that sermon is finished, and do not allow your enthusiasm to be divided between two or more sermons of the same high character. While preparing such a discourse the preacher may intermit his effort, and model one or more discourses after a subordinate standard (see § 2. I. 1.). Few authors, however, can treat one great subject with the requisite fulness and warmth while a different one is equally prominent in their regard. The single great subject exhausts them; if they discuss a different theme it should be less intricate and critical. Seldom can a man roll forward two wheelbarrows at once. Gesenius confessed



that he could not succeed in a single investigation unless he gave himself up to it entirely, and allowed no other, which was like it in importance, to occupy his mind. The prominence of the second diverts the attention and alienates the interest from the first; perhaps also it distracts the soul and confuses the ideas. An inferior topic may furnish an agreeable change to the mind, and may heighten the prominence of the superior, as the background makes the central figure of the picture more distinct. The depth of feeling depends upon the concentration of thought, and this concentration depends upon the singleness of aim, and this singleness of aim implies that one mind is absorbed in one theme.

G. Cultivate the hope of seeing good results from what you write. Hope is a tonic, and makes the style energetic. The characteristic of a philosophical temperament is: Much hope, little faith. The characteristic of a true minister's temperament is: Much hope that he will see the good influence of his discourse; great faith that this influence will come, whether he see it or not. "He who does not expect a million readers should never write a line," said Goethe; but a true minister of Christ may hope to do more for eternity than a mere poet can do for his million admirers.

H. Cherish the expectation of *immediate* benefit from your discourse. Sometimes a writer may be so absorbed with his theme that he will express the emotions awakened by it without regard to the sympathies of men. At other times, he may write in the ideal presence of his congregation, as if he were in actual colloquy with them, and may vary the order or style of his discourse, as if he saw them approving or disapproving, assenting or questioning. He may write foreseeing, as if he were seeing, a good effect from every sentence. This foresight inspires him. His thoughts and words are more apposite and energetic than they would be if he were thinking of his paper and inkstand. Napoleon Buonaparte, dictating a sentence of his bulletin, would sometimes clap his hands in the vision of its influence on his readers. Many a minister has dropped his pen, and begun



to speak aloud, imagining that his congregation was before him.

4. Write when you are in a state of awakened *religious* feeling. The appropriate feeling, described in the preceding topic, is religious. Mere natural sensibility will not supply the place of true piety. We may as well hope that a man will be a skilful musician because he has a taste for painting, or an exquisite sculptor because he has a fine musical ear, as to hope that a mere constitutional instinct will perform the services of that feeling which results from the influences of the Holy Spirit. The outward developments of the natural emotion may be somewhat like the outward developments of true piety. But they will not strike that chord in the spirit of the hearers which vibrates to nothing but to the touch of sincere devotion. That is a mysterious chord, and, like the poetic sentiment, "needs only to be struck, and the sound it yields will be music." The unlettered Christian will be unable to explain it, but yet will always feel that, somehow or other, his minister who is animated by mere animal sensibility does not reach the heart. The main discipline of a preacher, then, should be moral, rather than intellectual. If he commune with God, he will have a community of feeling with good men. A sail-ship can no more be wafted forward without a breeze than a true sermon can be carried forward save by the breath of prayer. Pericles never ascended the rostrum without imploring a blessing from the gods. It is an oft-cited remark: "*Orabit ecclesiastes pro se, ut in suo ipsius animo vivam illam efficacem et penetrantem verbi divini vim experiatur et sentiat; ne videlicet ad ignem quam aliis exsufflat et accendit, ipse frigeat, sed ignis ardens in suo ipsius corde verbum predicatum fiat.*"

5. Regard an appropriate excitement of your sensibilities as an aid to the accuracy of your composition. Some writers consider it a hinderance. They think of the feelings as lawless, but the judgment as conformed to the rules of propriety. The sensibility, however, has its own laws. They are the

laws of God. Science explains them. True, the heart is more quickly perverted than the judgment; but it is not necessarily wrong; and a sound heart may be trusted as well as a sound head. Indeed, a mere unimpassioned intellect is sure to err. It may make a sermon "coldly correct and critically dull"; but the dulness is the gravest sin against substantial correctness. The soul of the sermon does not reside in the accurate phrases of it. It is the ardor of emotion, and not the calm judgment, which starts the rapid transitions, the vehement course of thought, the pathetic strain, all pertinent to the subject of the sermon. When a traveller has no ardent desire to see the distant cathedral, he may leap over every hedge to gather flowers, and go out of his way to the right hand or the left. So the preacher, if he be not stimulated by an intense interest in his subject, may ramble abroad in search of tropes; but, as he goes out of his way for them, they are a blemish to his style. If his emotions be fitly excited, he will take the flowers which grow up in his path, which do not need to be sought after and run after, and they will give to his sermon that ease which is one secret of strength. "The language of strong feeling," says Walter Scott, "is always pure."<sup>1</sup>

6. While meditating on the subject of your discourse, give to the mind, at certain times, free and full play. The rules of rhetoric are expressions of psychological laws; they are forms of mental science, they tend to make men natural in their speech. But we have acquired such habits of thought and expression, that even good rules half obeyed make us unnatural. One of these rules prescribes, therefore, that we occasionally forget all rules, and leave the mind to itself. While we insist that we should cultivate the habit of study-

<sup>1</sup> Notice the literary merits of Matthew xxv., Psalm lxxx., 2 Sam. i. 17-27, etc. When the homiletical rule is given that a minister should write as the Holy Spirit gives him utterance, the rule is sometimes regarded as the result of superstition; but when Thomas Carlyle gives his own heathenish rule it is regarded as the dictate of sound philosophy. He says: "Utter with free heart what they *daemon* gives thee; if fire from heaven it shall be well; if resinous firework, it shall be, — as well as it could be, or better than otherwise."

ing with our apparatus of books and notes around us, we allow that we should sometimes let our minds take their own course; let our thoughts come and go; let them enjoy their lawlessness and keep up their *abandon* so far as it is orthodox. We may think that we are wasting an hour in idle musing or reverie, while in fact we are letting the ground lie fallow for the sake of gaining the richer harvest. Something is due to that law of our nature which calls for change and rest. By constantly forcing ourselves up to rules which our wrong usages have made irksome we may acquire a forced style. If our hard work be too uniform we become hard writers and speakers. When law is always in the fore-ground and freeness in the back-ground the picture is dull. Now and then leave the study for the grove; go from the library to the running stream; stand not always at the high desk, but lie down on the grass; the sight of birds will be more suggestive than the sight of books. The ideas which come of their own accord at such times will form a standard of ease and naturalness.<sup>1</sup> There is a degree of truth in the saying that the thoughts which rise unbidden are the best. Men have something to justify them when, forgetting their gardens, they tell us that the wild flowers are the most charming. The thoughts and expressions which present themselves to the mind in its hours of license will need to be examined with care and perhaps modified; still there is danger of spoiling in attempting to improve them. Mr. Cobbett presses his rule too far, yet there is a measure of good sense in it: "Use the first words that occur to you, and never attempt to *alter a*

<sup>1</sup> When Sir Walter Scott composing his *Rokeby* was "at his desk he did little more, as far as regarded *poetry*, than write down the lines which he had fashioned in his mind while pursuing his vocation as a planter," etc. — *Life of Scott*, Vol. iii. p. 215. "Oh, man," he once said, "I had many a grand gallop among these braes when I was thinking of *Marmion*," etc. While in quarters with his cavalry, he "used to delight in walking his powerful black steed up and down by himself upon the Portobello sands, within the beating of the surge; and now and then you would see him plunge in his spurs, and go off as if at a charge, with the spray dashing about him. As we rode back to Musselburgh, he often came and placed himself beside me, to repeat the verses that he had been composing during these pauses of our exercise."—Vol. ii. p. 252.

*thought*; for, that which has come of itself into your mind is likely to pass into that of another more readily and with more effect than anything which you can by reflection invent. Never stop to *make choice of words*. Put down your thought in words just as they come. Follow the order which your thought will point out, and it will push you on to get it upon the paper as quickly and as clearly as possible.”<sup>1</sup> The exact truth is: There are valid reasons for treating with deference the thoughts and expressions which most readily occur to us; for suspecting that the ideas which come are better than those which are acquired; still we must scrutinize them and sometimes change them, even when in their general character they are conformed to the right standard.

It is well at times to give ourselves up to our subject without any regard to the use which is to be made of it; to let it carry us whither it will in its windings; to let our theme be a root springing up and branching out free from all our efforts to cut and clip it. Professor Convers Francis, complaining of his Lectures remarks: “There is something in this using the mind wholly *for others*, and with reference to others, which I do not like. It seems to nudge one’s faculties on the elbow, and tell them that they are not to move at their own sweet will, but to produce a certain tale of brick for an employer. What would be the effect if the mind of every one were set free from tasks, and could flower out in musing, in speech, in writing, like shrubs and trees? We should have more true men and women, and fewer repeating machines.”<sup>2</sup>

Aiming to encourage the genial working of his faculties, it is not uncommon for a preacher, after he has chosen a theme for his sermon, and before he has selected the materials for it, to write down just such thoughts as it may happen to suggest, to spend no time in classifying them, to let them follow each other as rapidly as possible, until, per-

<sup>1</sup> Cobbett’s Grammar, Letter xxiii. Lord Byron says: “In composition I do not think *second thoughts* are the best, though *second expressions* may improve the first ideas.”—Galt’s Life of Byron, p. 176.

<sup>2</sup> Discourse at the Funeral of Dr. Francis, by Rev. John Weiss, pp. 49, 50.

haps on a sudden, they fall, like the beads of a kaleidoscope, into the order which satisfies him. Desiring to catch the same kind of inspiration, another preacher addresses a small and simple audience, on a theme which he intends to discuss before a great congregation, but on which he has not begun to arrange his thoughts. Speaking to such an audience he feels no fear of criticism, no restraint from rules, his ideas are suggested in the glow of sympathy with the common people, thought crowds upon thought, and in the end the best materials suggest themselves, arranged according to the best plan. What Bacon says of speaking to a friend may be said of speaking to a small but earnest religious assembly : “ Whosoever hath his mind fraught with many thoughts, his wits and understanding do clarify and break up, in the communicating and discoursing with another ; he tosseth his thoughts more easily ; he marshalleth them more orderly ; he seeth how they look when they are turned into words ; finally, he waxeth wiser than himself ; and that more by an hour’s discourse than by a day’s meditation.” “ In a word, a man were better relate himself to a statue or picture, than to suffer his thoughts to pass in smother.”<sup>1</sup> It is notorious that many a minister has educated himself by commencing his professional life in a parish where he could allow free vent to his feelings, and form a more flexile style than if he were trammelled by critics. Some of the most effective sermons which he has published in mature life were suggested to him in a strictly unpremeditated address which he delivered during his novitiate, to a class of unlettered men. The most startling sermons ever preached have sometimes been the natural out-gushings of minds which knew nothing of written rules. “ If ” says Cardinal Maury, “ there remains among us any trace of that ancient and nervous eloquence, which is nothing else than the first cry of nature imitated, or repeated by art, it is in the missions, it is in the country, that we must seek for examples of it. There apostolic men, true and worthy orators of the people, endowed

<sup>1</sup> Bacon’s Works, Vol. i. p. 92.



with a strong and bold imagination acknowledge no other success than conversions; no other applause than tears. Sometimes I admit that, lacking in taste, they descend into too familiar details; but they open a breach; but they reach the goal; but they place themselves in the midst of conscience; but they inflame the imagination; but in their presence all their hearers become their people; they forcibly strike the senses; the multitude follows, and hears them with enthusiasm, and finally, many of them have sublime qualities.”<sup>1</sup>

7. Before you begin to write your sermon obtain as full a mastery of your theme as you can. Study the nature and relations of it, the biblical texts which explain it; anticipate the objections which it may suggest and the most effective answers to them; take a prophetic view of your plan from the exordium to the conclusion; select the precise distinctive terms, and the more apposite illustrations which may illumine the subject; also various synonymous words<sup>2</sup> which may relieve the hearer's attention to it. Neglecting to arrange these preliminaries before writing, some authors are compelled to interrupt their flow of thought for the sake of examining an intricate question or searching for an apposite phrase. Their look-out for words confuses the thought, and their confusion of thought hides the right words. They repress their emotion and acquire a stilted or nerveless style, by writing carefully, without thinking previously what and how to write. They ought to make haste by delay. They would build their temple with the greater ease, if it went up without the sound of the hammer. Mr. Cobbett says: “Sit down to write what you have thought, and not to think what

<sup>1</sup> *Essai sur l'Eloquence de la Chaire*, Tome i. pp. 85, 86.

<sup>2</sup> The frequent reiteration of the same word is one cause of the alleged tediousness of a sermon. Hence the value of Roget's *Thesaurus*, Soule's *Dictionary of English Synonyms*, and similar works. Mr. Choate says: “In translating, the student should not put down a word till he has thought of at least *six synonyms* or varieties of expression for the idea. I would have him fastidious and eager to go, not unfrequently, half round his library, pulling down books, *to hunt up a word, the word*.” — *Parker's Reminiscences of Choate*, p. 249.

you shall write.”<sup>1</sup> “The style of a writer” says Goethe, “is almost always the faithful representative of his mind; therefore, if any man wish to write in a clear style, let him begin by making his thoughts clear; and if any would write in a noble style, let him first possess a noble soul.” Speaking of a poem which he had recently finished, Goethe says: “I have borne this subject about with me for forty years; so that it has had time to get clear of everything extraneous.”<sup>2</sup> Thus when he was writing he knew just what to say next.

8. When fully prepared according to the foregoing rules, pen your discourse rapidly. In this manner you may acquire that freshness and concinnity of style which writers, as distinct from speakers so often want. “Tears dry fast”; emotion subsides quickly; it must be expressed as soon as it rises, or it will die away, never perhaps to revive. As a man will not pray with a full heart while he is studying the philosophy of prayer, so a man will not write with the requisite enthusiasm while he is thinking of rhetorical rules. Words must be carefully selected, but if the right term do not occur to you while you are intent on the thought, leave a blank and suffer not your ardor to be cooled down by a research into lexicography. You may think of some felicitous quotation; but do not pause to search for it; you are working on the solid wood and have no time for veneering. There are laws for the division of a discourse into paragraphs, for the apposite termination of sentences, for capital letters, for orthography; but let these laws go for nothing while you are penning your discourse. Do not pause if you find that you have spelled the name of the poet Ossian as the first Napoleon spelled it, “Ocean.” He finished but little for the press; he was on the whole a slow composer; yet while he wrote, he wrote. Bourrienne says: “When Buonaparte dictated his proclamations—he was, for the moment, inspired, and he evinced all the excitement which distinguishes the Italian Improvisatori. To follow him it was necessary to

<sup>1</sup> Cobbett's Grammar, etc., Letter xxiii.

<sup>2</sup> Eckermann's Conversations with Goethe, pp. 102, 63.

write with inconceivable rapidity.”<sup>1</sup> Dr. Samuel Johnson was noted for the swiftness of his composition. “I wrote,” he said, “forty-eight of the printed octavo pages of the *Life of Savage* at a sitting; but then I sat up all night.”<sup>2</sup> When on a visit at Oxford he asked a friend, “How long it was till the post went out; and on being told about half an hour, he exclaimed, ‘Then we shall do very well.’ He upon this instantly sat down and finished an *Idler*, which it was necessary should be in London the next day.” His friend desired to read the paper, “Sir,” said Johnson, “you shall not do more than I have done myself.”<sup>3</sup> In order to defray the expense of his mother’s funeral and pay some of her small debts, he wrote his *Rasselas* in the evenings of a single week, and sent it to the press in detached portions as soon as he had finished them. He once said that he often wrote three columns of the *Gentleman’s Magazine* in an hour, and yet it would be difficult for an amanuensis to transcribe those three columns in so short a time. It must be remembered, however, that before he began his writing he had already arranged his thoughts, and, although he had accustomed himself to converse in the style of books, and would therefore not seem to require those correcting processes which careless talkers need, yet after he had published some of his essays he performed almost incredible labors in amending their phraseology.<sup>4</sup> Chalmers’ comparison of the first draft with the last copy of some of Johnson’s writings is a curiosity in letters. The Doctor’s own method of composition suggested to him his directions to a clergyman: “Take this text, and see how quickly you can write a sermon on it.” When the sermon was written, he said: “Now take it, and see how good you can make it.” Dr. Thomas Brown

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of Napoleon* (American ed.), Vol. ii. p. 213. See also *Scott’s Life of Napoleon* (American ed.), Vol. iii. p. 330.

<sup>2</sup> *Boswell’s Johnson*, Vol. i. p. 136.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 259. The chief difficulty which the Doctor seems to have found in writing for the press is expressed in the words: “If I had but good pens.”

<sup>4</sup> Some of his works, however, as his *Rasselas*, he never read after they were first published.

in writing his Lectures on Mental Science, generally dispatched one lecture at a single sitting, and delivered it on the very day on which it was finished. Hence the vivacity and vigor of those lectures. It cannot be said, however, that each of those compositions was the product of the few hours which he spent in writing it. The substance of it had been diligently prepared before it was committed to paper. He did not live to review and rewrite what he had written, to condense and correct it. The labor of revision has been performed by others, and he suffers as an author because he did not perform it himself.

9. When equipped for writing rapidly, write continuously. If Giotto had paused in making his O, or had made it slowly, he would not have made it right. The mind will not be thoroughly aroused in a moment. After it has begun to exert itself, it acquires a new vigor and continues to accumulate energy as it continues its exertion. At length it reaches that state which is called a state of inspiration. It can now accomplish more in five minutes than in another state it can accomplish in fifty. Now the outgrowths of the mind will be the richest and most healthful. Now the worthiest thoughts will come first. Unless seized and noted with pen and ink, they will flit away never to be recalled. In this state of mental elevation, the minister scarcely knows himself. During its continuance he must not be interrupted. The loss of a few minutes is the loss of a day. He must be diverted by no domestic avocation. His parish must not intrench upon his hours of study. Mr. Cecil says: "Having some business to transact with a gentleman in the city, I called one day at his counting-house; he begged I would call again, as I had so much more time to spend than he had, who was a man of business. 'An hour is nothing to you,' said he. You seem little to understand the nature of our profession [I replied]; one hour of a clergyman's time rightly employed, Sir, is worth more to him than all the gains of your merchandise."

10. After you have written your discourse, criticise and

amend it. It may be sometimes improved after it has been preached. While the minister is yet speaking, his best thoughts may occur to him, and these should be afterwards incorporated with his written sermon. Dr. Edward Payson wrote sometimes so rapidly that when he turned over his sermon leaf the ink of one page would be distinctly impressed upon the other ; and when he delivered the sermon he would utter sentiments more affecting than any which he had written, and his hearers, when they perused that sermon, as printed, searched in vain for its most eloquent passages. If he had inserted them, on Monday, in the manuscript which he had preached on Sunday, he would have made the world his debtor. But whether a sermon be modified or not after it has been preached, it should be corrected at some time after it has been composed. A written discourse has this advantage over the extemporaneous ; the false or crude sentiments, the wild or odd conceits, the inapposite or ungrammatical expressions of the writer are secretly committed to paper, and may be as secretly exchanged for better thoughts and phrases. But the blunders which are made in speaking extempore are made before the entire audience, and cannot be dislodged from the minds which are offended or perhaps injured by them.

The careful elaboration of a discourse appears to some inconsistent with the celerity of penning it. Men often complain of a contradiction between the different maxims of rhetoric. Thus it is an old adage :

“ Toil forms the thoughts and polished style that please,—  
The writer’s labor makes the reader’s ease.”

On the contrary it is an apothegm of Mr. Emerson, “ Every man can do his best thing easiest.” The seeming contradiction between these two maxims vanishes when we reflect, that the author’s labor precedes and follows his process of writing, and while he is engaged in that process, his work becomes what Rousseau and Jean Paul would call play.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is the correction of what has been written which causes the tedium of composition. “ I give,” says Coleridge, (*Reminiscences* by Mr. Cottle, Vol. i.



The elaboration of a sermon consists in the antecedent study of its subject-matter and in the subsequent recensions leading perhaps, to a new copy of it.

Dr. Paley remarks:<sup>1</sup> "The late Mr. Hartley, whose knowledge of the human understanding no one will dispute, whenever he saw a faulty composition, was wont to say it had not been written over often enough. There are no compositions in the language which have been so admired for this very quality of ease as those of Mr. Sterne; yet none, I believe, ever cost their author more trouble. I remember to have seen a letter of his, in which he speaks of himself as having been incessantly employed for six months upon one small volume." Sir Walter Scott said that "the works and passages in which he has succeeded have uniformly been written with the greatest rapidity"; and he is understood to have said, that of his principal poems only one—"The Lady of the Lake"—was written over the second time, and this was completed in six weeks. He generally wrote on subjects which he had made familiar to his mind; he had stored his memory with the words and dialects which he was to use; he was satisfied with the phrases which after this preparatory labor first suggested themselves; but in some of his works he essentially injured his reputation by not reviewing, criticising, and correcting them. Ben Johnson says that Shakespeare never corrected his composition, but was "as tenacious as Pontius Pilate of what he had written." If this be the fact, we may easily account for the annoyances to which he has subjected his editors.

The manner of making the revisions of a discourse is thus described by Dr. Paley:<sup>2</sup>

p. 138), every moment I can spare from my garden and the Reviews, i.e. from my potatoes and meat, to the poems [Religious Musings]; but I go on slowly, for I torture the poem and myself with corrections, and what I write in an hour I sometimes take two or three days in correcting.—The Religious Musings I have altered monstrously, since I have read them to you and received your criticisms."

<sup>1</sup> In his Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Carlisle on the Studies suitable to the Clergy.

<sup>2</sup> In his fifth Charge, cited above.

"It is necessary that these revisions be made at due distances of time. A very simple example will show the reason of this rule. In the easiest operation of arithmetic, the casting up an account, a person may do it twenty times together, and twenty times together commit the same mistake. But if he should repeat the process at due distances of time, it is scarcely possible that that should take place. So it fares with our critical sagacity; very gross improprieties may elude examination, and if they once escape our attention, it is probable they will continue to escape it at that time, let us read over our composition ever so often. It is necessary, therefore, that the mind should come fresh to the subject, that the taste be not blunted by too much exercise, the thought too much implicated in the same trains and habits; and above all, that the familiarity of words and ideas be passed off, which whilst it lasts, renders the perception of faults almost impossible. To me it appears, that this principle was very well known to the classic ages of literature. The *nonum prematur in annum* was not merely for the purpose of frequent revisions, for which surely a much less time would have been sufficient, but to allow such space also and distance between them, as that they might be made with the best effect. It is also of consequence to view a subject in different states of spirits, different moods of temper, and different dispositions of thought. That can hardly be wrong which pleases under all these varieties of mind or situation; that may be very much so which pleases only in one. For instance, an inflamed diction, fantastic or extravagant, bold conceits, violent or daring expressions, may gratify a mind heated or elated with its subject, which, when the animal spirits were subsided and the enthusiasm gone, would appear intolerable even to the same person."

11. In writing and correcting your discourse, let the idea, rather than the manner of expressing it, be the chief object of attention; and prefer that manner which the idea most naturally suggests. One of the most instructive rules ever given by a rhetorician was given by Dr. Emmons to a young preacher: "First, find out what you have to say; secondly, say it." A writer wastes his time, acquires an artificial method of thought and speech, in laboring to say something in a neat or dignified or learned style. "What thought do I really wish to express?" That is the first, second, and third question.<sup>1</sup> In answering this question a wise man

<sup>1</sup> Lord Bacon criticising the literature introduced by the Reformation, says: "Men began to hunt more after words than matter, and more after the choiceness of the phrase, and the round and clean composition of the sentence, and the sweet falling of the clauses, and the varying and illustration of their works with tropes and figures, than after the weight of matter, worth of subject,

expends his main strength. In mentally answering it to himself he will be impelled to use certain words. They come naturally. The main course of those words is probably the right one. They may be modified in some particulars; the modification of them will require time and care; but the original selection of them is a short work and almost unconscious; and, in the general, if they express his thought really, they express it fitly.

If a writer fails to make the idea his main object of attention, he will often injure his style in attempting to improve it. Many do this, and thereby awaken a prejudice against elaborate composition. "Give us more lays," says Southey to Walter Scott, "and correct them at leisure for after editions—not laboriously, but when the amendment comes naturally and unsought for. It never does to sit down doggedly to correct."<sup>1</sup> Not doggedly, but intelligently; not laboriously in the sense of tiresomely, but in the sense of energetically and cautiously, should a writer improve his compositions by the *multa litura*. Not without severe toil can he obtain the power of Professor Playfair, of whom Lord Jeffrey says: "He wrote rather slowly, and his first sketches were often very slight and imperfect, like the rude chalking for a masterly picture; his chief effort and greatest

soundness of argument, life of invention, or depth of judgment. . . . Then did Erasmus take occasion to make the scoffing echo; 'Decem annos consumpsi in legendo Cicerone'; and the 'echo answered in Greek, 'Ove,' 'asine.' . . . How is it possible but this should have an operation to discredit learning, even with vulgar capacities, when they see learned men's works like the first letter of a patent or limned book; which though it hath large flourishes, yet it is but a letter. It seems to me that Pygmalion's frenzy is a good emblem or portraiture of this vanity; for words are but the images of matter; and except they have life of reason and invention, to fall in love with them is all one as to fall in love with a picture." — Bacon's Works, Vol. ii. pp. 36, 37. These remarks of Bacon are in no way inconsistent with principles laid down under § 2. I. 1. above in regard to the elaborating of a discourse. Dr. Rawley, in his Life of Bacon, says: "I myself have seen, at the least, twelve copies of the Instauration [Instauratio Magna] revised year by year, one after another, and every year altered and amended in the frame thereof; till at last it came to that model in which it was committed to the press." — Bacon's Works, Vol. ix. p. 27.

<sup>1</sup> Lockhart's Life of Scott, Vol. ii. p. 269.

pleasure was in their revisal and correction ; and there were no limits to the improvement which resulted from this application." He first drew the outline of his essay, and then performed the most material part of his work, enriching and improving it, "without any risk either of destroying the proportions of that outline or injuring the harmony and unity of the original design."<sup>1</sup>

12. When you are writing one part of your sermon, and such thoughts occur to you as may be needed for another part of it, note down brief hints of them. Unless they are thus fixed in a permanent form, they may never be recalled ; and you may labor in constructing an artificial paragraph in the place of that natural one, the plan of which darted through your mind when it was aglow with your theme. Some of our best thoughts flit before us when they cannot be used. It certainly cannot be said of every writer, as is said of Professor Playfair, that "he had no capricious visitings of fancy, which it was necessary to fix on the spot or to lose forever, no casual inspirations to invoke and to wait for, no transitory and evanescent lights to catch before they faded."<sup>2</sup> The ideas which come to one writer and are instantly forgotten, would form a richer sermon than could possibly be written by another man. "Mr. Locke long ago observed that the most valuable of our thoughts are those which drop, as it were, into the mind by accident ; and no one exercised in these matters will be backward to allow that they are almost always preferable to what is forced up from the mind by pumping,"<sup>3</sup> etc. "I am in the habit," says Reinhard, and the same has been said by a hundred others, "of writing down those thoughts which occur to me in reading, regular reflection, or incidentally, and are worthy of being treated of in detail in a sermon, just as they present themselves to my mind at the moment, without having any particular object in view. If, then, at any time, I meet with difficulty in finding something appropriate in a text upon which I am

<sup>1</sup> Jeffrey's Essays, Vol. iii. p. 687.

<sup>2</sup> Jeffrey's Essays, Vol. iii. p. 688

<sup>3</sup> Paley's Works, Vol. vi. p. 413.



called to preach, I recur to this catalogue of interesting thoughts, in order to see whether some of them cannot be made to bear upon the text in question. This often proves to be the case; and in this way I have been led to many happy combinations of which I should otherwise never have thought.”<sup>1</sup>

13. So arrange your studies as to avoid unnecessary fatigue. The excitement of writing facilitates both thought and expression, but tends to exhaust both body and mind. Some of the most eminent authors have been compelled by their feeble health to suspend their studies at a predetermined hour, even although the hour found them at the height of their inspiration. Thus they have sacrificed some of their best thoughts to a physical necessity. Others, being accustomed to wait for their inspired moods, have prolonged their work during the continuance of those moods, and ended it in such a state of exhaustion as has disgusted them with their writing, and indisposed them to renew it until they were again visited with one of their mysterious inspirations. This irregular habit is eminently unfit for the pastor of a church. Another class, who are not inclined to “humor their disposition,” persevere in writing while they are weary, and thus make it sure that the sermon will be dry, even if, like truth, it should be at the bottom of the well. What is said to all artists, may be said to clerical authors: “When you begin to tire of your work, leave off. You will certainly injure yourself.”<sup>2</sup>

One of the most important applications of the present rule is this: Do not continue the work of composition to a late

<sup>1</sup> Reinhard's Confessions, Letter x.

<sup>2</sup> Leslie. It is said that Macaulay, as soon as his writing palled upon him, left it, and took a stroll in the open air. When residing in London “he would throw down his pen at midnight and walk through the silent streets for two or three hours. He thought the silence and solitude of a great city favorable to meditation, and generally returned to his desk with a fresh stock of vivid and picturesque thoughts.” Edmund Burke when wearied, “would enter with cordial glee into the sports of children, rolling about with them on the carpet, and pouring out in his gambols the sublimest images mingled with the most wretched puns.” — Life of Sir James Mackintosh, Carey's Library, p. 14.



hour in the week. Strive to close the work as early as Saturday noon. The habit of writing late on Saturday and early on Sabbath morning imperils the health of body, intellect, and heart. Entering the pulpit in an enfeebled state, the writer loses the benefit of his previous study. His sermon, however strong as an essay, is lame as an address to the people. A soldier continuing a forced march through the night is unfit, though he may be compelled, to fight in the morning. Bishop Hall considered it his most religious duty not to let his studies intrude upon his evening's quiet. "That student shall live miserably," he says, "which, like a camel, lies down under his burden." Izaak Walton tells us<sup>1</sup> that on the last day of the week Dr. Donne "usually gave himself and his mind a rest from the weary burthen of his week's meditations, and usually spent that day in visitation of friends, or some other diversions of his thoughts, and would say that he gave both his body and mind that refreshment that he might be enabled to do the work of the day following, not faintly, but with courage and cheerfulness." "I made it an invariable rule," says Reinhard, "before delivering one sermon to have another already prepared to follow it in my desk. . . . I was never driven to the necessity of preaching unprepared, or of extemporizing. . . . This habit of early preparation made it unnecessary for me to do anything in haste."<sup>2</sup> That remarkable man Julius Charles Rieu adopted Reinhard's plan. "Seldom did he preach a sermon, either in French or German, unless that which was to succeed it was ready in his desk; and thus he was never left to be embarrassed by those accidents which might occur during the week to interrupt the labors of preparation."<sup>3</sup> Tschirner objects to this method. An ordinary preacher will not feel so much interest in delivering a sermon which he finished a week before as in delivering one which he finished the day before.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Library of Old English Prose Authors, Vol. v. p. 86.

<sup>2</sup> Reinhard's Confessions, Letter viii.

<sup>3</sup> Memoir of Rieu, p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> In President Brown's Memoir of Rufus Choate pp. 308, 309, we read: "He could not prepare his cases for trial weeks and months in advance, as is the  
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One reason why the old divines made so deep an impression on their hearers is, they went not from the laboratory, but from the closet, into the pulpit. When they stood before their people, their faces shone as the face of Moses coming down from the mount. Of Philip Henry we read that, "whatever were the circumstances of his public opportunities, his family religion on that [the Sabbath] day was the same"; only he "was larger in exposition and prayer on Sabbath mornings than on other days," and, "besides his regular Psalms at morning and evening worship, he sang on that day with his family after dinner and supper." In Brooks's *Lives of the Puritans*, we read that, "having been long troubled," Rev. R. Rogers, one of the giants of those times, "set apart a day to seek of God why he so often hid his face from him. After three hours spent upon his knees, he came down, cheerful, saying he had found it; namely, that, *being busy for his sermon*, instead of praying with his family on the morning of the Lord's day, he had neglected that duty, and left it to his wife."

Various other directions might be added for the writer of a sermon; but they are all suggested or implied in those which have now been given. It must not be imagined that the observance of any rules will result in an essentially good sermon, unless the writer feel a sympathy with Him who spake as never man spake. It must be remembered that if he observe this Rule of all rules, and feel while he writes a oneness with his Redeemer, he will have an essentially good sermon, even if he violate the directions which are given for physical and intellectual discipline. As Ghiberti by the sense of touch could discover those beauties of a statue which are invisible to the eye even in any light, so a preacher by a refined spiritual touch can discover those beauties of the truth which are hidden from the man working by sight and

habit of some of our lawyers. He said to me once: 'I cannot get up the interest until the struggle is close at hand; then I think of nothing else till it is over.'"

not by faith. A preacher may be a servant of Christ, even if his body be shattered by disease, and a discourse may be in the main a good one even if it be composed in defiance of the laws of grammar. The speech of a converted savage derives a certain kind of charm from its expression of sublime thought in an uncultivated style, just as a flower receives a new attraction by its contrast with the mire out of which it grows. Still the tendency of a pious heart is to favor the observance of philosophical rules. These rules, being adapted to the human constitution, are prescribed by God, and hence their observance both aids the spirit of piety and receives aid from it.<sup>1</sup>

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## ARTICLE VI.

### REPLY TO DR. FISKE ON ROM. V. 12-21.

BY REV. J. FORBES, LL.D., PROFESSOR OF ORIENTAL LANGUAGES,  
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THE new sphere of duty to which I was suddenly called in November of last year, and which required my undivided attention to the work of the College Session, prevented my giving any reply immediately to the Review of my Commentary on the Romans, with which Dr. Fiske favored me in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for October, 1870. To an author desirous only of attaining to the truth, the objections of one who has given so much attention to the subject as Dr. Fiske are far more valuable, and even acceptable, than the indiscriminating general commendations with which the Commentary has met in most of the reviews of it which I have seen. I feel not more indebted to Dr. Fiske for the confirmation he affords me of the correctness of my conclusions on those points in which he agrees with me in opposition to

<sup>1</sup> This Article will be followed by others, on the Reading of Sermons, and the Practice of preaching Memoriter and Extempore.

Dr. Hodge, than for the objections which he states to others in which he differs from me. Such objections enable an author to correct his statements, if erroneous; or, if correct in the main, to remove the difficulties that stand in the way of the general acceptance of his argument by others.

I feel the more anxious to reply to the objections of Dr. Fiske, because they appear to me to furnish a good example of what I have stated to be the prevailing defect in our theological speculations, and which leads to so much misunderstanding and unnecessary controversy among Christians — the habit, I mean, of overlooking the “many-sidedness” of scripture, and, in forgetfulness that every object, like the shield in the fable, has at least two sides, examining but one side of the truth, and concluding that that which has specially attracted our own attention is the only one, to the exclusion of every other.

Dr. Fiske charges me with inconsistency, because I do not adhere invariably to the same point of view, but look sometimes to the more immediate cause, sometimes to the more remote. Thus, for example, he says: “That his [Dr. Forbes’s] views are not throughout self-consistent is evident from the fact that the condemnation or death of the [human] race is ascribed both to the transgression of Adam, and to their own inherited sinfulness.” But where is the evident inconsistency here? Having traced a phenomenon to its proximate cause, are we thereby precluded from going one step further back in the series of causes and effects? Having traced the death of a man found murdered in a wood to a bullet which had pierced his head, is it inconsistent to inquire further, and to endeavor to discover the hand that pointed and discharged the gun? Suppose a gardener to find that the water from his watering-pan kills his plants, is there any inconsistency in his inquiring whether its noxious qualities are traceable to the watering-pan alone, or to the cistern from whence the water was originally drawn? We have a striking instance in the Old Testament, where one and the same act is ascribed to God as the permissive Author,

and to Satan as the more immediate agent. In 2 Sam. xxiv. 1, we read: "And again the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel, and *he* moved David against them to say, Go, number Israel and Judah"; whereas, in 1 Chron. xxi. 1, it is said: "And *Satan* stood up against Israel, and provoked David to number Israel." God's purpose was to humble and correct David and Israel, who, flushed with a long series of victories, began to think that their own arm had got them all this might, and in their "prosperity to say, I shall never be moved" (Ps. xxx. 6); and he found, as in the case of Job, a ready instrument to effect his benevolent ends in the malignant agency of Satan.

Dr. Fiske continues: "It is repeatedly said [by Dr. Forbes] that sin and death are both the result of Adam's transgression, and come upon the race *simultaneously*; and yet the inherited sin of the race is said to be the *cause leading* to God's judicial sentence of death. But how, of two things proceeding *simultaneously* from a common cause, can the one be the cause of the other?" Why not? I would beg to ask. Are not the igniting of the gunpowder and the emission of the bullet from the gun simultaneous (proceeding from the same common cause, the drawing of the trigger), and yet the former the cause of the latter? Or (since every succession in the *material* world involves an interval of space and time, however minute), were not God's command, "Let there be light," and its instantaneous consequence, "And there was light," simultaneous; yet the former the cause of the latter, and both traceable to one and the same Author? I am surprised that Dr. Fiske should have supposed that there was even the semblance of contradiction between the two statements, after I had clearly drawn the distinction (quoted too by himself), that the *simultaneousness* of the entrance into human nature of the two evil principles of sin and death, as of the two blessings of justification and sanctification, referred to *time* (both evils being transmitted together at one and the same moment by natural birth, and both blessings together by spiritual birth); whereas, the consecution of



death upon sin, and of sanctification upon justification, belonged to an altogether different category, and referred to *logical sequence*.

But what I would particularly beg Dr. Fiske to keep in mind is, that what I have attempted is not to uphold any theory of my own with regard to the relation of Adam and of Christ to their respective seeds, but to discover and expound the views of St. Paul on this subject. Now, even on the most cursory glance at the parallel drawn between Adam and Christ, both views which I have stated stand upon the very face of the argument. *All* our evils, here summarized under the two principal, sin and death, are ascribed to Adam as their originating cause or author; as *all* our blessings, righteousness and life, are ascribed to Christ as their author; and at the same time, by Dr. Fiske's own admission, death is referred to sin as its proximate cause — “and death [entered] by sin” just as “the gift of righteousness” [unto sanctification] is said to be “*by* the grace” of “justification of life.” Christians are called upon to “glory in God,” as their God, with whom they have now “received the reconciliation, on this account,” διὰ τοῦτο, that all that is Christ's is communicated to them by a union with him as intimate as their previous union with Adam, by which all that was Adam's became theirs. “As by one man [Adam] sin and death entered into the world,” so “by one man [Christ] righteousness and life” were brought in. Not sin [ἁμαρτία, sinfulness] alone, which affects the whole race, is here assigned to Adam as its author; but (in order that there might be no misunderstanding on the subject) its penalty “death” or “condemnation” is, with remarkable reiteration, again and again ascribed to Adam's first transgression as its cause.

Ver. 15. “Through the *offence* of the one the many *died*.”

Ver. 16. “The *judgment* was from one *offence* to *condemnation*.”

Ver. 17. “Through one *offence* *death* reigned by the one.”

Ver. 18. "Through one *offence* [the issue was] upon all men to *condemnation*."

But, obvious as this ascription to Adam, as the original source, of death as well as of sin is on the very face of the parallel, while yet death is said to be *by* sin, a closer consideration of the points which the apostle had more particularly in view to illustrate and enforce by this parallel will strengthen our conclusion, that he meant to trace death to both its more immediate and more remote causes. These points seem to be principally two :

1. That the blessings of Christ's salvation are altogether gratuitous and unmerited, wholly and solely to be ascribed to him, and not to aught that we do.

2. That the two great blessings (under which he comprehends all) of justification and sanctification are so inseparably connected, that the one cannot be dissociated from the other.

The former of these points led to the apostle's ascription of the evils, and so of the blessings, to one author ; the latter, to the noting of the more immediate connection of the one evil with the other, in order to enforce the similar connection of the one blessing with the other, as cause and effect.

1. The zealots for Moses' law objected that to make the blessings of justification and sanctification gratuitous and wholly unmerited,—gifts to be received from Christ, and not awards arising from anything that we ourselves do,—was derogatory to God's perfections, and subversive of morality as encouraging to continuance in sin. To answer this objection, the apostle reminds his readers that this was in accordance with what God had done from the first, and refers them to his still more remarkable procedure in involving in sin and condemning the whole race of Adam, not for what they themselves had done, but for what their one representative, Adam, had done. The words with which the parallel begins — "As through one man," δι' ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου — are intended to apply to all the expressions which follow,

and include death, as well as sin, as consequences of Adam's transgression :

As THROUGH ONE MAN

Sin entered into the world,

And Death by sin,

And so Death passed upon all men,

For that all sinned [through one man].

Restrict our indebtedness to Adam to sin alone, as Dr. Fiske would do, while the death is to be ascribed not to him, but to the sin that is within us (= mediate imputation), and the first great object of St. Paul's parallel is nullified. Sanctification we owe no longer to Christ, but only our justification. Sanctification is connected with justification, like death with sin, as effect and cause; but if this causal connection renders it inconsistent to ascribe our death and condemnation to Adam as the originating author, it must be equally inconsistent to ascribe our sanctification to Christ as its author.

But 2. In order to repel still more effectually the objection that justification by the free grace of Christ alone would encourage to sin, instead of leading to sanctification, the apostle remarks that there is a still more immediate connection, as between sin and death, so between justification and sanctification, than that each of the connected pairs is derived from the same originating author. They are connected together as cause and effect, and therefore inseparable (except in thought). Sin must be followed by death, and so justification by sanctification. We cannot partake of sin, and yet escape its inevitable penalty, death. In like manner, we deceive ourselves in supposing that we have attained to justification, if its invariable attendant, sanctification, produces no change on the heart and life. The two are linked together indissolubly. Subjectively, the faith that appropriates and relies upon God's justifying mercy and love must call forth that corresponding love towards him which is "the fulfilling of the law" and true righteousness. Objectively, God's word must be followed by God's

deed. God's justifying, or *declaring* the believer righteous, is as necessarily followed by his sanctifying, or *making* him righteous, as his creative word, "Let there be light," was followed by its effect, "And there was light," or Christ's declaring to the leper, "I will; be thou clean," involved the consequence that he was made clean. This is the true connection, for the first time, I believe, pointed out in my Commentary, between verses 18 and 19 of Rom. v., as expressed by the *confirmative* term "FOR," in verse 19.

Ver. 18. By one act of righteousness

[The issue was] to all men unto justification of life.

Why? How declared righteous, when not righteous? — when the righteousness is that of another — not theirs in deed, but only in word? The answer is:

Ver. 19. FOR by the obedience of the one

The many shall be made righteous.

God cannot say a thing, and not do it. When he pronounces a man righteous, if not instantly made perfectly righteous, yet he is so in the sight of him who sees the end from the beginning, who, as the apostle had already explained, in iv. 17 (referring to God's words to Abraham, "*I have made* thee a father of many nations," when as yet he had no son) "calleth those things that be not as though they were." And, as God's *reckoning* the believer dead to sin and alive to righteousness necessarily involves his eventually being made truly dead to the one and alive to the other, so his faith, which appropriates God's justification (or reckoning of him righteous), is called upon to reckon himself as sure of perfect sanctification as if he were already in possession of it: "Reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin but alive unto God through Jesus Christ our Lord" (vi. 11); and in this confidence of certain victory to carry on steadfastly the arduous conflict.

It is in order to draw attention to this vital connection between justification and sanctification that the apostle is so persistent in pointing to the like invariable connection

between the two evils introduced by Adam of sin and death, summed up finally in

Ver. 18. By one offence

[The issue was] upon all men to condemnation.

If it is asked, Why? How is this? Condemned for the sin of another, and not for our own? The answer is:

Ver. 19. For by the disobedience of the one

The many were made sinners.

This I have stated to be in both cases a vindication of God's truthfulness and judicial declarations. Against this statement it is that Dr. Fiske declaims with much vehemence in the case of our participation in Adam's condemnation, though not a word is said against our participation in the justification flowing from Christ's righteousness, notwithstanding that both cases must stand or fall together. "What!" he exclaims, "men condemned for one sin they never committed, and their condemnation justified by the existence of another sin which came upon them, not by their own free choice, but by 'a necessity of nature.' We cannot understand either the logic or morals of such a statement; nor can we suppress our surprise that a man of Dr. Forbes's acumen should deliberately make it, and allow it to stand in type."

The statement I have shown to be not mine, but the plain meaning of St. Paul's words; or else let Dr. Fiske say, as to the first point, what other meaning he can possibly put upon St. Paul's reiterated assertions, that it is for Adam's "one offence" that condemnation to death comes upon all; and, as to the second point, let him show what other connection, indicated by the "FOR" of vs. 19, subsists between vs. 18 and 19, since he justly repudiates the signification attempted to be put upon *καθίστημι*, by Dr. Hodge, and will not of course adopt the Romish interpretation, viz. "vs. 18 = we are justified, because [FOR], vs. 19, we are sanctified."

Dr. Fiske continues, "It is as if we should justify a judge in condemning a man for a murder committed by his father on the ground that the man is a thief; or, to make the cases



more nearly parallel, on the ground that the man inherits an avaricious disposition from his father! It is a principle of jurisprudence, and of common sense, that a penalty can find its vindication only in the offence for which it was inflicted!"

Here we come, in Dr. Fiske's appeal to the principles of [*human*] *jurisprudence*, to the true source of all his difficulties and fallacious reasonings, and of his plausible objections founded on his own misapprehension—in his supposing that he, or I, or any one else can, on the principles of *human jurisprudence* offer a full justification of God's proceedings in either of the judicial sentences here referred to, or that St. Paul was attempting anything of the kind. On what principle of human jurisprudence shall we explain God's "justifying the *ungodly*," i.e. pronouncing *righteous* those who avowedly and by their own confession are *unrighteous*? It is to repel the obvious objection to his doctrine on this score, that the apostle appeals to the case, equally inexplicable on any principle of human jurisprudence, of God's involving the whole human race in condemnation for the transgression of their first parent. Had God's proceeding in this latter instance not involved something fully as strange and anomalous as God's justifying the ungodly, the parallel would not have been in point.

But—"condemned for a sin they never committed,"—urges Dr. Fiske. A king may of his mere clemency remit a penalty without reason assigned, but never judicially inflict one on the innocent.

We must not presume (we would reply) to limit God to the same standard which is prescribed for us. Are his dealings with the creatures of his hands, of that God who sees the end from the beginning, to be judged of in all respects by the same rules as must regulate the dealings of short-sighted mortals one with another? The full explanation of God's holding all men condemned from the moment they begin life, the apostle does not touch, as being far beyond the limits of our understanding to comprehend,—

and a difficulty not to be escaped by those who, as apparently Dr. Fiske would do, think they have explained the mystery by attributing the condemnation of each not to Adam, but to the sin which commences with the earliest dawn of personal responsibility in each individual. The *fact* is, the constitution of our nature is such, and the circumstances in which we are placed, that no mere man ever yet was found, nay, we can with certainty affirm, ever will be found, who "liveth and sinneth not." Now what *human* parent would dare to expose his children to such irresistible temptation and certainty of pollution? And, if we were to presume to judge of God by man's standard, it is as inexplicable and as hard to justify God's placing all men in circumstances such that they will with moral certainty transgress and bring upon themselves death, as that God should take the first man as a representative of all and start his posterity as it were a stage in advance, already partakers of condemnation and sin which they have to confess, but with an Almighty Saviour revealed to them, and every means, for their overcoming sin and attaining finally to salvation, provided for them, which they merely have submissively and gratefully to receive and improve.

The justification then, I repeat, of God's procedure in holding all men as condemned, not for what they themselves have done, but for Adam's offence, St. Paul does not attempt (leaving it to God in a future world to clear up this mystery), but takes the fact merely as he finds it, and employs it to illustrate, and to commend to the acceptance specially of the Jewish zealots for the law, the analogous proceeding of God's justifying believers not for what they themselves have done, but solely on the ground of Christ's merits.

But though it is not given us here below to attain to a full understanding of all the ways of God, is it no satisfaction — no "*vindication*" of the truthfulness and propriety of God's sentence — to be permitted to see that we are not condemned without being at the same time sinful? Nay, is it not some explanation of God's treatment of us, that it is

in accordance with a general "law of nature"? We consider that we have sufficiently explained the fall of an apple, or the maintenance of the earth in its orbit, if we refer them to the general law of gravitation, though we know nothing of the cause of gravitation itself. Now it is a general law established by God that "like produces like," and that the offspring partakes in the qualities and fortunes of the parent. Suppose then a vine to have become corrupt, and its fruit corrupt, and that the owner of the vineyard gave command to extirpate not only the parent tree, but every slip taken from it. Should the gardener remonstrate, "Why condemn all for the sake of one, before they have time to show what their fruit would be?" Would it be no *vindication* to reply, "All partake of the taint of the parent stem, and are therefore properly condemned?"

Or, to take the case of human beings. Suppose it were a fact, as universal as the inherited corruption of all Adam's posterity, that in a community of Thugs every child had invariably and without exception turned out a murderer, would not the government be sufficiently justified in (what our government, without such *universal* experience, virtually did) sentencing all, *children* as well as parents, to be consigned to a penal colony and reformatory discipline in which every possible means would be employed for their amelioration, with the final condemnation of utter extermination awaiting all, who, after every means of reformation had been exhausted, failed to give any satisfactory proofs of amendment?

Dr. Fiske, however, can see no distinction between Dr. Hodge's view which represents God on account of Adam's transgression as adjudging *sin* as a *penal infliction* on all his posterity while yet guiltless — "before even the existence of inherent depravity in them" (which to me appeared to make God the *direct author of sin*) — and the view which I have propounded, that St. Paul represents it as some *vindication* of the condemnation passed by God on all Adam's posterity, that "by a necessity of nature" (that which is born of flesh

being flesh) they partake of his sinfulness and therefore of his condemnation. "How," he asks, "is God any more the author of sin, on the theory that inherent depravity comes upon the race as a 'judicial infliction,' than he is on the theory that it comes by 'a necessity of nature,' or by 'a natural law which God has established'?" And how is it any more 'arbitrary' to condemn men for the sin of Adam to the most dreadful of all evils [sin], than it is to oblige them, on account of Adam's sin, to begin existence with a sinful nature, which is certainly one of the most dreadful of all evils?"

To make clear the distinction between Dr. Hodge's view and mine, let us change slightly our illustration. An eastern monarch in the course of visiting his dominions, having some meat placed before him which was found to be diseased and poisonous, issued an order commanding the whole flocks of the district to be killed. The first account propagated of this proceeding represented the monarch as acting in a most arbitrary manner, condemning all the undeserving flocks "before the existence of any inherent corruption in them;" and though, indeed, on examination they were found to be diseased, yet this very disease, it appeared, had been caused by the king himself, who was possessed of a mysterious power, pronouncing a curse upon them all, and with malignant eye casting such a blight upon them, that all became corrupted and their flesh poisonous — the king himself being thus the real and direct author of the distemper. Widely different, however, was the estimation formed by his subjects both of the proceeding and of the character of the king, when they learned that the flocks were all the offspring of one original pair of diseased sheep that had been imported into the district, and that by no special influence of the monarch, but according to a "general law" and "necessity of nature" the descendants inherited the disease of the parents. The king's condemnatory sentence, passed upon all the flocks, was at once vindicated in their eyes, and, instead of appearing a mere wanton exercise of authority, seemed

to be necessarily called for by the circumstances, and a benevolent means calculated to check as far as possible the wider spread of the malady.

The other minor charges of inconsistency alleged by Dr. Fiske are of a similar character, and admit of a similar reply. I must confess that the examination of these objections, if I may assume, from the acuteness of Dr. Fiske's mind, that they are among the strongest that can be adduced against my views, has tended rather to strengthen my belief in the general correctness of my interpretation. I could have wished much that Dr. Fiske had indicated more clearly his own solution of the difficulties which surround this perplexing portion of St. Paul's Epistle, instead of confining himself mostly to stating objections to mine. Evidently he believes that the "New England theology," towards which he considers that I am darkly groping my way, offers such a solution, and leads to a more "consistent Calvinism." He will confer on me a great favor, if he will point me to the work which he thinks best calculated to give me the new light which I require on this subject.



## ARTICLE VII.

PERKINS'S TUSCAN SCULPTORS.<sup>1</sup>

THESE superb and costly volumes are excellent in paper, type, and embellishment, affording constant pleasure to a reader's taste. Many of the engravings are wonderful for their delicacy of outline, and for the insight they give into the works of art which they illustrate. They leave a definite and lasting impression. That of St. Cecilia by Donatello, and the Creation by Ghiberti, in the first volume, are exquisite in beauty. The biographies are many of them very interesting and instructive, presenting striking examples of the unwearied and patient industry of men of the greatest genius. The style is very precise and elegant; the words used in the description being so exact and fitting that any change would often obscure the meaning. The author has taken great pains in studying his subject, and the reader has the satisfaction of perusing the words of a master fully qualified to give instruction.

Our clerical students cannot fail to be interested in the record which these volumes give of the labors performed and the sufferings endured by the great artists of Tuscany. The writer of sermons is apt to imagine, that he is the only man who lives a life of unrequited toil. The perusal of Mr. Perkins's narratives illustrates the fact that the lofty genius and exquisite taste of artists have prompted them to arduous work, and have borne them so far above the standard of their age as to deprive them of the reward which was their due.

The following are a few specimens of the suggestive records with which these volumes abound. They are presented for the most part, although not exactly, in the words of Mr. Perkins.

*Nicola Pisano and the Pisan pulpit.*—It was during the eleventh century, when Pisa was chief among the Ghibelline cities of Europe and a seaport, that the lonely buildings which now form its principal attraction were erected. We must look to a still earlier period for her antique sarcophagi which line the corridors of her Campo Santo, and which doubtless were in her possession when she was a colony of imperial Rome; while others were brought from the East, Sicily, and various parts of Italy, during the Middle Ages. When these sarcophagi decorated the exterior

<sup>1</sup> Tuscan Sculptors, their Lives, Works, and Times; with Illustrations from Original Drawings and Photographs. By Charles C. Perkins. Two vols. royal octavo. pp. 267, 267. London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green. 1864. Price, \$22.50.

of the Duomo during the eleventh, twelfth, and part of the thirteenth century, they served as tombs of distinguished Pisans, and illustrious foreigners deceased at Pisa, and linked together her Roman and mediæval existence (pp. 3 seq.).

The noble buildings of the city and the ancient marbles that decorated them formed one of Niccola Pisano's principal sources of instruction. He was born between 1205 and 1207, became a great architect, whose influence extended not only through Italy but all Europe. At the age of fifteen he obtained the appointment of architect to Frederic II., who passed through Pisa on his way to be crowned at Rome. Niccola joined the suite of the emperor, and went with him to Naples, where he worked for about ten years (p. 9).

After leaving Naples, Niccola designed a Basilica in honor of St. Anthony at Padua. His first essay, made in 1237, as a sculptor, is an alto-relievo of the Deposition, which still fills a lunette over one of the side doors of the cathedral of San Martino at Lucca. He sculptured also a sarcophagus for the remains of St. Dominic, at Bologna. The reliefs illustrated the miracles worked by the saint in his life-time (pp. 9, 12, 19). But Niccola's great work, which established his fame as a sculptor, was the pulpit of the Baptistery at Pisa.

The form of a pulpit throughout Italy up to this time, 1260, was in general that of a sarcophagus, supported upon four columns, and sculptured with reliefs on three sides. Niccola's pulpit, ornate and elegant, is hexagonal, by which he gained more space for sculptural decoration. It has many supporting columns, spanned by round arches, which are filled with Gothic tracery, and with a multitude of statuettes, placed above the Corinthian and Byzantine capitals, and in the spandrels of the arches. Its columns are supported, like those of the Lombard church porticoes, upon the backs of lions, the emblems of sacerdotal vigilance, and symbols of Jesus Christ, and his resurrection. The five bas-reliefs upon it represent the birth of Christ, the adoration of the Magi, the circumcision, the crucifixion, and the last judgment. In the adoration (the best of the series), sits a dignified Madonna (suggested by the Phædra of the sarcophagus) holding the divine child upon her knees, who graciously leans forward to receive the costly myrrh, typical of his burial, from Caspar, king of the Ethiopians; the incense, symbolic of God, and of the priest after the order of Melchisedec, from Balthazar, king of Saba; and the little golden apple, in token of allegiance to the King of the earth, from Melchior, king of the Arabians. Behind the Madonna stands St. Joseph; next to him an angel, and still further to the left the three fiery-looking steeds of the three kings (pp. 16, 17).

Niccola's last work was the fountain at Perugia, which the magistrates of that city considered its most valuable possession, unique not only in Italy, but in the world.

Niccola died in 1278. Inestimable were the services rendered to art by this great man. Never hurried by an ill-regulated imagination into extravagances, he was careful in selecting his objects of study, and his methods of self-cultivation; he was an indefatigable worker, now in Pisa, then in Naples, Padua, Siena, Lucca, or Florence; here to design a church, there to model a bas-relief, erect a pulpit, a palace, or a tower; by turns architect and sculptor, great in both, original in both, a reviver in both, laying deep and well the foundations of his edifices by hitherto unpractised methods, and sculpturing his bas-reliefs upon principles evolved from the study of antique models long unheeded. Ever respected and esteemed by the many persons of all classes with whom he came into contact, he was truly a great man, one to whom the world owes a debt of gratitude, and who looms up in gigantic proportions through the mist of five centuries, holding the same relation to Italian art which Dante holds to Italian literature (p. 34).

*The Campo Santo of Pisa and its Architect.* — During early Christian times it was customary to bury the dead in churches, which thence obtained the name of 'Caemiteria.' (Bingham states that the word 'Caemiterium' is equivalent to church; and according to an inscription cited by Cardinal Borgia the Basilica of St. Paul's was so called. Eusebius, Chrysostom and other church Fathers also called them *τάφοι*. In the Constantinian Basilicas the saints were buried in the crypt or confession. Rome was one of the last cities that abandoned the custom of burying the dead in the atria of the churches. In the ninth century they were buried inside the church. Florence continued the old practice even later than Rome.) Sepulture was afterwards restricted to their porticoes by decrees of the early councils; but this also was given up as likely to breed pestilence; and public cemeteries, apart from the dwellings of men, were first used in France, and then in other parts of Europe. Their introduction into Italy was projected by Archbishop Lanfranchi in 1108, who brought a ship-load of earth from Mount Calvary to Pisa, which he caused to be spread out in the shape of a parallelogram, according to the traditional dimensions of Noah's ark; to which was subsequently added, in 1178, the contents of fifty Pisan galleys which returned from the crusade undertaken by Frederic Barbarossa, freighted with the sacred earth. A century later Giovanni Pisano, son of the famous architect and sculptor, Niccola Pisano, having been appointed to enclose the space with walls, designed and built the first, as well as the most beautiful, Campo Santo, in Italy. Following the ground-plan marked out by Archbishop Lanfranchi, Giovanni raised his outer wall without windows, and with only two outer doors, looking towards the Duomo; so that the frescoes, with which they were to be covered on the inside, might be protected as far as possible from the injurious effect of the salt and damp sea winds. Between these outer walls, which he decorated with arches and pilasters, and the inner, directly

contiguous to the quadrangle, he made a broad-roofed corridor, paved with marble, lighted by Gothic windows and four open doorways, through which are now obtained constantly recurring glimpses of the graves, the solemn cypresses, and the ever-blooming roses of this God's-acre.

After Giovanni's day, the walls of the Campo Santo were adorned by the frescoes of Giotto, Orcagna, and other eminent painters; and on either side of its corridors were ranged antique sarcophagi, and modern marbles of a sacred character, many of them by Giovanni Pisano himself (pp. 39, 40).

About A.D. 1300, Giovanni sculptured a beautiful pulpit of marble for the church of San Andrea, in Pistoja. Modelled after the Pisan pulpit, it is hexagonal in form, and five of its panels are filled with reliefs. One of these, the massacre of the innocents, is considered Giovanni's master-piece. Rare powers of conception and dramatic feeling are shown in the sullen satisfaction with which Herod looks down upon the rush of maddened soldiers, despairing mothers, and shrieking infants, as well as in the figure of the woman who sits upon the ground, bowed in silent grief over the dead body of her child, and of her who yet struggles, in the agony of despair, to save her darling from a like fate. The relief of the crucifixion contains an admirable group of women at the foot of the cross (p. 45).

Among Giovanni's other works are the impressive monuments of Pope Benedict XI. in Perugia, and of St. Margaret at Costona. He flourished between 1240 and 1320, and died 1320 (pp. 48, 50).

*Ghiberti.* — Toward the end of the fourteenth century, there arose in Florence two men, Ghiberti and Donatello, who were destined to make the fame of their native city as illustrious in her school of sculpture as it had been in that of painting, long esteemed the first in Italy.

Lorenzo Ghiberti, born in 1381, was descended from an honorable family. While he was very young his father died; and his mother soon after married a noted goldsmith, Bartolo, who more than supplied the place of his lost parent.

While learning the goldsmith's art from his step-father, Lorenzo gave much of his time to modelling and casting little figures in imitation of antique medals, to making portraits of his friends, and to the study of painting of which he was very fond. When about eighteen he went as an assistant to a brother artist to paint some frescoes in the palace of Carlo Malatesta of Rimini. Struck with the talent Ghiberti displayed in the frescoes he painted, Malatesta made such promises of advancement, that he would have remained at Rimini, had he not received a letter from his step-father, stating that the Seignior of Florence and the Merchant's Guild had issued a manifesto, inviting the best Italian artists to compete for a bronze door for the Baptistery, and urging him not to neglect so favorable an opportunity of winning his way to fame. Ghiberti immediately went home, and entered his name on the list of competitors,



from whom he and five others were chosen to model and cast a bas-relief representing the sacrifice of Isaac, to be presented in a year's time for adjudication.

The real rivals were two Florentines — Ghiberti and Brunelleschi. The judges hesitated to whom the prize should be awarded. Brunelleschi disinterestedly avowed his rival's superiority, and withdrew from the field.

Ghiberti had earned his victory by patience and submission to the wise counsels of his step-father, who induced him to make many designs, which he carefully criticised, and then submitted to the judgment of many competent citizens and strangers of note, before permitting his step-son to cast the one which they considered the most perfect. These trial-plates are now in the bronze-room of the Uffizi. In Ghiberti's Abraham, we see a father, who while preparing to obey the divine command, still hopes for a respite, and in his Isaac a submissive victim; the angel who points out the ram caught in the thicket, which Abraham could not otherwise, and does not yet see, sets us at rest about the conclusion; while the servants with the ass which brought the faggots for the sacrifice, are so skilfully placed, as to enter into the composition without distracting our attention from the principal group.

Brunelleschi's Abraham is, on the contrary, a savage zealot, whose knife is already half-buried in the throat of his writhing victim, and who, in his hot haste, does not heed the ram which is placed directly before him, nor the angel, who seizes his wrist to avert his blow; while the ass, and the two servants, each carrying on a separate action, fill up the foreground so obtrusively, as to call off the eye from what should be the main point of interest.

Ghiberti immediately received the commission for the first Baptistery gate and in a month began to model his compositions for its twenty-eight panels. Twenty of these relate to the history of our Lord, preceded by the annunciation and followed by the descent of the Holy Ghost. In the remaining eight he placed the four evangelists and the four doctors of the church, filling up the corners of each with heads of prophets and sybils, and even framing the whole door in an elaborate border of leaves. The most lovely among these beautiful works is the annunciation, in which the virgin shrinks back beneath an exquisite little portico, before a graceful angel; and two of the most striking are the raising of Lazarus, and the temptation of our Lord.

Twenty-one years elapsed between the commencement and the completion of the first gate, set up in 1424; and no less than twenty artists, among whom was Donatello, assisted in modelling and casting it (pp. 122-128).

The subjects for the second gate of the Baptistery were selected by Lionardo Bruni, the artist being left at liberty as to their mode of treatment. Respecting them Bruni says: "I think that the ten stories for the new



door, selected from the Old Testament, should possess variety of illustration, by which I mean, that they should afford variety in composition, which is pleasant to the eye, and at the same time be not only significant, but remarkable as events. The artist who is to model them should thoroughly understand the meaning of each one, so that he may fitly represent actors and events; and be gifted with an elevated taste, that he may fitly compose them. Though I have no doubt that this work, as I have planned it, will prove satisfactory in every respect, still I should greatly like to be near the artist who is to illustrate these Bible incidents, that I might assist him to understand them in all their bearings."

"In modelling these reliefs," says Ghiberti, "I strove to imitate nature to the utmost, and by investigating her methods of work to see how nearly I could approach her, I sought to understand how forms strike upon the eye, and how the theoretic part of sculptural and pictorial art should be managed. Working with the utmost diligence and care, I introduced into some of my compositions as many as a hundred figures, which I modelled upon different planes, so that those nearest the eye might appear larger, and those more remote smaller in proportion."

By means of these many figures and by the use of perspective, he represented in some of his compositions as many as four successive actions; as, for instance, in the most beautiful of all, in which he had the skill to combine into one perfect whole, while keeping each clear and unconfused, the creation of Adam, that of Eve, their sin, and its punishment.

In the flat spaces of this gate Ghiberti disposed twenty-four statuettes of prophets and scriptural personages in niches; and at the corners of the reliefs introduced as many heads, with portraits of himself and his step-father, while around the whole he modelled an elaborate frieze of leaves, birds, and animals (pp. 128-130).

Apart from their beauty, these gates, which Michael Angelo pronounced "beautiful enough to be the gates of Paradise," have an interest as the record of the greater part of a great artist's life; since Ghiberti, when he began them, was but twenty-five, and when he finished them was an old man of seventy-four. He could have completed them much sooner, had he not at the same time received and executed many commissions for statues, bas-reliefs, and goldsmith's works, and also spent much time at Rome, as we learn from his enthusiastic mention of the statue of a Hermaphrodite, which he saw there soon after it had been dug up near San Celso. "No tongue," he says, in speaking of this statue, "can describe the learning and art displayed in it, or do justice to its masterly style"; and in a similar strain of enthusiasm he dilates upon another dug up near Florence, "which," he conjectures, "was hidden away in the spot where it has now been found, by some gentle spirit in the early days of Christianity, who, seeing its perfection, was so moved to pity, that he had a tomb made, in which he buried it under a stone-slab to protect it from injury.

The touch only can discover many of its beauties, which escape the eye in any light." None but a great artist, who had long made antique marbles the object of close study, and had quickened the fineness of his touch by handling them for the purpose of restoration, could have attained to what may be called a sixth sense.

He died at the age of seventy-four, chief magistrate of his native city (pp. 130-136).

*Lionardo da Vinci.*—To Lionardo poetry, painting, sculpture, engraving, architecture, astronomy, music, in short, all arts and sciences were equally natural; he appeared in each "to the manner born," and as if each had been the exclusive study of his life. He was eminently fitted for sculpture by his plastic tendencies, by his extreme love of finish, his delicacy of handling, his masterly but unexaggerated boldness as a draughtsman, and the high qualities of his imagination. Lomazzo describes a terra-cotta head of the infant Christ which had come into his possession, as combining "the simplicity and purity of a child, with a vague something denoting wisdom, intellect, and majesty; the bearing of a tender infant with the majesty of an old man."

With a boldness of self-assertion, pardonable in so great a man, Lionardo writes to Duke Lodovico Sforza: "I can do anything possible to man; and as well as any living artist, either in sculpture or painting." The duke and his court were captivated by the charm of his conversation, which exercised an irresistible power over all minds. There was in his look, and the expression of his noble countenance, a sort of mute eloquence which prejudiced all hearts in his favor, and when he took in his hand his silver lyre, to which he had added hitherto unknown improvements, their enthusiasm knew no bounds. Professors of music and masters of arms were in turn obliged to acknowledge his incontestable superiority, and all were overcome with wonder when they saw that the hand which swept like a magic breeze over the cords of a lyre, and traced the most graceful and delicate lines upon the canvas, was able to bend a horse-shoe, or control at his will the most fiery steed.

Immediately after his arrival at Milan, he was made Director of the Ducal Academy of Fine Arts, and was commissioned to make an equestrian statue of Francesco Sforza, the illustrious founder of his patron's house. Upon this work, for which he made an infinite quantity of designs, and two perfect models, the first in a classical, the second in a modern and more picturesque style, Lionardo spent fourteen years. The first of these models represents the hero armed from head to foot, holding in his hand a baton, which rests upon his saddle-bow, and seated upon a heavy but carefully studied horse. This design did not satisfy Lionardo. Accordingly, in the year 1490, he again recommenced his labors and modelled a group representing a fighting warrior, under the body of whose fiery horse lay a struggling soldier. In the fourteen sketches which he made for it, before

finally deciding upon one which satisfied him, he drew the warrior and his horse in various attitudes — both with and without the fallen soldier — and made careful studies of the horse's body divided as if for casting in bronze.

Being occupied at the same time in painting the fresco of the Last Supper, and always given to procrastination, he put off the casting of his work until it was too late; for when Lodovico Sforza was overthrown, and Milan fell into the hands of Louis XII., that conqueror, hating Lodovico Sforza, and not having sufficient admiration for a great work of art to raise him above personal feelings, gave the model for a target to his soldiers who totally destroyed it. By this act of wanton revenge, the world was deprived of a work of art, which, judging from the great admiration that it excited at Milan, and from our knowledge of Lionardo's genius, and of his profound studies in human and equine anatomy, must have been the finest equestrian statue ever modelled. Disheartened by the destruction of his master-piece, Da Vinci devoted the rest of his life to painting and science; but the memory of what he had accomplished in sculpture remained, to make his name in that, as in all other arts, the synonym of perfection (pp. 184–186). Lionardo was born in 1432 and died in 1519.

*Benedetto da Rovezzano.* — Benedetto Guarlotti, born in the latter part of the fifteenth century, was especially distinguished as a sculptor of ornament; and for his skill in working out small figures and decorative emblems so nearly in the round, that by their contrast with the graduated relief of the other portions, they produced a novel and striking effect.

Rovezzano went to England in 1524, and began a tomb for Cardinal Wolsey. He worked five years upon it before the cardinal's disgrace, after which he was ordered by Henry VIII. to complete it for him; but, as it was not finished when the king died, his body was temporarily deposited with that of his queen, Jane Seymour, in St. George's Chapel at Windsor. After the execution of King Charles I., who himself intended to be buried in it, the parliament ordered its rich copper figures to be melted down, sparing the sarcophagus, in which ultimately the body of Lord Nelson was deposited. Ordered, in the plenitude of his power, by Cardinal Wolsey, who was destined to die disgraced and broken-hearted; selected for his tomb by a king whose head was to fall upon the scaffold; and finally tenanted by the hero of Trafalgar, this monument furnishes a striking commentary upon the futility of man's projects, as does the history of its sculptor upon the disappointments of life. The two great works which would have immortalized his name were wantonly destroyed, and after his return to Italy he spent the last years of his life in total blindness (pp. 257–259).

## ARTICLE VIII.

## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

THE Fine Arts are attracting more attention in this country now than they ever attracted before. They have so intimate a connection with morals and religion that the present revival of interest in them should not pass unnoticed by the clergy. We have received various letters in regard to a picture by Raphael which has been somewhat recently discovered by Morris Moore, Esq., now resident in Rome. During the winter of 1869-70 we visited this picture often; and we have reason to believe that the proprietors of some of our public libraries or art museums might obtain possession of it, and make it a permanent attraction and an honor to our country. Bishop Strossmeyer, who examined the picture on the 4th of July 1870, wrote the following sentence, the latinity of which will be criticised: "Natio illa quae adquisierit iconem pulchritudinis et perfectionis representantem Apollinem et Marsyam, ipsa sibi optimum granditatis suae testimonium praebebit." The following description of the painting is from the Roman Official Journal of Saturday, February the 16th, 1861:

"The Apollo and Marsyas, a work by Raphael. The discovery made several years since in London, of the magnificent picture by Raphael, the *Contest between Apollo and Marsyas*, which has attracted so much attention in Paris and in the principal capitals of Germany, as also in some of Italy, is foremost among the artistic events of our times. — This work belongs to the period of transition from the first to the second manner of Sanzio, that is, to the Florentine period. Its dimensions are about those of the *Vision of Ezekiel* in the Pitti Gallery at Florence; namely, one foot three inches in height, by one foot in width. The composition presents that clearness and simplicity peculiar to Raphael. Two figures, both nude, represent the action. — The deity and his daring challenger stand face to face in a pleasant region wherein appear some of those graceful young trees that Raphael so greatly fancied; in the middle winds a stream. On the left, Marsyas in the semblance of a youth seated on the margin of a path enamelled with verdure and flowers, is playing on a flute. Turned from the light, almost his entire body and head are in shadow, save a spot on his brow irradiated from above. On the right, and upon the same plane stands Apollo listening, while leaning upon a staff which he grasps with his left hand at the height of his shoulder, and 'whose rigid line,' as Mr. Henri Delaborde wrote in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, of July the 15th,



1858, 'supports and enhances the soft contour of his body'; which, modelled with sculptural firmness, is impressed, in spite of its modest dimensions, with a majestic grandeur. The right arm doubled upon the hip, leaves visible little more than the wrist. At the feet of the deity lie the quiver and the unstrung bow; to the stump of a tree is appended the lyre. The god of day fears not the light, and in a flood of light effulges the sublime perfection of his divine form. The hair of Marsyas is cut close, whereas the breeze gently raises the locks of Apollo, which would otherwise conceal his shoulders. These fair and abundant locks, waving in the most graceful negligence, are gracefully gathered into a knot above his brow. Confident of triumph, the deity betrays no anger; his features, of an exquisite beauty, express only a slight disdain. The landscape terminates in a double chain of azure mountains between which appear the horizon. Some birds, enticed no doubt by the melody of Marsyas, cleave the air; but a falcon is there. Apollo seizes one of them; the others terrified flee at full wing. Menacing at the feet of Marsyas rises erect the deadly nightshade, sacred to Atropos. Such are the allegories by which the sovereign painter indicated the dire catastrophe. It is to be remarked that these birds detached from various points of the sky, felicitously contribute to the magic of the perspective.

This superb picture of the Urbinate has been for some time in Rome, and already the ablest professors and connoisseurs of the fine arts, as likewise not a few distinguished amateurs, have visited and revisited it: Overbeck, Minardi, Cornelius, Tenerani, Sarti, Coggetti, Cochetti, Jacometti, Consoni, Visconti, Wolff, Capalti, Canevari, Bianchini, Galli, Bienaimé, Benzoni, Cavalleri, Sanguinetti, with numbers of their colleagues and disciples, confirming the eulogies unanimously bestowed upon it abroad, by Ingres, Mérimée, Flandrin, Vitet, Förster, Delacroix, Robert Fleury, Henriquel-Dupont, Décluze, Delaborde, Gruyer, Tardieu, Schwind, Schnorr, Grüner, Böhm, Fürich, Mandel, Eitelberger, etc., and extolling its singular purity of style, richness of detail, splendor of coloring, and stupendous correctness of anatomy and form."

The following letter from the Chalcographic Department of the Pontifical Government has been addressed to Mr. Morris Moore: "Rome, Dec. 20, 1862. Sir,—The Commission of the Pontifical Chalcographic Department, composed of Professors the Commendatore Tommaso Minardi, Pietro Folo, the Commendatore Pietro Tenerani, the Commendatore Antonio Sarti, the Cavaliere Paolo Mercurj, Director of the Pontifical Chalcographic Department, the Cavaliere Alessandro Capalti, Niccola Consoni, Guiseppe Marcucci, acting Coadjutor to the Director of the Pontifical Chalcographic Department, at the meeting held on the 15th of the present December, charged me to signify to you that the said Commission, ever bent on enriching the Collection of the Establishment to the advantage of Art, and unanimous as to the utility of the choice, earnestly



desires that you would allow a drawing to be made from the famous picture by Raphael Sanzio, representing Apollo and Marsyas, whereof you are possessor, in order that it may then be faithfully reproduced in an engraving and published at the charge of the Chalcographic Department itself, a homage due to so illustrious a work and to its immortal author. — Professor Consoni will undertake to superintend the drawing, assuming the entire responsibility, and to yet further insure success, the Commission would suggest that the same Professor should take a tracing from the picture with his own hand. — Having fulfilled the superior command, nothing more now remains for me than to subscribe myself with the most profound respect, Sir, your most devoted and most obedient servant, Giambattista Borani, Secretary to the Commission of the Pontifical Chalcographic Department."

Similar documents have been presented by the Royal Academy of Fine Arts of Florence, and the Archaeological Society of Vienna. The following is a letter from Mr. Seymour Kirkup, of Florence, painter, initiator of the search in 1841 for Giotto's portrait of Dante in the Praetorium of Florence, and one of the illustrators of Lord Vernon's edition of the Sovereign Italian Bard, — "Florence, September 15, 1870. — My dear Sir, — Let me congratulate you on possessing in the Apollo and Marsyas one of the purest specimens of Raphael in existence. It is a gem of the greatest value, not only for its beauty, but for its wonderful and perfect preservation. Fortunately, it has escaped the fate of many treasures in the public galleries of many countries. It is important for the history of painting and the particular style of Raphael at that period. — Seymour Kirkup."

Several American artists, resident at Rome, have expressed their opinion of the picture. We extract the following parts of letters addressed to Mr. Moore:

"Rome, Jan. 3, 1870, — To endorse what Overbeck and Cornelius have said would be to express what I honestly feel in regard to Apollo and Marsyas; and I feel also that it is an honor to kneel with them before so noble and inspiring a shrine, and lay upon it this my little offering.

"Historical documents have sometimes served to make valuable indifferent pictures by celebrated masters; but the great painter of Urbino, in this instance, has so intensely written his name in every quality and characteristic of the production, whether in line, expression, touch, or color, that nothing but the entire destruction of the precious panel can ever efface its origin from the pencil of the immortal and divine artist.

"Had Raphael been a pagan, instead of a Christian catholic, he could not have pursued his subject with more fervor and enthusiasm.

"Allow me, my dear Mr. Morris Moore, to congratulate you and envy you in being the chosen *medium* by which this marvellous creation of genius has been again restored to genuine lovers of art. Believe me ever truly yours, — J. E. Freeman."

"Rome, Jan. 8, 1870. — "Allow me, among the great many artists who have had the good fortune to see what is to me the veriest gem of gems of the immortal Raphael, to add my humble name to the list, and believe me truly much obliged for the permission. — John O. B. Inman."

"Rome, January 21, 1870. — Many thanks for the privilege allowed me of seeing your splendid picture of Apollo and Marsyas, by Raphael. After gazing upon this wonderful work, one feels like saying something about it; but I find, on turning over the pages of this book, that the words have been taken out of my mouth by such men as Cornelius, Overbeck, Flandrin, and others, and I am left to stand dumb before one of the purest pictures ever painted by Raphael. — Randolph Rogers."

"Nov. 16, 1869. — Mr. Morris Moore has to-day afforded me the highest gratification by a view of one of Raphael's most perfect pictures now in Mr. Morris Moore's possession — the Apollo and Marsyas. — Horatio Stone."

"Rome, Dec. 19, 1869. — Morris Moore, Esq.: My dear Sir, — I have only received the Flandrin letters last evening. I am happy to find your wonderful picture is properly spoken of. I send the book, which I beg you to be so kind as to return when you have read it. — With sincere congratulations that you possess such a masterpiece of the greatest artist of the last two thousand years, I am, my dear Sir, most truly yours, George P. A. Healy."

Passavant and a small party of writers do not regard this picture as one of Raphael's; but the majority of artists agree in ascribing it to that greatest of painters.

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## ARTICLE IX.

### NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

#### A. GERMAN WORKS.

THE VALENTINIAN GNOSIS AND HOLY SCRIPTURE.<sup>1</sup> — Dr. Heinrici's object in this, his maiden effort, is to ascertain the relation in which Gnosticism generally, and especially the Gnosticism of Valentinus, stood to scripture and its subject-matter. The investigation is comprised in three chapters, headed respectively, The narratives of the Church Fathers; the Fragments; Results. An Appendix contains a list of the quotations from the New Testament.

With regard to the method of treating the scriptures pursued by the Gnostics, Dr. Heinrici says: Their exegesis was dogmatic in a bad sense;

<sup>1</sup> Die Valentinianische Gnosis und die heilige Schrift. Eine Studie von Lic. Dr. Georg Heinrici. Berlin: Wiegandt und Grieben. 1871.

it was utterly regardless alike of context and grammatical sense. Slippery as an eel, they evaded every difficulty, anxious only to interpret their system *into* the scriptures; and when they could do nothing else they charged the writers with adulteration. He thinks that the influence of Valentinus was at its highest about A.D. 140, and that consequently there is no chronological ground for disputing his assertion that he derived his wisdom from Theodas, an acquaintance of the Apostle Paul.

Dr. Heinrici sums up the principles of the Gnostic speculation in the following propositions: "The *pleroma* alone possesses full and true life; the *cosmos* is a copy of the *pleroma*, which by itself has no hold; perfection consists in being introduced into the *pleroma*; the *cosmos* participates in the *pleroma* through the communication of the pneumatic seed; admission into the *pleroma* is made possible by the Soter, who appearing in docetic form delivers the pneumatics from the *cosmos*."

In Dr. Heinrici's judgment, and he writes from a free critical point of view, the Valentinians were acquainted with the chief portions of our present New Testament canon. "There is no provable quotation," he says, "from the Epistles to the Thessalonians, Philemon, and Titus, from the first to Timothy, those of Peter, the Second and Third of John, James, Jude, and the Apocalypse. Most sparsely used are Mark, Philippians, and Hebrews." "The use made of the Gospel of John, and the Epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians by the Valentinians proves that these portions of the canon were acknowledged as apostolic writings in the first half of the second century."

We commend Dr. Heinrici's well-written treatise to the careful attention of all who are interested in Gnosticism—a system or set of systems of religious philosophy which ought to be interesting to every one who has any eye for the great intellectual problems that have occupied, and still do occupy, the human mind.

**THE PERSON AND WORK OF CHRIST.**<sup>1</sup>—This work is to embody in itself two previously published treatises of the same author; one on the Person of Christ, and another on the Doctrine of the Atonement, printed in the *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*. The volume before us is the first of three. As to the person of Christ, Dr. Gess is a Kenotist (*Kenotiker*, as the German has it); that is, he believes that the second person of the Trinity really "emptied himself," according to the literal translation of the Epistle to the Philippians, in becoming incarnate. We think, however, that Dr. Gess failed in the treatise now superseded to deal satisfactorily with the difficulties which are involved in his theory. How he will meet them in his new work we shall not be able to say, till we receive the con-

<sup>1</sup> *Christi Person und Werk nach Christi Selbstzeugniss und den Zeugnissen der Apostel*. Von W. F. Gess. Erste Abtheilung. *Christi Selbstzeugniss*. Basel: Bahnmeier's Verlag. 1870.

cluding constructive portion. His discussion of the atonement of Christ, contained in the *Jahrbücher*, is a very careful and suggestive one. It is summed up in the following words: "The teaching of scripture regarding the manner of the propitiation is this: 1. Not the surrender of the holy life of Jesus unto death in and by itself, not even his obedience in and by itself, is it that atoned for our sins; but his endurance of *death as the curse* due to sin. Not merely as the uttermost proof of obedience was the death of Jesus required by the Father, but as the proof of the divine *righteousness*, which has made death the wages of sin. 2. On the other hand, it was not merely the fact of this life being burdened with and broken under the curse of sin, considered in and by itself, that causes the Father to be gracious to us; but the fact that the innocent sufferer *consecrated the life*, that broke under the burden, *to the Father*." Whether Dr. Gess's view will have undergone any modification since the publication of the essays, remains to be seen. The portion of the new work now published is mainly exegetical; and a very valuable contribution to the Christology of the New Testament it is.

#### THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE OF JUSTIFICATION AND ATONEMENT.<sup>2</sup>—

The work whose title is given below is intended to be completed in two volumes; the first volume embraces the history of the doctrines which the author discusses; the second will be devoted to the exposition of his own view. The present instalment is founded on an independent study of the original sources; it is not a second-hand affair; and is perhaps the most important contribution to the subject that has hitherto been published. Dr. Ritschl originally belonged to the Tübingen school, but for many years has been more and more inclining towards the orthodox views. His present work covers the same ground, to some extent, that was traversed in Baur's "*Geschichte der Lehre von der Versöhnung*"; but he is less under the sway of the Hegelian theories, which gave a twist to everything that proceeded from the pen of his very able master; his history is more objective and trustworthy. The course pursued by the author will be best seen from the heads of the eleven chapters into which the volume is divided: 1. The idea of the Atonement by Christ in Anselm and Abaelard; 2. The ideas of Thomas Aquinas and John Duns Scotus; 3. The thought of Justification in the Middle Ages; 4. The Reformation principle of Justification by Faith in Christ; 5. The principles of the Reformed doctrine of the Atonement in contrast to that of the Middle Ages and to Osiander's doctrine of Justification; 6. The Orthodox doctrine (as held by Lutherans and Calvinists) of the Atonement and Justification, and the opposition of the Socinians; 7. The complete disintegration of the doctrines of the

<sup>1</sup> Die christliche Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung. Von Dr. Alb. Ritschl. I. Bd. Die Geschichte der Lehre. Bonn: Marcus. 1871. Price, 3 Thaler.



Atonement and Justification by the German Illuministic theologians; 8. New determination of the problem of the Atonement by Kant: Retrocession of his disciples to the Illuministic point of view; 9. The revival of Abaelard's doctrinal type by Schleiermacher and his followers; 10. The course of Pietism till the Repristination of Lutheran Orthodoxy; 11. The doctrine of the Atonement in the Speculative School.

**LIFE OF DAVID CHYTRAEUS.**<sup>1</sup>—David Chytraeus (as, after the custom of the time he called himself, translating his German name Kochhafe into *χύτραιος*) was one of the Protestant theologians of the period of the Reformation who belonged to the Melancthonian type; that is, he was mild and conciliatory toward the Calvinists. Dr. Krabbe his biographer, is himself theoretically a strong Lutheran (personally a very kindly man) and tries to make out that Chytraeus also was a good Lutheran. Chytraeus was born in 1531, studied in Tübingen, Heidelberg, and Wittenberg, became Lecturer at the last mentioned university, then settled in Rostock, whose theological faculty he was the means of completely reorganizing, and finally became the ecclesiastical head of Protestantism in Austria, dying at Vienna in 1600. Dr. Krabbe narrates the various events of his (for a theologian) not uneventful life with clearness and simplicity.

**HISTORY OF PROTESTANTISM IN BOHEMIA.**<sup>2</sup>—The present work is the first history of the Evangelical church of Bohemia *as a whole*, that has been attempted. There exist numerous partial histories, but no complete one. For this reason, and because the author has availed himself of many original sources which have only recently become accessible, his work must be very acceptable to all who are interested in that land of martyrs, Bohemia. Of the contents of the two volumes we can only indicate a few points: the first embraces fifteen chapters, and four hundred and twenty pages; the second, seventeen chapters, and six hundred and seventy-one pages. In the former, we have sketches of the forerunners of Huss—Conrad von Waldhausen, and Milic von Kremsier; of Huss himself; of the Utraquistic and Taborite movements and struggles, and of the first appearance of the Bohemian brethren; the second volume begins with a full narration of the rise and progress of the *Unitas Fratrum*; describes the struggles between the Romish or rather the Jesuitical party and the Protestants; and in the last two chapters, unfolds, on the one hand, the dark picture of the extinction of the gospel in Bohemia; on the other hand, the signs that are appearing of a brighter day. There is not

<sup>1</sup> David Chytraeus dargestellt von Dr. O. Krabbe. Rostock: Stiller. 1870. 1 und 2 Abtheilung. Price, 1½ Thaler.

<sup>2</sup> Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche in Böhmen. Von B. Czerwenka. Leipzig: Velhagen und Klasing. 1869–1870. 2 vols. Price, 3½ Thaler.



another land in Europe that deserves the sympathy and help of Protestants more fully than Bohemia; if sympathy and help are merited by faithfulness to and suffering for the truth. Between 1620 and 1752 more than thirty thousand families were driven into exile for their adherence to Protestantism, and the country lost during the persecution of the two Ferdinands more than two thirds of its inhabitants, and they the most intelligent, upright, and industrious. What wonder that to call a place or country *Böhmisch*, as people do in Germany, is equivalent to describing it as benighted, low, wretched !

THE GOSPEL OF JOHN.<sup>1</sup>—This work discusses “the historical character of the Gospel of John in connection with the question as to its origin,” under the following heads: 1. The national character of the Gospel; 2. The relation of the Gospel to the Evangelical history and the Synoptic tradition; 3. The theological character of the Gospel; 4. The author of the Gospel. The tendency of the book and the nature of its contents will appear from the following samples of the results at which Herr Wittichen arrives. The writer of the Gospel he believes to have been, not an Hellenist, but a Palestinian Jew, a member of the church at Jerusalem, and the traditional John. The Gospel is a mixture of historical and unhistorical elements, the latter being partly alterations of tradition and partly inventions; the writer has sometimes followed, sometimes corrected and supplemented the Synoptists; the discourses recorded are free compositions of the evangelist, with a kernel uttered by Christ, but the coloring and details supplied by the writer; as to its total character the Gospel is a didactic writing, and the historical matter it contains was either selected or invented as it seemed fitted to serve the object of the author; his object was to establish the perfect unity of God and Jesus in opposition to Christians who had been led away by the erroneous teachings of the Essenes. That an immediate disciple of Jesus should interweave conscious inventions of his own in what seems to be an historical narrative, Herr Wittichen seeks to explain and justify by such remarks as, that it is not fair to judge early writers in this matter by our standard, and, that to condemn John would be to condemn Plato, Xenophon, the authors of Deuteronomy, of the Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, and many others. The author’s point of view and method are more original than those of most recent writers on this subject; and his materials may be used to refute his own results.

FRANCIS XAVIER.<sup>2</sup>—This work is the joint production of two authors

<sup>1</sup> Der geschichtliche Character des Evangeliums Johannis in Verbindung mit der Frage nach seinem Ursprunge. Eine Kritische Untersuchung von C. Wittichen. Elberfeld: Friderichs. 1870. Price, 2 Thaler.

<sup>2</sup> Franz Xavier. Ein Weltgeschichtliches Missionsbild. Wiesbaden: Niedner. 1870. Price, 1½ Thaler

—the Rev. H. Venn, Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, London, and Dr. Hoffmann, General Superintendent in Berlin, and formerly Director of the Basle Missionary Society. The result is a very interesting and valuable sketch of Xavier and Roman Catholic missions in general, and an able defence of Protestant missions against both Romish and infidel attacks. Few men in Europe were more competent to undertake such a task than Dr. Hoffmann, whether in view of the extent of his acquaintance with missions, or of the breadth and depth of his general views of Christianity and civilization. The work is divided into three books, of which the first is entirely the work of Dr. Hoffmann, and describes the course of missions prior to Xavier; the second book contains the life and labors of Xavier; the third book, also by Dr. Hoffmann, gives the history of missions since Xavier. The third section of the third book contrasts Roman Catholic and Protestant or evangelical missions. The work concludes with a reply to the attack on Protestant missions published in 1863 by the Roman Catholic pervert, I. A. Marshall. Frequent references are made, also, throughout the work, to the attacks of Langhaus, the Swiss free-thinking pastor. It is high time that missions were dealt with in a more scientific, that is, practical, manner, in the instructions given at our theological seminaries. We commend the above work to the attention especially of theological teachers.

ST. AUGUSTINE.<sup>1</sup>—This is the third and last volume of a most detailed account of the life, labors, and writings of St. Augustine—the most detailed, we believe, in existence. Dr. Bindemann published the first volume in 1844, the second in 1855. It has been, obviously, the labor of his life, and a labor of love; and an idea of its compass may be formed from the fact that this last volume contains nine hundred and thirty-eight pages. Next to the apostle Paul, perhaps Augustine and Luther have had the greatest influence on the course of Christianity; and no life could be more instructive and interesting than that of the great African bishop. We commend Dr. Bindemann's work to our readers, as exhaustive, accurate, and thoroughly Protestant in tone.

JULIAN THE APOSTATE.<sup>2</sup>—Dr. Mücke's work on the Emperor Julian consists of two volumes, of which the first is devoted to Julian's campaigns; the second, just issued, to his life and writings. The latter is divided into four books, headed respectively: 1. Julian's Youthful Experiences till he became Caesar; 2. Julian and Constantius; 3. his Life as sole Emperor; 4. Julian the Author. In an appendix the sources of the life of

<sup>1</sup> Der heilige Augustinus dargestellt. Von Dr. C. Bindemann. Greifswald: Bamberg, 1870. 3 volumes, complete. Price, 7 Thaler.

<sup>2</sup> Flavius Claudius Julianus. Nach den Quellen. Von Dr. J. F. A. Mücke. Gotha: J. A. Perthes. 1870. 2 volumes. Price, 2½ Thaler.

Julian and the modern aids to the study of the subject are reviewed. Dr. Mücke's view of the character and conduct of Julian is, on the whole, more favorable than that sometimes taken. He writes in a very impartial spirit. Julian died too early for us to be able to form a very safe opinion as to what he really was. We believe that he would have turned out, as so-called "liberals" are apt to do, a virulent, active persecutor of Christianity. This is the fullest and most comprehensive work on the subject.

*Bock, von W.*: *Livländische Beiträge*. Two volumes of long pamphlets on questions of interest to the Baltic provinces of Russia. It will be well known to our readers that the native Russians hate, and do everything they can to nullify, the influence of the German element in the empire. Herr von Bock exposes the duplicity and tyranny with which the Russians have been chargeable, both civilly and ecclesiastically. He writes with considerable force, much sarcasm, and not a little heat; but we fear his complaints are only too well grounded.

*Vita Jesu Christi Salvatoris sive Monotessaron Catholicon*. A new Harmony of the Life of Jesus, or of the Gospels according to the Vulgate. Luke's Gospel supplies the thread of the narrative; as parallel to him, Mark is taken next; Matthew is called "the rubric-loving publican"; and John is regarded as the "supplementer." It is recommended as painstaking and good. We have not so much faith as some have in so-called harmonies; but they have their uses.

*Kurtz, I. H.*: *Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*. The author of this new commentary is also the author of "Bibel und Astronomie," "Geschichte des alten Bundes," and other works. He says at the outset that he has endeavored to proceed more soberly and cautiously than it has hitherto been his custom to do. He has taken Bleek for his model — a good sign. On the vexed question of the authorship of the Epistle, his opinion is that it was an independent letter of Apollos, with which Paul had nothing whatever to do, either directly or indirectly. It is a fairly valuable contribution to the understanding of a difficult portion of the New Testament.

*Ewald, Heinrich*: *Geschichte der Ausgänge des Volkes Israels und der nachapostolischen Zeitalter*. The third edition of the seventh volume of the celebrated author's History of Israel. It includes the apostolic and post-apostolic ages, and deals both with Jews and Christians. Like his other works, this volume excites at once admiration and contradiction. Old as he is, Dr. Ewald has not ceased to cry, after the manner of the Mohammedans: "There is but one God, and Ewald is his prophet." He now regards himself as a martyr, as well as a prophet. His followers seem to be increasing, especially among the Unitarians; at which we do not wonder; for he has boundless confidence in his own theories; he contradicts orthodoxy with most satisfactory freshness and vigor; and, withal,

there is just that sentimental warmth about him which they like, because it does not burn.

*Fehr*: Staat und Kirche im Fränkischen Reiche bis auf Karl d. Gr. The author of this important work on the civil and ecclesiastical history of the Frankish kingdom down to the time of Charlemagne is a Roman Catholic; but he writes with fairness, and has made careful use of Protestant books bearing on his subject.

*Kanitz*: Historischer Auszug für Welt und Kirchengeschichte, etc. This is the republication of an abstract of a work published in 1862, designed to show that the celebrated process instituted against the Königsberg preachers, Ebel and Dristel, was the work of a vile intrigue. The present edition contains some severe remarks on the "Spiritual Wives" of that travelling intellectual tight-rope dancer, Hepworth Dixon, who must either be very gullible, or very superficial, or something worse.

*Hase, Dr. Carl Alfred*: Sebastian Franck von Wörd, etc. Sebastian Franck, born about 1490 and died about 1545, was one of the enthusiasts of the age of the Reformation. Luther describes him as the devil's own and dearest work, and says that he considered "this Beelzebub too unworthy for him to waste trouble on." Still, there is no doubt that, like some of the extravagants of Cromwell's time, he represented certain ideas and principles of close affinity to Protestantism which the Protestant authorities were inclining to forget or ignore, and, at certain points, almost anticipated the speculations of the present day. Dr. Hase, the son, we presume, of the Jena church historian, has given us a good account of Franck's life, teachings, and relation to the Reformation.

*Mörikofer*: Ulrich Zwingli. The second part of a very full, faithful, and impartial history of the life and labors of Zwingli, founded on original sources.

*Werner*: Christian Gottlob Barth, etc. A life, in three large volumes, of Dr. Barth, of Calw in Würtemberg, a man who worked with an energy displayed by few for the diffusion of pure, good, Christian, and cheap literature. He was editor for and director of the *Calwer Verein*. It is a mistake, however, to have made the memoir so long.

*Achelis*: Dr. Richard Rothe. A brief memoir, reprinted from the *Studien und Kritiken*, of one of the most subtle, profound, learned, and pious theologians of modern times. Dr. Rothe was for many years professor at Heidelberg, where he died. His opus magnum was the *Theologische Ethik*, which really embraced a theosophic system. Since his death, his lectures on systematic theology have been published. Pastor Achelis was a pupil of Rothe's, and has performed his task in a very satisfactory manner.

*Grimm*: Institutio Theologiae Dogmaticae Evangelicae, etc. The second edition of a well-written, clearly-arranged, and full system of theology. The author is professor at Jena, and his point of view borders on what



would in this country be called rationalistic. At the same time, the book is fitted to be serviceable to those who are able to discriminate.

*Schweizer, Dr. Alexander*: Die christliche Glaubenslehre, etc. A system of theology, by the celebrated "liberal" Professor at Zürich. Dr. Schweizer is a disciple of Schleiermacher, and his aim in this work is to set forth in a systematic form the faith as it is now actually entertained by Christendom, i.e. by the Christendom with which he is specially acquainted, — by its freethinking portion, by that portion which is disinclined to allow the reality, if not the possibility, of miracles. No other work that we are acquainted with so nearly and completely expresses and systematizes the views of the so-called "liberal" Christian party in America and England as this; of course, in a German garb.

*Müller, J. T.*: Die symbolischen Bücher der evang. luth. Kirche deutsch und lateinisch. An edition in German and Latin, arranged in parallel columns, of the so-called "symbolical books" or creeds or confessions of the Lutheran church, in one volume of nine hundred and eighty-seven pages. It is well printed, and is a perfect marvel of cheapness, costing only two thalers. Besides a valuable historical introduction on creeds in general, it comprises the Confessio Augustana, the Apologia Confessionis Augustanae, the Articuli Smalcaldici, the Catechismus Major and Minor, and the Formula Concordiae, concluding with various appendices, and a most admirable index to the whole. It is unnecessary to say more.

*Floreys*: Pfarramtlicher Rathgeber für evang. luth. Geistliche des Königreichs Sachsens. A hand-book of the laws specially affecting, and the rights, privileges and duties of, the Lutheran clergy in the Kingdom of Saxony. It is a brief description of "the way into, through, and out of the clerical office"; so says the author who is a pastor himself, and has had much experience. The book is highly recommended to pastors in Saxony.

*Hinschius*: Das Kirchenrecht der Katholiken und Protestanten in Deutschland. A work on ecclesiastical law in Germany, as regards both Roman Catholics and Protestants, by a Professor of Law, who though a Protestant himself discusses his subject with thorough impartiality. It will extend over six volumes. The second volume has just appeared.

*Wolter*: Zur Geschichte und Verfassung der evang. Kirche in Preussen. A brief history of the constitution of the Evangelical, that is, United Lutheran and Reformed State Church of Prussia, which will be welcome to any who wish to inform themselves on the subject.

*Corpus Reformatorum*: The thirty-sixth volume of an edition in quarto of the works of the Reformers. The present volume is the eighth of the works of Calvin edited by Baum, Cunitz, and Reuss. It is finely gotten up and edited, besides being very cheap. 4to. pp. 872. Price, 4 Thaler.

*Sigwart*: Spinoza's Kurzer Traktat von Gott, dem Menschen und dessen Glückseligkeit. A translation of the newly discovered tractate of Spinoza on God, man, and his happiness, with extensive prolegomena, critical notes, and various explanatory aids, by a thoroughly competent scholar.



*Hilgenfeld*: *Messias Judaeorum*, etc. The first part of the title of this work is fitted to mislead the inquirer. One would imagine it to be a discussion of that important subject, the Jewish ideas of the Messiah; whereas, in reality, it is a simple edition of some of the apocryphal books which were written immediately before and after Christ. It embraces the so-called Psalms of Solomon, the Prophecy of Ezra, and the Assumption of Moses — writings which the editor thinks fitted to show that the Jews did not first begin to expect a Messiah after Christ's day.

*Hengstenberg*: *Geschichte des Reiches Gottes unter dem alten Bunde*. A posthumous work of the celebrated Berlin Professor; but though posthumous very carefully prepared. It consists of lectures which he delivered on the history of the kingdom of God in Old Testament times. A thoroughly satisfactory discussion of this theme was never more needed than at the present moment; but Hengstenberg was too capricious a theologian for our taste. The work is to be translated for the Messrs. Clark.

*Furst*: *Hebräisches Taschenwörterbuch*. The second and completely revised edition of a Hebrew-German Lexicon in 16mo. Considering that it is well printed, scientifically arranged, and embraces 728 pages, it is a marvel of cheapness at 1½ Thaler.

*Harms*: *Der Psalter*. This volume of 576 pages, costing 24 Silbergroschen, consists of notes taken of expository lectures on the Psalms by the late Pastor Harms of Herrmannsburg. It has not the completeness of a work prepared by the author himself for the press; but still it will be found to reflect pretty accurately many of the pastor's distinctive characteristics.

#### B. ENGLISH AND AMERICAN WORKS.

*C. and A. de Rothschild*: *The History and Literature of the Israelites according to the Old Testament and the Apocrypha*. A popular Introduction to the Old Testament by two Misses Rothschild, probably designed for the use of their co-religionists and apparently written from the point of view of the moderate reform party among the Jews, i.e. from a moderate rationalistic point of view. Its only interest to Christians is that it is pleasantly written, is Jewish, and professes to be written by two Rothschilds.

*Dean Milman*: *Savonarola, Erasmus, and other literary Essays*. Essays republished, we believe, from the "Quarterly Review" to which the Dean was a constant contributor, and worthy of the reputation of the author of the "History of Latin Christianity." England lost one of its ripest and most genial scholars when it lost Milman.

*Bray*: *Revolt of the Protestants in the Cevennes; with some Account of the Huguenots in the seventeenth century*. A readable narrative of events that deserve to be told and retold to generation after generation,

in order that the infamous tendencies of priestism in alliance with absolutism may never be forgotten.

*O'Flanagan*: Lives of the Lord Chancellors and Keepers of the Great Seal of Ireland, from the earliest times to the reign of Queen Victoria. Almost a history of Irish society during the period which it traverses. Full of racy anecdotes — genuine Irish ones; but, so reviewers say, not always either accurate or complete, — in this respect also, Irish.

*St. George Mivart*: The Genesis of Species. A book by a thoroughly competent man, whose aim is to correct Mr. Darwin's one-sided speculations.

*Maudsley*: Body and Mind; an Inquiry into their Connection and mutual Influence, especially in reference to Mental Disorders. An able work by an able medical man; but unfortunately sharing the tendency to materialism that characterizes most treatises on psychical science at present published in England.

*Wedgwood*: John Wesley and the Evangelical Reaction of the Eighteenth Century. Said to be an interesting and philosophical account of the causes of the rise of Methodism, and of the work it did in the eighteenth century.

*Abbott*: Bible Lessons. Mr. Abbott is head-master of the city of London school, and stands very high in his profession. His "Bible Lessons," including both the Old and New Testaments, are an admirable specimen of unsectarian and yet positive teaching of the facts and truths of the Bible. They embody the results of his own experience in instructing classes that are attended by the children of different sects.

*Richardson*: The Iliad of the East. A selection of Legends from Valmiki's Sanscrit Poem, the Ramayana. Translations, said to be excellent in manner and interesting in matter.

*Cox*: The Mythology of the Aryan Nations. Clear, but fanciful and forced.

*Baldwin Brown*: First Principles of Ecclesiastical Truth. A thoroughly able and broad discussion of the principles of ecclesiastical truth as held by the Congregationalists of England, by one of their most scholarly, earnest, and far-seeing ministers. S.

SERMONS AND LECTURES. By the late William McCombie, Editor of Aberdeen Free Press, Author of "Hours of Thought," "Moral Agency," "Modern Civilization," etc., etc. 12mo. pp. 425. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark; New York: Scribner, Welford, and Co. 1871.

These are sermons of a layman, and are better than the sermons of some clergymen. They are characterized by sound thought, expressed in plain language. They are free from stupidity, on the one hand, and sensationalism, on the other. Still, they are not particularly profound in thought, nor particularly attractive in style. They are "good sermons."

THE PARABLES OF OUR LORD. By the Rev. William Arnot. 12mo. pp. 532. New York: Robert Carter and Brothers. 1872.

The author of these sermons on the parables has an original style of thought and expression. He has more learning than the majority of those who preach and write on these portions of the Gospels. We are interested in his expositions of the Bible, as they are given in this volume, and as we have read them in other works written by the same author. He is an instructive and impressive preacher, and exerts a decisive influence on his very intelligent parish.

MOSES THE MAN OF GOD. A Course of Lectures. By the late James Hamilton, D.D., F.L.S. pp. 380. New York; Robert Carter and Brothers. 1871.

This is a posthumous work. It has the merits and the faults which those who have read the other works of Dr. H. have been used to observe. The tone of thought which runs through it is scriptural and edifying; never especially trite and never so original and profound that the meaning is not very easily taken. Dr. Hamilton's style never was to our taste. We could readily enough excuse any lack of classical elegance and purity, if it betrayed less of affectation and mannerism, and occasionally something very much like bombast. We can realize how a hearer who had come to venerate Dr. H. as a friend and pastor, may have listened to these Lectures with much satisfaction; that they should ever acquire a permanent popularity, we should be at quite a loss to explain.

SERMONS PRACTICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE, preached in the pulpit of Yale College. By Rev. Eleazer F. Fitch, D.D., Livingston Professor of Divinity from 1817-1852. 8vo. pp. 365. New Haven: Judd and White. 1871.

The sermons which Dr. Chalmers wrote during the first years of his pastorate at Killmany were, in the general, not deserving of the name; they were written on the day when they were delivered, and only two or three hours were spent upon each of them. But the discourses which he preached during the last three years of that pastorate were *actually sermons*. Many of them, although "delivered almost verbally as originally written, were listened to in after years by congregated thousands in Glasgow, Edinburgh, and London, with wondering and entranced admiration." "Much time and great care were bestowed upon" them. They "engrossed the leisure of the whole preceding week. And besides that weekly amount of composition which was necessary to meet the demands of each succeeding Sabbath, he had always a discourse in preparation upon which the occasional efforts of a whole month were expended — the two sets of sermons, from the different characters in which they were written, being

described in his own vocabulary as his short-handers and his long-handers. He frequently advised young clergymen, in addition to their ordinary preparations, to have a monthly and elaborate sermon always in progress.

We think that the sermons of Dr. Fitch would be designated "long handers" by Dr. Chalmers. They have been elaborated with great care, and present apt illustrations of rhetorical rules. As a Professor of Homiletics Dr. Fitch studied the laws of Rhetoric with a true scientific spirit. As a Professor of Theology he was conversant with the "deep things" of the Bible. His sermons prove him to have been a far-sighted theologian as well as a skilful rhetorician. We trust that his Discourses on Systematic Theology, which were delivered in the Chapel of Yale College, will be given to the public. They have exerted a marked influence in the formation of many strong minds. They will illustrate the history of theological thought in New England. The pulpit of Yale College has made itself felt in remote regions of this country, and in England and Scotland. Multitudes of British as well as American divines have been guided by the theology of Dr. Dwight, and this theology was originally presented in the form of sermons addressed to the students of Yale College. Numerous ministers and missionaries have listened to the doctrinal system of Professor Fitch, as he preached it in the Yale College Chapel, and have carried the influence of it to the four quarters of the globe. Our churches cannot afford to let these sermons remain unpublished.

SERMONS TO THE NATURAL MAN. By William G. T. Shedd, D.D., Author of a "History of Christian Doctrine," "Homiletics and Pastoral Theology," "Discourses and Essays," "Philosophy of History," etc. 12mo. pp. 422. New York: Charles Scribner and Co. 1871.

In the Preface to these Discourses Dr. Shedd says: "The title indicates their general aim and tendency. The purpose is psychological. I would, if possible, anatomize the natural heart. It is in vain to offer the gospel unless the law has been applied with clearness and cogency. At the present day, certainly, there is far less danger of erring in the direction of religious severity, than in the direction of religious indulgence. If I have not preached redemption in these sermons so fully as I have analyzed sin, it is because it is my deliberate conviction that just now the first and hardest work to be done by the preacher, for the natural man, is to produce in him some sensibility upon the subject of sin." One objection to the Sermons the author anticipates and answers in the following words: "These Sermons run the hazard of being pronounced monotonous, because of the pertinacity with which the attempt is made to force self-reflection." "Some of the old painters produced powerful effects by one solitary color. The subject of moral evil contemplated in the heart of the individual man, — not described to him from the outside, but wrought out of his own being into incandescent letters, by the fierce chemistry of anxious, perhaps



agonizing, reflection,—sin, the one awful fact in the history of man, if caused to pervade discourse will always impart to it a hue which, though it be monochromatic, arrests and holds the eye like the lurid color of an approaching storm-cloud.” — Preface, pp. 9, 10.

The power of these sermons consists *partly* in the frankness and boldness with which their author states his views. Men who are not pleased with his opinions are pleased with his confidence in expressing them. Thus in a note on p. 272 Dr. Shedd writes: “The Augustinian doctrine, that the entire human species was created on the sixth day, existed as a *nature* (not as individuals) in the first human pair, acted in and fell with them in the first transgression, and as thus fallen and vitiated by an act of self-will has been procreated or individualized, permits the theologian to say that all men are equally concerned in the origin of sin, and to charge the guilt of its origin upon all alike.” The Confession of Faith as drawn up by the Westminster Assembly says: “Our first parents, being seduced by the subtlety and temptation of Satan, sinned in eating the forbidden fruit.” “They being the root of all mankind, the guilt of this sin was imputed, and the same death in sin and corrupted nature conveyed, to all their posterity, descending from them by ordinary generation. From this original corruption, whereby we are utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all good, and wholly inclined to all evil, do proceed all actual transgressions. This corruption of nature, during this life, doth remain in those that are regenerated; and although it be through Christ pardoned and mortified, yet both itself, and all the motions thereof, are truly and properly sin. Every sin, both original and actual, being a transgression of the righteous law of God, and contrary thereunto, doth, in its own nature, bring guilt upon the sinner, whereby he is bound over to the wrath of God, and curse of the law, and so made subject to death, with all miseries, spiritual, temporal, and eternal.” — Confession of Faith. pp. 46–50.

In his Discourse on the Sinfulness of Original Sin Dr. Shedd says: “The creed which we accept summons us to repent of original as well as actual sin” (p. 277). “God has the right to demand from every one of his responsible creatures, all that the creature *might* be, had he retained possession of the endowments which he received at creation, and had he employed them with fidelity. The perfect gifts and capacities originally bestowed upon man, and not the mutilated and damaged powers subsequently arising from a destructive act of self-will, furnish the proper rule of measurement in estimating human merit or demerit. The faculties of intelligence and will as *unfallen*, and not as fallen, determine the amount of holiness and of service that may be demanded upon principles of strict justice from every individual. All that man ‘comes short’ of this is so much sin, guilt, and condemnation” (p. 269). “The fact that man cannot reinstate himself in his original condition of holiness and blessedness, from which he has fallen by apostasy, will not suffice to justify him before God



for being in a helpless state of sin and misery, or to give him any claims upon God for deliverance from it" (p. 274). Why has not the Deity a right to demand of men *more* than they *might* have performed had they retained possession of the endowments which they "received at the creation"? Why is the obligation of men limited by the power which they received at the creation, and not limited by the power which they possess at the time of sinning?

The power of these sermons lies *chiefly* in the impression which they make, that God is great and holy, and man is insignificant and vile. They exalt the Creator and depress the creature. This is a great excellence. It is the excellence which distinguishes the sermons of Dr. Shedd. He makes various statements which we cannot accept, but in the main he leaves an impression which we believe to be the right one. He elevates the Sovereign and humbles the subject.

THE RELIGION OF THE PRESENT AND OF THE FUTURE. Sermons Preached chiefly at Yale College. By Theodore D. Woolsey. 8vo. pp. 400. New York: Charles Scribner and Co. 1871.

During the last forty years Dr. Woolsey has been an able instructor in Yale College; during the last twenty-five years he has been the distinguished President of the Institution. He has edited the *Alcestis* of Euripides, the *Antigone* of Sophocles, the *Prometheus* of Aeschylus, the *Electra* of Sophocles, the *Gorgias* of Plato. He has published an Introduction to the Study of International Law, and various addresses, discourses, essays in periodicals, etc. His studies during his Greek Professorship have fitted him in various ways to be an accomplished writer of sermons. The style of his sermons is admirable; his classical allusions are apposite and suggestive; his thoughts are timely, solid, and healthful; his spirit is eminently Christian. Sermons freighted with such treasures of weighty truth are as welcome as they are rare. There is no display of learning in them; no ostentation of fine writing; they are simple and natural while they are often profound and generally impressive.

Having noticed the Sermons of Drs. Fitch, Woolsey, and Shedd, we proceed to speak of another volume which we had intended to mention several months ago. It illustrates the fact that there are diversities of gifts among ministers. Its language and spirit are in marked contrast with the discourses named above.

OUR SEVEN CHURCHES. By Thomas K. Beecher, Elmira, New York. 12mo. pp. 167. New York: J. B. Ford and Company. 1870.

This volume is written in the transparent and sparkling style for which its author is noted. It contains many shrewd remarks, and breathes a very liberal spirit. Every denomination which he commends seems to be satisfied with the work, except that denomination to which the author

belongs. His liberality of mind would have led him to extol the principles of the Congregational brotherhood, if he had been a member of some other. It is not always easy to reconcile his remarks in one Lecture with his remarks in the succeeding one. His praise of the Presbyterian church is not in exact harmony with his praise of the "Liberal Christian"; but his liberality will readily excuse his discrepancies of statement. We do not wonder that one of his Lectures "has been circulated to the extent of over one hundred and fifty thousand copies," nor that "another has been translated into French and German for circulation in Europe." "Legion" is the name of the men (John Rogers was not one of them) who will be comforted by such remarks as the following: "Neither should men be ashamed to acknowledge that they go to this or that church for honest secular or pecuniary considerations. It is no disgrace to a young doctor to look around, and finding that all churches save one have four doctors each, to say: 'I'll join the church where there are no doctors. It will benefit my practice.' ..... Therefore, it is not a discredit to a man, providing he has sought first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, to select from among seven good churches that one for his home in which he can make the most money."

COMMENTARY ON THE NEW TESTAMENT. Intended for Popular Use.

By D. D. Whedon LL.D. Vol. III. ACTS-ROMANS. 8vo. pp. 400.  
New York: Carlton and Lanahan; San Francisco: E. Thomas; Cincinnati: Hitchcock and Walden. 1871.

Dr. Whedon writes in a perspicuous, precise, and forcible style. His thoughts in this volume are closely condensed. His views of the Epistle to the Romans, as they are here presented, are particularly deserving of study. He must have made special exertion to crowd so much matter into so brief a space. Only one hundred and nineteen duodecimo pages are devoted in this volume to the Epistle to the Romans, while two hundred and eighty-two are devoted to the Book of Acts. The following quotations will give some idea of Dr. Whedon's style and doctrinal system:

*Dependence of the human race on Christ for existence.*—"The sentence of death resting personally upon Adam, but for the interposed Redeemer, would have closed his life, and foreclosed posterity."—Com. on Romans, p. 375.

"In the very garden of Eden the giving of a Redeemer preceded the continuance of the race. Had Christ not been promised and predetermined, Adam would have produced no progeny under the irremovable curse, and sure of an unavoidable eternal ruin. Had not Christ been given, the race would not have been begotten. Hence the atonement underlies our very physical life. Grace underlies nature. Hence because Christ lives we primitively live. But more especially after his ascension, it is because he lives that we live a spiritual life during the dispensation of the Spirit; and *shall live* a glorified life in the kingdom of glory. Well

for us, then, that Christ cannot die, but ever liveth to intercede for us. Because he liveth we shall live also."—Com. on John, p. 361.

*Man made originally mortal.*—“Geologists declare, and science seems universally to accept the declaration, that animal death existed for ages before the human race existed. Indeed death, disintegration, dissolution, appears to belong to the very nature of all material organisms. This fact seems to be recognized in the Genesis history. Adam’s first organism seems to have been naturally dissoluble, and its dissolution to have been prevented by the *tree of life*. His bodily immortality seems thus to have been properly supernatural. Just so his holiness was supernatural, being superinduced by the blessed indwelling and communion of the divine Spirit. Sin removed the Holy Spirit; the sentence upon sin removed him from the *tree of life* (Gen. iii. 22), and so, when sin entered, then also entered *death by sin*. It was, as above said, into the human *world* that both sin and death now entered.

“It is said explicitly that ‘death passed upon all *men*,’ not upon the lower animal races. On Adam’s *sin*, moral subversion and mortality obtained full sway over him, and so of all his descendants by the *law of propagation*; the law by which throughout the entire generative kingdoms, whether vegetable, animal, or human, like nature begets like nature, bodily, mental, and moral.”—Com. on Romans, pp. 327.

*Condition of the infant at the beginning of his personal existence.*—

1. “As descended from Adam, separated from the tree of life, he inherits Adam’s mental and bodily nature, and is thus a *sinner*, as being sure, under a full probation, to sin; and a *mortal* as being sure in the conditions to suffer and die. Thus far he is in the position of condemnation, yet never liable, before actual apostasy, to damnation.

2. “Under Christ he is in a position of non-condemnation or justification unto life; he is endowed even in infancy with the blessed Spirit (Luke i. 15, 44); he possesses, as Watson says, ‘a seed of life’; and, living or dying, is an heir of heaven. Says Dr. Wilbur Fisk: ‘Guilt is not imputed until by a voluntary rejection of the gospel man makes the depravity of his nature the object of his own choice. Hence although, abstractly considered, this depravity is destructive to the possessors, yet through the grace of the gospel *all are born free from condemnation*.’”—Com. on Romans, p. 329.

3. “Our seventeenth article of faith pronounces him entitled to receive baptism as the ‘sign of regeneration,’ baptism being the ‘outward sign of an inward grace’ (Note, Luke i. 59). He is thus held a virtual believer. He is entitled to all the privileges of a believer so fast as he shows himself, in time, fitted and desirous to take upon himself the responsibilities of a believer. Hence it is essentially the doctrine of our best writers, in beautiful harmony with Arminian theology, that all actual sinners are actual apostates from a state of grace. Thus Dr. Fisk says that ‘sin is

not imputed' until their making their depravity the object of their choice. Fletcher (who explicitly teaches infant regeneration) says, they 'have sinned away the justification of infants.' And Wesley (who also taught the regeneration of baptized infants, and implied that of all others) says, 'Children who are baptized *dying before they commit actual sin*, are saved'; so that by *actual sin* they fall from a state of grace." — Com. on Romans, p. 375.

On this theory of Dr. Whedon such questions as the following present themselves: Why do children die *before* they have committed actual sin? Is it in consequence of the sin of Adam that they die? Are they not delivered from the evils of that sin by Christ? How can we account for the fact that they all sin, if before they sin they are in a state of grace and justification?

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO JOHN. By John Peter Lange, D.D., Professor of Theology at the University of Bonn. Translated from the German, revised, enlarged, and edited by Phillip Schaff, D.D., Professor of Theology in the Union Theological Seminary, New York. 8vo. pp. 654. New York: Charles Scribner and Co. 1871.

The translation of this Commentary was first intrusted to the late Rev. Edward D. Yeomans, D.D., who died before he had half finished the first draft of his work. The translation of the Commentary from chap. ix. to xii. was made by Miss Evelina Moore. Dr. Schaff is responsible "for the preparation of the text, with the critical apparatus and the numerous additions to the exegesis proper (enclosed in brackets), as well as for the final revision and editing of the whole volume." In the homiletical department, from the tenth chapter to the end, he has been aided by Rev. Dr. Craven, of Newark, N. J. It is impossible that a commentary resulting from the efforts of so many writers, German and American, should have the unity which belongs to the work of a single mind. Although the reader is sometimes confused by the mass of diverse criticisms in the volume, he will still find in it a vast wealth of thought. Dr. Lange has a peculiar fitness for writing a commentary on John. His faults are here as conspicuous as in his other writings; but his excellences are more noticeable and attractive. We have been particularly interested in those parts of the Introduction which treat of the Genuineness and the Integrity of the Fourth Gospel (pp. 24-32); in the discussion on the Genuineness of chapter viii. 1-11 (pp. 267-271); and in the views of Lange and his coadjutors on the genuineness, meaning, doctrinal, and practical uses of the twenty-first chapter (pp. 31, 628-654).

A NEW HARMONY OF THE FOUR GOSPELS IN ENGLISH, according to the Common Version, arranged with Explanatory Notes, brief Descriptions of Customs, Words, Names, Sketch of Prominent Harmonies,



and valuable Tables. Designed for Popular Use and especially adapted to Sabbath Schools. By Rev. George W. Clark, author of "Notes on Matthew," etc. with an Introduction by T. J. Conant, D.D. 12mo. pp. 365. New York: S. W. Green; Philadelphia: Smith, English and Co.; Boston: A. F. Graves and Co.; Chicago: Kenney and Co.; London: Bagster and Sons. 1870.

We are glad to perceive a fresh interest in Harmonies of the Gospels. They depend, in some degree, on conjecture; but a plausible conjecture is of the same use as a logical hypothesis. Whatever facilitates the study of the New Testament will be welcomed by the Christian public; and experience has proved the usefulness of a Harmony of the Gospels in this respect. When read with the help of such a work, they are much better understood than they can be without such help. Besides the Harmony of Dr. E. Robinson, and that of Dr. Gardiner, there is we believe no other one accessible to the mere English reader than this of Mr. Clark's. This latter is, on the whole, preferable to that of Dr. Robinson for ordinary use. Its author has availed himself to a large extent of the labors of his celebrated predecessor. He is, however, an independent scholar, and remarkably accurate. His work deserves, and bids fair to receive, an extensive patronage.

A HARMONY OF THE FOUR GOSPELS IN GREEK, according to the Texts of Tischendorf; with a Collation of the Textus Receptus, and of the Texts of Griesbach, Lachmann, and Tregelles. By Frederick Gardiner, D.D., Professor in the Berkeley Divinity School, Author of "A Commentary on the Epistle of St. Jude," "A Harmony of the Gospels in English," etc. pp. 268. Andover: Warren F. Draper; Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1871.

A HARMONY OF THE FOUR GOSPELS IN ENGLISH, according to the Authorized Version, Corrected by the best Critical Editions of the Original. By the same. pp. 287. Andover: Warren F. Draper; Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1871.

Professor Gardiner is already known to the American public as an accurate biblical scholar. His Harmony of the Four Gospels will widen his reputation. Since the time of Prof. Edward Robinson much has been done in the department of biblical criticism, both to create the necessity for, and to render practicable, an improved Harmony of the gospels. Prof. G. has availed himself with no little skill of the helps thus placed within his reach.

A very important matter in the preparation of a Harmony is, of course, the choice of a text. The one chosen by Prof. G. is that of Tischendorf's eighth edition of the New Testament. This text was chosen because "it embodied the latest results of criticism, having had the advantage through-



out of the *Codex Sinaiticus* and of a more close collation of the *Codex Vaticanus*." Prof. G. would, indeed, have published his Harmony more than a year ago, but waited till opportunity could be given for consulting this last edition of Tischendorf. It is an obvious merit in this Harmony, that the student can see at a glance whether or not the text of Tischendorf agrees or conflicts with that of Griesbach, Lachmann, and Tregelles in places where there is a difference of opinion. It is another excellence of the work that the Greek text is so accurate, evincing the most scrupulous care and thorough scholarship on the part of the editor.

Much less space is given up to Notes in this work than in that of Dr. Robinson. There would seem to be no call in a Harmony for notes of the nature of commentary; a principle which Dr. R. appears sometimes to have disregarded.

Chronological arrangement is another most important matter in a Harmony. The labors of no two of his predecessors agreeing with each other, in this respect, Prof. G. has pursued an independent course; never allowing himself, however, to repeat the same passage in different connections. His judgment and skill are signally manifest in this department of his work.

The Harmony in English, the title of which is given above, is a reproduction of the Harmony in Greek; no other changes being made than such as were required to fit the work for the use of the English reader who desires to learn some of the improvements which modern criticism has made in the authorized English text.

These books, we cannot doubt, will be highly valued by all students of the New Testament; the Greek Harmony will become a Text-book in Theological Seminaries, and perhaps in some Colleges; the English will be introduced into Bible-classes and some Sabbath-schools.

**DIATESSARON. THE LIFE OF OUR LORD IN THE WORDS OF THE GOSPELS.** By Frederick Gardiner, D.D., Professor in the Berkeley Divinity School, etc., etc. 16mo. pp. 259. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1871.

This volume, like the Editor's English Harmony of the Gospels, presents some of the improvements, which have been adopted by common consent, in the authorized English version of the New Testament. It continues in one connected narrative the various accounts which the evangelists give of our Lord's life. It has the instructiveness of a commentary, and the fascinations of a new history. It has become common to write the Life of our Saviour, and to intermingle with the narrative many theories and conjectures. This volume dispenses with all uninspired speculations, and gives us the historical narrative in the words of the original writers. It suggests, of course, to the scholar many questions which are yet undecided, and many results of study which are now well established. But it does

not interrupt the progress of the narrative by any discussion. It gives us the fruits of scholarship, without describing the process of growth. It is well adapted to the convenience of pastors, to the needs of teachers in the Bible-class and Sabbath-school, to the religious instruction of families. It bids fair to introduce improvements into the style of teaching the Bible to the young. Prof. Gardiner has placed the churches under lasting obligation to him for this, and the two above-named volumes which he has just sent from the press. They are the result of conscientious painstaking. In a future edition of the *Life of our Lord*, we hope that he will publish a verbal Index, which will facilitate references to particular passages of the Gospels. The Table of Contents is full, but an Index referring to persons, places, deeds, speeches, etc., would augment the practical value of the work. Cicero says: "*Commoditas homines studiosos invitavit librorum indices comparare, quibus minimo labore ad id quod quisque quaereret, tamquam manu duceretur.*" See Allibone's Dictionary, p. 3140.

A CRITICAL DICTIONARY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE AND BRITISH AND AMERICAN AUTHORS, living and deceased, from the earliest Accounts to the Middle of the Nineteenth Century. By J. Austin Allibone. 3 vols. Royal octavo. pp. 3139. Philadelphia. 1859-71.

The first of these volumes was published in 1859, by Childs and Peterson, and is dedicated to Mr. Childs. It contains 1005 pages. On the title page is the promise that the Dictionary will contain thirty thousand biographies and literary notices. The second and third volumes were published in 1871, by J. B. Lippincott and Co., and are dedicated to Mr. Lippincott. The second volume contains 1322 pages; the third, 812. On the title pages of these two volumes the Dictionary is said to contain over forty-six thousand biographies and literary notices. Thus is the promise of the first volume more than fulfilled. The work was projected in 1850. The preparation of it for the press was commenced August 1, 1853. The proof-sheet of the last page of the text was corrected, Oct. 11, 1870; and the last page of the entire work, December 31, 1870. Thus about twenty years have been devoted to the Dictionary. In all probability it will be a standard critical dictionary of American authors for many years; and when in its popular use it shall have been superseded by the dictionaries of coming times, it will still be a basis on which those dictionaries are constructed. Few works have so fair a prospect as this of usefulness through the ages.

The spirit of the work is liberal and catholic. Mr. Allibone writes not as a dogmatist, not as a friend or an enemy of the men or the measures described by him, but as a lover of the truth, an impartial historian. We feel a sympathy *with* him, because he writes *con amore*. We feel a sympathy *for* him, because he must have expended on this work an amount of care and toil for which he will never receive an adequate degree of

gratitude. The Dictionary, however, will find a place in every well-assorted library of an American student. It is invaluable, not only for editors and essayists, lawyers and clergymen, but for private students who love to know the history of the men whose words or deeds have awakened a public interest.

It is easy to say that some names which ought to have been inserted in this Dictionary are omitted, and other names which might well have been omitted are inserted. It is impossible to satisfy every reader of a lexicon, whether verbal or biographical. It is impossible, also, to avoid real mistakes. If a writer desires to be severe in his animadversions on a work, he may gratify his desire by taking up a dictionary. He is sure to find in it some errors, either of commission or omission. The positive faults of this Dictionary, however, are remarkably few; so are the defects. The biographical sketches are interesting as well as instructive, are copious and generally accurate. The criticisms on books are acute and sensible. Many of the articles are written with enthusiasm; some of them are amusing. The reader often forgets that he is perusing a dictionary, and imagines himself absorbed with a collection of choice sayings, or a narrative of surprising events. The select quotations illustrating the life and genius of authors are of great value. Mr. Allibone has performed a good service to the literary public by his zeal in recommending the preparation of indexes for all books of value. During the last fifteen years he has labored assiduously in urging authors to append to their works these valuable directories. In vol. i. pp. 84-86 of this Dictionary he gives many illustrations of the worth of indexes. He speaks of Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, "where to eight volumes of text we have more than fourteen hundred columns of index." "In 1778," he says, "there were paid for compiling indexes to the *Journals of the House of Commons*, the following sums: To Mr. Edward Moore, £6,400, as a final compensation for thirteen years' labor; Rev. Mr. Forster, £3,000 for nine years' labor; Rev. Dr. Roger Flaxman, £3,000 for nine years' labor; and to Mr. Cunningham £500, in part for labor; making a total of £12,900." Although this whole Dictionary is an index of authors, yet, in the third volume of it, 228 pages are devoted to the index of the Dictionary. We have forty indexes of the subjects, besides the sub-indexes and indexes of the authors who have written on each of these subjects. The names of the authors are 46,499; these names as first given and afterwards repeated are 75,158. Twice in the work Mr. Allibone quotes the words of Mattaire, and they might fitly be quoted oftener in relation to indexes: "*In construendis aedibus, operarius bajulusque, non minus architecto, prodest.*"

UNIVERSAL PRONOUNCING DICTIONARY OF BIOGRAPHY AND MYTHOLOGY. By J. Thomas, A.M., M.D., Author of the *System of Pronunciation* in Lippincott's *Pronouncing Gazetteer of the World*, and of

the Pronouncing Vocabularies of Biographical and Geographical Names in Webster's Unabridged Dictionary. 2 vols. Royal octavo. pp. 1236, 1109. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Co. 1870.

If a reviewer praises a work like this without qualification, he is thought to be an unfaithful critic. If he exposes its faults, he is thought to be ungrateful for the immense labor expended upon it, and unmindful of the fact that no such work can be free from blemishes. One of the most accurate scholars of modern times, after expending an almost incredible amount of care and toil upon the proof-sheets of his Greek Lexicon, published it, and requested various literary men to note any errors which might have escaped him. He was mortified at finding these errors amount to three thousand. We have noticed in Dr. Thomas's Dictionary some faults of style and of proportion; some omissions and misstatements; yet the work is on the whole uncommonly accurate. It is very complete. It appears the more admirable, when it is compared with the Biographical Dictionaries of Lempriere, Gordon, Johnston, Cates, and others. It is particularly adapted to the needs of the American student; and as it is an honor to American literature, it deserves a place in the library of every American clergyman. It differs from Allibone's Dictionary as it does not confine itself to *authors*, does not aim to be *critical* in respect to literary works, includes *mythology* as well as biography, and pays especial attention to the *pronunciation* of proper names.

Making pronunciation a specialty, it exhibits a vast amount of learning, and will be the chief authority in this department. The principles of pronunciation which Dr. Thomas adopts are liable to certain objections, but on the whole are sound and right. Like many other principles, they must be applied with good sense, and must admit occasional exceptions. We cannot here perform a better service for our readers than in quoting Dr. Thomas's remarks on this subject. He says: "In pronouncing modern proper names there are only three courses which can by any possibility be pursued: 1. To blunder over or pronounce them at random, like a barbarian who should attempt to speak a language of which he knows nothing; 2. To endeavor to pronounce all names, foreign as well as English, according to the principles of our own language, giving each letter its proper English sound; or, 3, To adopt the system of pronunciation now generally recognized by the more highly educated classes not only in England and America, but also in Germany, and most other parts of Europe;—that is, to pronounce all names, as nearly as possible, as they are pronounced by the well educated people of the different countries to which such names belong, with the exception of those very few celebrated names, such as Calvin, Cervantes, Galileo, Luther, Napoleon, Petrarch, etc., which may be said to have acquired an established English pronunciation."—Preface, p. 111.

Of these three methods the third is adopted in this Dictionary. As we  
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have stated above, there are objections to it, but there are weightier objections against each of the other methods. On the second method Dr. Thomas says: "A few examples will suffice to show the utter absurdity of attempting to pronounce foreign names according to the English sounds of the letters. How, for example, should we pronounce the name of the celebrated German poet Heine, according to such a system? Should the *ei* be sounded like *ee*, as in the English words *seize*, *ceiling*, etc.? or like long *a*, as in *vein*, *weight*, *inveigh*? or like long *i*, as in *height*, *sleight*, etc.? Should Heine then be pronounced *heen*, *hān*, or *hīn*? or should we sound the final *e* and make it *hēe'ne*, *hā'ne*, or *hī'ne*? Or take, if you choose, another name, equally well or better known, that of Schiller. Now, the proper English sound of *sch* is *sk*, as in *school*, *scholar*, *schooner*, etc. We have no genuine English word in which *sch* has the sound of *sh*, although we have some, as *schism*, *schismatic*, etc., in which it sounds like simple *s*. Yet would any one in his senses seriously advocate pronouncing the name of Germany's most popular poet either as Skil'ler or Sil'ler? Innumerable instances, moreover, occur, in which it is very difficult, if not impossible, to pronounce the names of other countries according to the English sounds of the letters, as Bjornson, Czajkowski, etc., although there is not the slightest difficulty in pronouncing them according to the sounds of the languages to which they belong. A multitude of instances also occur in which the English mode of pronouncing, though not difficult, would be far less euphonious than the native pronunciation. Cagliari (kal'-ya-ree) and Borgognone, (bor-gon-yo'-na) two distinguished painters of Italy, and Carvalho (kar-val'-yo), a Portuguese bibliographer, may serve as examples. Another insuperable difficulty in the way of pronouncing many foreign names according to the sounds of our own tongue, arises from the fact that in some languages the same sound is often represented by different letters. Thus *oe* and *ö* in German are sounded precisely alike; hence, Goethe and Göthe should clearly have the same pronunciation. Again, the Spanish *j* and *x* are, in sound, exactly equivalent to each other; therefore, Caravajal and Caravaxal should be pronounced exactly alike. So also the Portuguese *ch* and *x*, having the same sound (that of our *sh*), were formerly often interchanged, as in the names Xaves or Chaves, Xingu or Chingu, Xoa or Choa (written in English, Shoa, etc.). Innumerable examples of this kind might be adduced. It must be obvious even to the least intelligent mind that the attempt to pronounce names so differently written according to the English sounds of the letters would lead to endless confusion."—Preface, pp. iii, iv.

We have often called attention to the fact that the library of a clergyman needs books of reference. One such book saves a large amount of tedious labor. It is suggestive, and thus it quickens thought. We rejoice, therefore, in the enterprise of the publishers of this Dictionary, and hope that it will be liberally rewarded.



A DICTIONARY OF ENGLISH SYNONYMES AND SYNONYMOUS OR PARALLEL EXPRESSIONS, Designed as a Practical Guide to Aptness and Variety of Phraseology. By Richard Soule. 8vo. pp. 456. Boston : Little, Brown, and Co. 1871.

Mr. Soule was one of the collaborators in preparing for the press Worcester's Dictionary of the English Language. He has been assisted in the present work by Mr. Justin Winsor, Mr. William A. Wheeler and Mr. Loomis J. Campbell, who were also collaborators on Worcester's Dictionary. In this excellent volume he has done justice to his previous high reputation.

Among the uses of this Dictionary may be named the following: First, it gives to the reader a copious vocabulary. It thus saves him from too frequent repetition of the same word. He becomes tedious if he allows this monotony of style. Secondly, it suggests to him the precise word which he needs. He wishes, for instance, to express a certain shade of the idea suggested by *freedom from danger*. The word *safe* does not express it; he turns to the Dictionary, and finds one synonyme of *safe* to be the word *secure*. This word expresses his exact meaning. Turretin says, that the fatalism of the Turks "makes them secure from the pest, but not safe." — Guizot remarks: "Christianity possessed vast *influence*, but no *power*." A youthful writer may sometimes hesitate long before he will discover this distinction. The Dictionary of Synonymes will suggest it to him. Thirdly, it reminds the writer of the pure and proper words which he may employ. Webster defines the term *surroundings* as denoting "the things which surround; external or attending circumstances [recent]." We are glad to see that Mr. Soule does not recognize any such word with such a meaning. We often read of books which are "issues of the press;" but this Dictionary does not authorize any such "issues." Mr. Soule does an invaluable service in thus naming the words which have, and suggesting the words which have not, a standard authority in the language. The volume is small, and therefore better adapted for rapid use than the unabridged Dictionaries, which, although inconvenient, are, of course, indispensable. The volume bears the apt motto, from Prof. J. R. Seeley: "The exertion of clothing a thought in a completely new set of words increases both clearness of thought and mastery over words. It is the test of a solid thought that it will bear a change of clothing."

ROMAN IMPERIALISM, and other Lectures and Essays. By J. R. Seeley, M.A., Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge, Author of "Ecce Homo." pp. 335. Boston : Roberts Brothers. 1871.

As indicated in its title, this is a collection of essays on subjects wholly disconnected from each other. They are marked by the same freshness and vigor of style which gave to "Ecce Homo" so much of its popularity, while possessing, we think, more intrinsic excellence than can be right-

fully claimed for that book. The lectures on Roman Imperialism, and those on Milton's Political Opinions and Milton's Poetry, bring out views which have at least the merit of novelty, and will be likely to stimulate the reader to trains of thought which cannot be pursued without profit. The same may be said, with perhaps stronger emphasis, of the essay on the Church as a Teacher of Morality.

Two of the essays — that on Liberal Education in Universities, and that on English in Schools — touch on certain interesting educational questions. In the former, we understand Professor Seeley to take pretty strong ground against the *marking system* in colleges. His reasoning on this subject fails to carry with it our convictions. A young man of vigorous intellect and eager thirst for knowledge need not study any the less faithfully and successfully because his standing as a scholar is recorded from day to day; while, on the other hand, a youth of less intellectual strength and of weaker will may be led by such a stimulus to study with an energy which he would not otherwise show. The other essay, on English in Schools, is still less satisfactory. No judicious educators, in this country, certainly, would have boys give up the study of Latin at the age of sixteen. To use our author's own illustration: Either not start for Cambridge, or else go clear there. The plan recommended by Professor Seeley, of substituting the study of the English language for that of Latin in boyhood, strikes us as altogether injudicious. A boy can study English after he has studied Latin much more advantageously than before.

THE METAPHORS OF ST. PAUL. By John S. Howson, D.D., Dean of Chester. Second edition. 16mo. pp. 176. London: Strahan and Co. 1869.

Dr. Howson is well known to our readers as "joint author of *The Life and Epistles of St. Paul*." The present volume is beautifully printed, and is written in a very perspicuous and agreeable style. It explains the metaphors which Paul draws from the Roman soldiers, the classical architecture, the ancient agriculture, and the Greek games. It is well adapted to engage the attention of the higher classes in our Sabbath-schools, as well as that of clergymen and scholars. We are happy to learn that it is soon to be republished by the American Tract Society. That society has already republished a 16mo. volume containing 304 pages, and entitled, *Scenes from the Life of St. Paul, and their Religious Lessons*, by the Rev. J. S. Howson, D.D. It also intends to republish another work which is from the pen of the same learned author, and is entitled "*The Companions of St. Paul*." It is well deserving of an extended circulation. These three volumes will, we trust, soon be for sale at the Depository of the Society, No. 28 Cornhill, Boston.

M. TULLII CICERONIS CATO MAJOR DE SENECTUTE, LAELIUS DE AMICITIA. With Explanatory Notes. By E. P. Crowell, Moore Professor of Latin, and H. B. Richardson, Instructor in Latin, in Amherst College. 16mo. pp. 171. Philadelphia: Eldredge and Brother. 1872.

This is one of the volumes belonging to the Classical Series edited by Thomas Chase, A. M., Professor of Classical Literature in Haverford College, Penn., and George Stuart, A. M., Professor of the Latin Language in the Central High School, Philadelphia. They have already issued the following volumes: Cæsar's Commentaries, with Notes, Lexicon, etc.; First Six Books of Virgil's *Æneid*; Sallust's Catiline and Jugurthine War; Virgil's *Æneid*, with Notes, etc.; Cicero's Select Orations; Horace's Odes, Satires, and Epistles, and Cicero De Senectute et De Amicitia. "The first three of these volumes, viz. Cæsar's Commentaries, First Six Books of Virgil's *Æneid*, and Sallust's Catiline, etc., contain Vocabularies; the remaining volumes do not." The same general editors intend to publish soon an edition of Cæsar's Select Orations, with a Vocabulary; and in the spring of 1872 an edition of Livy, and also of Virgil's Eclogues and Georgics. The present edition of Cicero de Senectute and de Amicitia is well edited. The Notes are precise, neither too full nor too meagre. The text is that of Baiter, and has been carefully compared with the *Annotatio Critica* in the Tauchnitz series of Cicero's Works; also with the text of Orelli's edition revised by Hahn. He must be a dull scholar whose enthusiasm is not enkindled by such Introductions and Notes as are contained in this volume.

CAESAR'S COMMENTARIES ON THE GALLIC WAR. With Explanatory Notes, a Copious Dictionary, and a Map of Gaul. By Albert Harkness, LL.D. 12mo. pp. 377. New York: Appleton and Co. 1870.

The improvement in classical text-books within a few years has been remarkable. The announcements of new editions of grammars and commentaries upon familiar authors are frequent. Among the latter is Professor Harkness's edition of that sterling drill-book, Caesar's Commentaries. This book is the second in a series which includes several authors; the first being a Latin Reader. The text is in a large, clear type, and the book is of convenient size. The notes are clear, numerous, and not too technical. Though we cannot agree with the editor in every particular, the pupil by a judicious use of them will be aided sufficiently, and will gain much knowledge of pure Latin idioms. Their aim seems to have been not simply to translate for the pupil, but to place him in a position where he can fully appreciate the whole meaning of the author.

We are sorry to see a special lexicon; though we have never seen a better one than this. It reflects great credit upon the compiler, Mr. Gay, of the Boston Latin school as a patient, critical, and faithful scholar.

MEMOIR OF THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF REV. LEWIS WARNER GREEN, D.D.; with a Selection from his Sermons. By LeRoy J. Halsey, D.D., Professor in the Theological Seminary of the Northwest. 12mo. pp. 502. New York: Charles Scribner and Co. 1871.

Dr. Green was born January 28, 1806, near the town of Danville, in Kentucky; was successively Professor of Belles Lettres and Political Economy in Centre College, Danville, Kentucky; Professor of Oriental and Biblical Literature in the Theological Seminary at South Hanover, Indiana; Vice-President of Centre College; Professor of Oriental Literature and Biblical Criticism in the Theological Seminary at Alleghany; Pastor of the Second Presbyterian church, in Baltimore; President of Hampden-Sidney College; President of Transylvania College; President of Centre College. He died May 26, 1863, in the fifty-eighth year of his age. Of his punctuality in the performance of his professional duties, the following incident is related: "On one occasion, having a distance of several miles to go, and having been necessarily detained, he found he had barely time, though on horseback, to reach the college before his hour of recitation. Before starting, he had loosely slipped forty dollars into his pocket. On nearing the place, he discovered that in his rapid ride the money had dropped out, and he knew that it must be lying somewhere on the public road; but, rather than go back, and be behind time with his class, he determined to meet them promptly at the hour, go on with his recitation, and look for the money afterward. When he returned, it was gone; but he felt that punctuality was worth more than forty dollars, and he could better afford to lose the money than to lose his prestige of professional promptness." — *Memoir*, p. 17, 18.

Dr. Green was a remarkably fluent orator. In early life, however, he stammered painfully. "When excited by debate in the rival societies at school or college," says his biographer, "the hesitation would disappear, and his fluency on such occasions is said to have been remarkable. But the slightest confusion or embarrassment would almost deprive him of the power of speech. His first public effort is said to have been painful in the extreme, both to himself and to the friendly audience he attempted to address. He rushed from the house in an agony of shame; and few who witnessed that painful exhibition were so sanguine as to hope that those stammering lips would yet open in streams of fervid eloquence. Distressed, but not disheartened, by this mortifying failure, he persevered until his efforts at elocution were crowned with complete success. But he was ever after extremely sensitive on the subject, so much so that no member of his immediate family ever ventured an allusion to it." — *Memoir*, p. 12.

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ERRATUM.

Page 90, ninth line from bottom, for \$400 read \$600.



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